ENGLISH VERNACULAR PERFORMING ARTS IN THE LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Aspects of trends, influences and management style in organisation and performance.

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Thesis submitted in fulfillment of the regulations for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
The City University
Department of Arts Policy and Management

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ABSTRACT

This study uses questionnaires, interviews, information from the historical record and other research to examine the conduct of vernacular dance and theatre groups in England and Wales in the later Twentieth Century. It analyses questionnaire returns from 332 groups performing various types of morris, sword, social and step dancing, traditional mumming plays or maintaining annual calendar customs, and reports 12 major case studies on organisations ranging in age from 25 to, reputedly, over 400 years old.

It investigates how these groups are organised and managed, the structures, motivations and dynamics within the groups and the influences within which they operate. In doing so it challenges many misconceptions and presents revised ways of considering the subject activities. Comparisons with classic management paradigms indicate that the groups, however unconciously, have some dynamic and structural similarities to more conventional organisations although their power structure is effectively inverted.

The thesis concludes that although these folk forms tend to regard themselves as all part of one movement, the Folk Revival, there are four distinct kinds of group operation and approach. The groups use methods of organisation which enable them constantly to adapt and recreate their art, allowing them to survive sometimes radical changes in the social milieu. It shows how the apparently opposing drives of creative imperative, contemporary relevance and preservation of the past co-exist within the Folk Revival and produce performances adapted to self-satisfaction, community self-celebration or the commercial markets of festival stages and the heritage industry.

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DECLARATION

I declare that no part of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for any other degree or qualification of this or any other University or other Institute of Learning. All quotations and other sources (including unpublished idea sources) have been duly acknowledged in accordance with appropriate academic conventions: other than these the ideas and arguments presented are my own.

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used throughout the study. Other abbreviations used in the text are explained where they occur.

EFDS:	The English Folk Dance Society. Founded in 1911.
EFDSS:	The English Folk Dance and Song Society. Formed in 1932 by an amalgamation of the English Folk Dance Society and the Folk Song Society.
FLS:	The Folklore Society. Founded in 1878.
FSS:	The Folk Song Society. Founded in 1899.
FMJ:	The Folk Music Journal. Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society. Published 1965 to present.
IFMC:	International Folk Music Council. Founded in 1954.
JFSS:	Journal of the Folk Song Society. Published 1899 to 1930.
JEFDSS:	Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society. Published 1932 to 1964.
The Federation	The Morris Federation. Formed in 1983 - see WMF.
The Ring	The Morris Ring of England. Founded in 1934.
WMF	Women's Morris Federation. Founded in 1975. Changed its name to The Morris Federation 1983, when admission criteria also changed to allow both sexes.

References to researched sources

IQ:*{xxx}*	The prefix 'IQ' followed by a number indicates the source as being Initial Questionnaire number *xxx*. A list of 'IQ' numbers and the groups they relate to (as permitted) is given at Appendix 1.
SQ:*{xxx}*	The prefix 'SQ' followed by a number indicates the source as being Supplementary Questionnaire number *xxx*. An 'SQ' number relates to the same group as its corresponding 'IQ' number.
Supp:*{xxx}*	Supplementary material supplied by groups (e.g. promotional material, bookings lists, constitution, etc.) is prefixed 'Supp'. A 'Supp' number relates to the same group as its corresponding 'IQ' number.
Int:*{xxx}*	The prefix 'Int:' followed by a number indicates the source as being an interview conducted during the research. A list of interview numbers giving the interviewees is given at Appendix 2 (Section 1).
C/S:*{xxx}*	The prefix 'C/S:' is used to refer to a Case Study number. The Case Studies form part IV of this thesis.
T:*{xxx}*	The prefix 'T:' followed by a number indicates the source as being an audio tape or video soundtrack from another source. A list of tape numbers, with their provenance is given at Appendix 2 (Section 2).

Typographical conventions

Italics:	Used in the body of text to add emphasis or for the title of publications. Within quotations, the use of italics is original unless otherwise stated.
Parentheses:	All quotations are enclosed in single quotation marks. Use of single and double quotation marks within quotations are original. Use within the body of the text is to emphasise the word or phrase.
[ ]	Within quotations, square brackets are used to indicate author's interpolations.

PART 1
THE STUDY: INTRODUCTION, CONTEXT & METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Object of the Study

The research reported in this study was undertaken over a period of five years (1993-1998) in order to examine what, if any, arrangements are made by certain performing groups for their own management and administration, and to assess the nature of that management. The groups surveyed are of a wide variety, but may be introduced as performing 'folk' dance and drama. These performances are collectively referred to in the study as 'Vernacular Performing Arts' for reasons that are examined in Chapter 2. There has been a significant growth in the number of these groups in recent years and the research also examines this phenomenon. I have been personally involved in these forms for over thirty years, initially in an unquestioning way, but more recently becoming progressively more dissatisfied with the interpretations placed upon them by folklorists, arts critics and students of sociology alike. This has culminated in the realisation that very little work has been undertaken to assess these forms from the performers' own opinions and views. The research attempts to address this deficiency and to offer different perspectives on vernacular dance and drama.

Across the same period as performance customs such as the Abbots Bromley Horn Dance (first reported in 1686) have been known to exist, whole art forms such as theatre, ballet, music-hall, chamber and orchestral music, circus, opera and dance-halls have, variously, been created, undergone radical change and even died. In popular perception, performances such as the Horn Dance together with mumming plays, morris dancing and the like have been unchanging since time immemorial. Much recent research shows that such belief is itself a mythology, but there *is* a remarkable continuity in the performance of some of the 'folk' arts. The research examines whether there are mechanisms and strategies inherent, or developed, in these groups that facilitate their longevity whilst more widely recognised performing arts seem to lurch from crisis to crisis (if one is to believe the press releases of arts funding agencies and their clients), and it examines the progress and patterns of development amongst the groups. In doing so, a number of other aspects concerning the groups have had to be addressed: group dynamics, motivation, the function of the groups within contemporary society and the effect that society has upon them, and so on. These aspects are also considered in the study.

In conducting the research, a number of other issues arise, e.g. arguments about women dancing morris, standards and æsthetics of performance, the functions of umbrella bodies. Inasmuch as these may have a direct bearing on the primary focus of this study, as described above, such issues are considered where they arise in the text but are otherwise left for further research of a different focus.

The research has used two primary approaches: a) an extensive survey using questionnaires and conversations with members of extant performing groups and b) a series of detailed case studies with a selected range of groups. The evidence from these sources is expanded by, and compared to, the historical record as revealed in other research works, publications and specialist articles. The study sets out to examine groups that have been extant in the later 20th Century but also refers to the records of earlier periods. There has been little previous research on the subject groups from a management perspective although the performances of the subject groups have frequently been examined from other viewpoints. The analyses of the subject in some of these other examinations can potentially lead to problems of interpretation and these also are explored in the introductory chapters. Given the paucity of previous studies of the subject groups from a management or administrative perspective, the study represents a preliminary investigation which identifies a number of analysis problems (arising from the extreme informality of many groups), highlights areas where further research could be undertaken and reaches only preliminary conclusions about the nature and mechanics of management amongst these groups.

Overview of the Study

The study is presented in five Parts, with endnotes given at the end of each. The first two parts are introductory. They are extensive, and argued in some detail in order to familiarise the reader with both the kind of performances maintained by the groups surveyed and the history of these kinds of performance. The intention is to set out the historial context against which evidence from the present research can be set.

Part I (Chapters 1-3) sets out the subject and objectives of the research, together with a summary of the subject groups, research considerations, and methodology. Chapter 2 considers various aspects of previous research and commentary in the field which have influenced many of the opinions expressed to me during the course of the research. Chapter 3 describes the research methodology.

Part II (Chapters 4-6) details the subject activities and distinguishes between them. It then sets the groups within an historical context and examines the record of the existence and continuity of the different types of performance. It identifies various patterns which emerge both from specific groups and as part of larger trends or movements, and sets the background against which the present research is conducted. It draws on the survey questionnaires in respect of information concerning years or periods of performance.

Part III (Chapters 7-10) analyses the data obtained from the survey questionnaires which form the core of the research, and concentrates on the ways in which the groups organise and manage themselves. Further information in this area has been drawn from supplementary questionnaires and interviews as well as other documentation.

Part IV (Chapters 11&12) presents and analyses twelve major case studies using primary information from interviews conducted with representatives of the Case Study groups and with other researchers and practitioners in the field. It examines the organisational mechanisms which the groups have used, and changes (both major and minor) which they have undergone during their modern existence. It analyses this information in the light of previous Parts of the study. The focus of Part IV is the contributions of the interviewees involved in the practices of specific groups.

Part V (Chapters 13&14) is an overview of the results of the research which draws together the strands from previous parts of the study and offers some conclusions about the management and administration of the vernacular performing arts. It identifies significant factors, comparing and contrasting them to models used in other fields within the arts and management. It concludes with some observations on the implications of the findings for the future development of these art forms.

A series of appendices lists the primary sources and give more detail and raw data from the questionnaire responses.

The Surveyed Groups

Before reporting the research itself, it is necessary to identify more precisely the organisations with and about which the research has been concerned: what they are, what they do and what makes them an identifiable group.

The kinds of performance examined are broadly classified, as described below, according to how they were perceived in the early decades of the 20th Century, when a large amount of 'collecting' of traditional dance forms, customs, etc. was undertaken and the foundations of what is now called the Folk Revival were laid[1]. The terminology and styles of such activities have tended to become fixed within the Folk Revival although, as will be shown, recent research is starting to question some of these classifications. Whereas performing groups in the early decades of the century tended to strive for 'authentic' performances according to the minutæ of style as collected, similar groups in recent decades (particularly those not associated with an earlier local specific style) have tended to expand repertoires with newly created material within a style, and build unique repertoires for themselves. The descriptions of the types given below are of necessity very brief and do not attempt to provide the comprehensive description that would be required by an expert in the field. In the light of some of the evidence cited later in the study, some categorisations may even be insupportable. Nevertheless, they are presented here according to commonly held perceptions and as discussed amongst members of the survey groups themselves. (References are, however, provided for more detailed studies as appropriate.)

Morris Dancing

Four primary types of the morris form are extant, and are generally referred to by the geographical area in which they were 'discovered' or 'collected'. Early publication of morris dances was undertaken in a five book series called *The Morris Book* under the guidance of Cecil Sharp between 1909 and 1913[2]. These volumes give descriptions of style and notation for morris dances of various types collected from selected villages in England. The main types may be summarised as follows:

Cotswold:

This is the 'classic' form of English morris dance as it is generally recognised by the English population at large. It is characterised by men wearing white trousers, bell pads and coloured baldrics worn over white shirts (or variations thereon). Many dances involve the use of handkerchiefs or sticks. In modern presentation the dance team - generally referred to as a 'side' - may include a 'morris beast' - frequently a hobby-horse - and a character known as a Fool. The Cotswold style won early favour with Cecil Sharp and the English Folk Dance Society and quickly spread throughout England and abroad during the 1920s and 1930s. This development was further encouraged by The Morris Ring which was formed in 1934[3]. There was further growth in the number of sides in the 1960s and 1970s. More details of the form and individual local Cotswold morris dance styles can be

found in Bacon (1974), and the general historical record of the form, in the South Midlands generally prior to 1900, is closely examined by Chandler (1993 a & b).

North West:

Also variously referred to as Clog morris, Processional morris and Carnival morris. This type, epitomised by the cartoonist Bill Tidy's 'Cloggies' strip, was - it is now argued - deliberately overlooked by the early Revivalists (Boyes. 1993a p.101-102) as a style 'contaminated' by deliberate innovation within living memory. The style is nowadays most commonly danced in clogs and the teams consist of a larger number of dancers than Cotswold morris. Many teams were associated with Rushcart traditions, local Wakes and Feasts (see Ch.5) etc. in the North West of England, and Lancashire and Cheshire in particular. The historical record refers to male, female and occasionally mixed teams (e.g. Edwards & Chart, 1981). Both ribboned short-stick dances and garland dances are included in this category although groups tend to specialise in one sub-type or the other. The type is highly disciplined and, particularly among the older teams, is performed with almost military precision.

Border:

This is a style previously confined to the Welsh/English border area. Few dances and locations were identified in the earlier part of the century but the style has been popularised from the 1970s onwards. The dancers often wear 'tatter' jackets, with blackened faces, and with short sticks or nothing in the hands. The dancing may be performed with anything from three to twelve dancers. The form is energetic and noisy in its modern manifestation and the dances often appear as 'add-ons' to the repertoires of teams performing other types. Some teams performing in the old geographic area specialise in this style and have written new dances to build their teams' repertoires.

Molly:

This, the least widespread of the four primary forms, emanates from East Anglia. The form was closely associated with the mid-winter period and Plough Monday activities in particular. Several teams (frequently referred to as *gangs*) took a plough with them as they perambulated the countryside visiting and dancing at the various steadings and 'Big Houses'. The current style of dancing is not dissimilar to Border but tends to be danced in a 'clod-hopping' manner. The repertoire of Molly dances which were collected early this century included several dances which have been noted by collectors as social dances at other times and places (e.g. Ridden. 1974, see also Needham & Peck. 1933). A few gangs nowadays specialise in the same way that Border teams have done.

Other Morris Styles:

There are other examples of local morris styles which do not readily fit into these primary types - in particular one may note the styles of Winster (Derbyshire), Lichfield (Staffordshire) and the Forest of Dean (Herefordshire/Gloucestershire), but each local repertoire shows variations and unique elements. The type known as 'Fluffy morris' (sometimes also called Carnival morris) is believed to be a derivative of Northwest morris. The type is visually like a cross between Northwest morris and American style cheerleader or majorette routines and may be the direct result of dance-school teachers' influences in the 1920s and 30s (Jackson. Int:017). It is predominantly a girls' activity organised by adults and has been excluded from the study for reasons which are explained in Ch.2.

Further types identified more recently by researchers in the field of morris dancing include 'Bedlam Morris' (see Heaney. 1985) and a South Yorkshire type, showing affinities with both Molly and Longsword (see below) and also associated with 'Fool Plough' customs, which Paul Davenport has styled 'The Forgotten Morris' (Davenport. 1982).

Sword Dances

Two types of sword dance exist in England - both are team dances, very different from the more widely known Scottish solo or duo sword-dance. The Longsword dance was, in the heyday of the folk-dance 'collecting' period, confined to Yorkshire, and the Rapper sword type to the industrial (primarily mining) communities further north in Northumberland and County Durham. A primary source for descriptions of both types of English sword dance remains *The Sword Dances of Northern England* (Sharp. 1977). Another comprehensive examination of these types of sword dances across Europe can be found in Corrsin (1997).

Longsword:

This is danced by teams of six or eight men linked together by holding either end of a rigid metal or wooden lath (sword). The style is slow to medium paced with open expansive movements and involves a series of intricate winding figures culminating in the presentation of the 'Lock' where the swords themselves are interlinked into a star. The privately published study by Trevor Stone (1979) gives more detail of the type and its history, noting the former role of some local dances within a wider context of seasonal ceremonial activity. A longsword dance of this type also exists in Shetland and, in the 19th Century, was also noted in Devon (Bell. 1862 p.175). The type may formerly have been more widespread in England than information from the peak period of folk dance collecting at

the turn of the century would indicate.

Rapper:

This style is danced by a group of usually five men, but often with additional characters who join in at certain points in the progress of the dance. The rapper sword is a short flexible metal strap with wooden handles at each end. Usually one of the handles, but occasionally both or neither, is free to swivel. As in the Longsword dance, the dancers form a ring linked by the swords, but the Rapper dance is fast, showy and exceedingly intricate, including frequent formation and display of the 'Lock' and, in some traditions (e.g. Earsdon) other formations of swords. The dance is sometimes interspersed with somersaults or passages of dialogue between the characters as in a mumming play (see below). A detailed history of the type is given by Cawte (1981). Teams nowadays tend to specialise in Longsword or Rapper although some, away from the old geographical areas, will perform both. Some morris teams also include a single sword dance in their repertoire.

Mumming Plays

There are four main types of mumming play. These are essentially defined by their 'storyline', but also by their performance season and geographical spread. The plays are usually performed by between five and eight actors and most commonly last for between seven and fifteen minutes only, although some, such as the three-part play of the Symondsbury Mummers (Dorset), take up to three-quarters of an hour. By contrast the Ripon Sword Dancers[14] mumming play has been recorded as consistently taking only one minute and fifty-three seconds (T:003). In all cases the performance ends with text which exhorts the audience to contribute to a collection. For a more detailed examination of types see Cawte, Helm and Peacock (1967), and my City University MA thesis examines the evolution and continuity of the mumming tradition and compares mumming with the legitimate theatre (Brown. 1991).

Hero Combat:

This is a widespread type of play centering on a hero character ('St. George', 'King George', 'King William', etc.) and a foreign adversary ('Turkish Knight', 'Morocco King', 'Bold Slasher', etc.) who ritually fight. One is killed and is subsequently revived by a quack Doctor. The cast list usually includes Father Christmas and a final character, who introduces the quête, usually called Beelzebub or Little Johnny Jack. Additional characters vary largely in number and many are localised (e.g. 'Ting-a-ling' - a Chinaman in the Welsh Valleys' plays, Crooked John - a hunchback character who

appears in several plays in the Gloucestershire area, etc.). This type also includes the Easter 'Pace-Egg' plays and Cheshire 'Souling' plays at their respective seasons[5], but most performances were traditionally given at Christmas/Midwinter (hereafter termed 'Christmas Hero').

Plough Play:

The Plough Play is also referred to as the 'Wooing Play'. The central theme is that of a courtship between the Ploughboy and a Lady, who refuses him in favour of the Fool. A Recruiting Sergeant may entice the Ploughboy to enlist in the army and the play also features a death and revival sequence. The play was most common in the North Midlands and Lincolnshire, performed on Plough Monday and frequently toured with a plough. In this respect, the conduct of touring and performing this type of play may be compared with the practice of Molly Dancing (see above).

Tup Play:

This is almost exclusively a Derbyshire activity. The word 'tup' is a colloquial, but widespread term for an uncastrated male sheep (ram), hence 'tupping' as a euphemistic term for sexual intercourse. The Tup Play concerns the killing of a ram by a Butcher character and involves considerable vulgar humour. In performance, the play is surrounded by, and frequently interspersed by, verses of the folk song *The Derby Tup* (otherwise known as *The Derby Ram*). This is a locally thriving young people's tradition, performed in the Christmas season. A detailed and illuminating study of the Tupping tradition was undertaken by Ian Russell (1979).

Sword Play:

These exist only as fragments of plays, concerning the resurrection of a slain dancer, and are performed as an integral part of a sword dance performance. Sword dances can occur without play elements, but not *vice versa*.

Other Play Types:

In addition to these primary types, 'Horse plays' and horse performances, with and without spoken dialogue, can (or could) be found traditionally in Wales (Mari Lwyd - Grey Mare/Mary), Kent (Hoodening) and the North Midlands (Owd Hoss). For an examination of performances by guisers (a term frequently applied to mummers and deriving from dis-guisers) with animal characters, see Cawte (1978), which also includes the Gloucestershire 'Broad' a bovine (rather than the more common equine) beast. There is evidence of other mumming play types (such as Robin Hood plays) some of which, like the Burton (Dorset) Mummers' *Ten Little Nigger Boys* (Brown, 1991 p.114), are now lost

to traditional performance[6]. Amongst the groups surveyed, there are also a number of recently written plays, such as those in the repertoire of the Bradshaw Mummers (IQ:033) which ostensibly record episodes from English history.

Display Social Dance

Social (participative) dancing has been a feature of both urban and rural culture across all strata of society for centuries, but this study is concerned with groups who set out to present social dance to a (perhaps only temporarily) non-performing audience. Such groups proliferated in the early years of the century under the auspices of the English Folk Dance Society (EFDS), and subsequently the English Folk Dance and Song Society (EFDSS), and usually emanated from their widespread 'social dance' clubs. In more recent decades, groups presenting social dance have tended to specialise, performing, for example, Welsh dance, Playford dance[7], Early (or Historical) Dance, etc.

Display Step Dance

Many English social dances used to be danced, as they still are in Ireland, with intricate stepping, and this stepping element found its way into individual regional and competitive styles in various locations and situations around the country. There are a number of clog styles in the North of England, and the Lancashire style developed specifically in the Music Halls. Westmorland, Devon, Welsh, East Anglian, Canal and Gypsy styles have also been recorded. Team displays of step-dancing are a more recent phenomenon and include a number of teams performing American folk styles evolved in the Appalachian Mountains. Studies of stepping styles are plentiful and include, for example: Hughes (1975) on Lancashire style, Bernstein (1984) on Appalachian, and Flett (1979) on Lakeland.

Performance Calendar Customs

This is an exceedingly wide classification encompassing a variety of activities, the only unifying factor being that each has a fixed annual date of performance. Those examined in this study all concern performances that contemporary community arts practitioners would refer to as 'Street Theatre'. The category includes activities such as the Abbots Bromley Horn Dance; major Bonfire customs such as at Lewes (Sussex), Battle (Sussex), Bridgwater (Somerset), Hatherleigh (Devon) and Ottery St. Mary (Devon); Cheese Rolling (Gloucs.); Hobby Horse customs (S.W. peninsula); the election of Mock Mayors; Wassailing; Jack-in-the-Greens; Rushcart processions; Britannia Coconut Dancers (Bacup,

Lancs.); etc.

Many customs are unique, e.g. the Horn Dance, Whitby Penny Hedge, although there are arguably similarities between some of them. Others of which there are multiple examples (e.g. Rushcarts, the Mari Lwyd and Hoodening) remain localised - much as the Morris and Sword dance types were at the beginning of the century. Others like the morris and sword types have, during the 20th Century, become widespread throughout the country. The customs which it has been possible to examine are described briefly in the body of the text where appropriate but, for reasons examined elsewhere in the text, all these calendar customs are generally included in the 'folk' and 'folk revival' canon. Rarely, and in the majority of cases never, are these local customs enacted other than in their own location at their own time of year. Inevitably, if and when they are transferred out of time and place, the nature of the performance itself changes and this is apparent throughout the study and particularly in the Case Studies (Part IV). Some calendar customs are maintained by performing groups such as morris teams, others by completely independent local groups who come together for no other reason but the maintenance of their custom.

Amongst the performances sketched above, and arguably over-simplified, there is a huge diversity. They are summarised in Table 1:1. which also shows the relationship between broad classifications and their sub-types. It is necessary to examine why all these diverse performances may be regarded as a set of activities similar enough to be agregated together in this study.

MORRIS	MUMMING	ANIMALS	SWORD	EFFIGY
Cotswold	Christmas Hero	Hobby Horse	Longsword	Jack-in-the-Green
Northwest	Souling	'Owd Hoss	Rapper	Giant
Border	Pace-egg	Mari Lwyd		Guy
Molly	Tup	Hoodening		Other
Other	Wooing/Plough	Broad		
	Other	Dorset Ooser		
STEP DANCE	SOCIAL DANCE	OTHER CALENDAR CUSTOMS		
inc:	inc:	Wassailing		
Clog	Welsh	Rushcarts		
Appalachian	Playford	May Garland processions		
Welsh	Early	Mock Mayors		
		Fire Customs		
		Other Unique		

Table 1.1: Dance and performance types covered in the study

CHAPTER 2: The Trouble with 'Folk'

Folk - a discrete genre?

> 'On the village green, which is lined with rows of thatched cottages that have changed little in hundreds of years, a team of bearded Morris men leaps into the air. The dancers' white shirts and trousers are freshly laundered and the tiny bells strapped to their shins sparkle in the Spring sunlight. Near them, children, also clad in white, weave in and out around the Maypole, braiding the ribbons, which stream down from its apex, into a many coloured pastoral...
>
> 'A vision of Old England which is not what it seems: for the Morris Dancers are teachers and university students, connoisseurs of real ale; the braiding of the Maypole was only introduced into England in the nineteenth century, long after raising a Maypole on the arrival of Spring had ceased to be a common feature of community life...
>
> 'Seen from this point of view, such efforts to mimic the popular culture of the past look like the doomed attempts of dissatisfied members of a technological society to recreate a Golden Age of bucolic contentment which never, in fact, existed. Superficially this is a reasonable analysis, yet it is by no means the whole truth about a situation in which, for several hundreds of years, literate and educated people have taken a fascinated interest[8] in the rural and urban labouring-classes' predominantly seasonal celebrations, which are now called 'folk customs', themselves a part of the broader field of 'folklore', which includes, among other things, superstitious belief, music and songs, crafts, stories and legends.' (Pegg. 1981 p.9)

This nostalgic image of a bygone Merrie England has an escapist comfort to it - a suggestion of 'culture', a stronger hint of 'heritage' and a modern justification in 'entertainment' - but, as Pegg indicates, this is by no means the whole story.

The subject areas of this study are called many things: Customs, Traditions, Antiquities, Folklore, Heritage - and yet none of these words defines the groups or the activities they organise. Qualifying words are sometimes added, or the words are combined: Folk Dance, Traditional Customs, Folk Heritage - and still the activities are defined no more clearly. As Pegg suggests above, the performances of such groups are within the canon of 'folklore'[9] and may generally be described as 'folk customs'. The National Trust's book *Guide to Traditional Customs of Britain* (Shuel. 1985) offers another adjunct to the term 'custom', although in his opening chapter to this book the author himself is wary of the title:

> 'Despite what it says on the cover this book should really be called *A Selection of as*

many Hundred-Year-Old British Calendar Customs as One Exhausted Writer-Photographer Thought You Needed to Know About and Could Manage to Get Around Within the Time Available.' (Shuel. 1985 p.6)

The term *Calendar Custom* is widely accepted by folklorists as referring to customs that take place at a particular point (usually only one) in the annual calendar.[10] Whilst many of the groups examined in this research do organise or maintain such calendar customs, events or activities (either as singularities or as one of several forms of activity in which they engage), the genre *Calendar Custom* includes many activities which are not the concern of the present study. Excluded, for example, are the annual events marked by institutions such as Universities and Guilds, as are non-performance customs such as doles, races and fairs - although some of these may contain performance elements. The reason for these omissions is that such events are organised by formally structured bodies which are constituted primarily for purposes other than the maintenance of those traditions. The focus of the research is on the informal organisations and mechanisms used by groups which have no primary purpose *other* than the maintenance of those traditions. In some cases the distinction may be difficult, and this is acknowledged in the text where the situation arises.

As well as these strictly once-a-year traditions (such as Haxey Hood, Kirtlington Lamb Ale, Whitstable Jack-in-the Green, etc.), this study includes groups whose performances are not confined to a specific point in the calendar (although such a point may be of particular significance to the group). Examples of the latter include many morris and sword dance teams, stepdance groups, etc.; indeed, the activities of many of these groups are completely outside the temporally fixed point(s) definition of *Calendar Custom*.

Shuel concerns himself only with 'Hundred-Year-Old British Calender Customs', but the subject groups in this present study vary considerably in age. Some of the groups and customs extant in the late 20th Century can boast a proven pedigree of several hundred years, e.g. Whitby Penny Hedge (1159), Lewes Bonfire Night, (1679); others may only have been in existence for a few years. Irrespective of age, it is the recent and current management of these groups that is of interest in this study. The wide diversity in the groups is seen not only in their age, but also in the kinds of performances that they undertake, and it is not possible to regard them as a coherent set of organisations by using such parameters.

There are a number of factors which *can* be seen as linking the groups. They are all manifestations of the performing arts - specifically of dance (morris, sword, step and social) and drama (mumming plays and street theatre). It should be noted that the focus is groups which perform *to an audience*

(although some of the groups do not consider it important to *have* an audience).

The performance content of the groups is generally referred to, by both the participants themselves and observers, as *folk* activity. The word *folk* is commonly used to cover a number of distinct activities but it is interpreted in a variety of ways by different people, and presents many problems of definition. It is therefore useful to have a working definition of what the term refers to in the context of this study. In 1954, the International Folk Music Council (IFMC) adopted a resolution which attempted to define folk *music* in the following terms:

> '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: (a) continuity which links the present with the past; (b) variation which springs from the creative impulse of the individual or the group; and (c) selection by the community, which determines the form or forms in which the music survives.
>
> The term can be applied to music that has been evolved from rudimentary beginnings by a community uninfluenced by popular and art music and it can likewise be applied to music which has originated with an individual composer and has subsequently been absorbed into the unwritten living tradition of a community.
>
> The term does not cover composed popular music that has been taken over ready-made by a community and remains unchanged, for it is the re-fashioning and re-creation of the music by the community that gives it its folk character.' (JEFDSS. 1954 p.185)

This definition[11] can be extended beyond folk *music*, to the dance and theatre forms that are examined here and, although other constructs by which to define the subject matter are considered in due course, it offers a useful, if limited, starting point. It is debateable that there has been 'a community uninfluenced by popular and art music' in England for several centuries. The three 'factors' given in paragraph one of the definition, together with the 're-fashioning and re-creation' cited in the third paragraph, are important aspects of the definition. They actually focus not on the music but on the performer and, crucially, define him or her as creator rather than copyist - even though the material may be received rather than invented by the performer(s). The definition distinguishes between this and material 'that has been taken over ready-made' - and thus suggests that manner or style of performance may be at least as important as the content. As will be shown later in the study, the question of context appears to be critical to any definition of *folk* material although this is not considered within the IFMC definition which seems to have assumed the retention and performance of the material only within the communities in which it was 'discovered'. The IFMC definition also precludes any newly written material being classed as *folk*. In consideration of the above points, and in the light of further exploration of the material and its performers during the course of the study,

the IFMC definition is accepted at this point as the best available - but with some reservations.

Folklore is generally regarded as being a manifestation of a specific culture (or cultural group) within which it is a cultural norm and of which it is a cultural expression. The current practitioners of many of the performances under scrutiny here are, however, often adopting and performing an item of folklore that was 'discovered' or 'collected' from a culture (and in many cases a place) other than their own, and to an audience that is not of the source culture (nor, arguably, of the performers' culture). This gives rise to two considerations. If the *performers* are not of the same culture as the source of the material, can the performance be regarded as 'genuine'? If the *audiences* (or, for that matter, the performers) are not of the culture that gave rise to the material, to what extent can they understand (appreciate) it?

The first of these two questions does not present problems in this study as the material itself is taken as a constant, irrespective of who is performing it. This is not to deny that these types and forms of performance themselves change and evolve, or are reinvented, or revived or die - indeed, these aspects form an important part of the present study. The idea of taking the material as a constant is, of course, open to debate. Much modern research has consisted of studies of single 'traditional' (as opposed to 'revival') teams or groups[12] or of specific genres[13] and, particularly in the case of genre studies, the subjects are often safely removed by time from contemporary performance. Such approaches avoid the problems associated with the concepts of 'traditional' and 'revival', by avoiding any threshold between the two. No clear distinction between 'traditional' and 'revival' is identifiable, although the terms enjoy widespread use amongst performers, students and commentators alike. Even the analysis given by Cawte, Helm & Peacock in their landmark geographical index of the occurrence of mumming plays, *English Ritual Drama* (Cawte, Helm & Peacock, 1967), does not regard the *actuality* of performance as different before and after 'revival'. Their book offers only a classification of *type of continuity* in the history of performance. The issue of 'tradition' and 'revival' is revisited in Ch.9.

If the Form or Type is taken as a constant, argument about tradition and revival are avoided, although alternative problems can arise as a consequence. It cannot be denied that, for example, the social group maintaining a particular custom or dance tradition may change during a break in continuity of that tradition, while the social function of the performance may similarly change, as may the motivation of the performers, any source of funding and so on. All these issues are discussed in the study.

The second question raised above, concerning the extent to which performers and audiences can understand or appreciate material that is foreign to their own culture, is addressed later in this Part of the study.

It is too easy to accept the term *folk* as defining a specific genre. Arguments given above, and the subject groups of this study themselves, demonstrate that there is no singular set of parameters which can be used to determine whether an item is *folk* or not. Indeed, in recent years and particularly in the United States there has been:

> 'Increasing recognition by scientifically trained folklorists that folklore as a concept is a complex cultural fiction.' (Abrahams. 1992 p.19)

This raises interesting questions about the validity of 'scientific training' (i.e. academic training of would-be folklorists through the University system) in a 'cultural fiction' and, in the introduction to a collection of essays concerning the issues surrounding the practice of *public* folklore in the U.S.A., Baron & Spitzer argue that:

> 'Historically, folklorists have never been able to fully articulate theory based upon their practice. Yet folk practice, the lessons of which prefigure in some measure the conclusions of these critical mavens of post-modern anthropology, has always been central rather than marginal to professional work. And public folklore goes a step further in having implemented and concretised ethnographically based, dialogically created representations of traditions and communities. We have done this in everything from museum exhibitions, folk festivals, media productions, and training programmes for native scholars to the more conventional text-centred scholarly exercise of publication.' (Baron & Spitzer. 1992 p.5)

Public funding of work in the field of folkore in England is virtually non-existent, although in Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales this is beginning to be addressed by the new Arts Councils. The English groups and performers who maintain the traditions examined in this study are neither publically funded nor otherwise required to comply with external controls other than those imposed by legislation - and even some legislative requirements are ignored. In consequence, the English experience is of constantly changing and developing performances that defy classification. The extent to which this 'freedom' has contributed to the longevity of some traditions, and to the development of others, is an important consideration and, following the evidence presented in later chapters, is considered more fully in the concluding part of this study.

The kind of material performed by the groups is, for want of a better word at this stage, certainly of a 'folk' nature if contrasted to a 'classical' or 'high art' nature. It is possible to describe the

performances of these groups as manifestations of the 'folk' arts according to the IFMC definition if one allows for new material in the same style. However, whilst common usage of the term *folk* encompasses anything from Eastern European choreographed dance routines using traditional motifs e.g. Central European 'Folk Ensembles' to 'roots' style rock bands performing contemporary songs e.g. The Oyster Band, then the term *folk* on its own does not adequately convey the type of groups or types of performance that are considered in this study, and further definition is necessary[14].

For all the above reasons it is unwise to attempt a new definition of folk, or even a single collective description of the present subject groups, at this point in the study. The possibility of doing so is considered in the final part of the thesis.

Another common factor linking all these types and forms of performance is that, when the bulk of the 'collecting' of these forms was taking place in the early years of the 20th Century, the groups of performers holding and maintaining them were, reportedly, 'working class' and mainly existed within relatively small communities. These performances also generally took place without the direct management of the local 'establishment'[15]. Common belief assumes that these forms came about and were maintained without professional training and were, somehow, a naive natural artistic expression of the lower classes.

> 'Old, lost, rural 'organic communities', rather than newly developed, urban existence could therefore be held up as the only valid source of an alternative, uncultivated art. Conversely, however, as a form of working-class expressive culture, folksong could also be represented as evidence of the artistic creativity of the proletariat. The continued existence of folk traditions, their use and adaptation in working-class life, offered a line of cultural development traceable from pre-history to post-industrialism.' (Boyes, 1993a pp.3-4)

If this is true, then one might most accurately describe the genre as 'vernacular' and, in the absence of a modern concensus of what is meant by *folk*, this is the term adopted in this study - although at this stage tentatively and awaiting further evidence from the research.

The above reasons for considering the subject groups of this study together are all concerned with their origins and the cultures that maintained them. However, these are retrospective reasons and as such are not entirely satisfactory, particularly as recent research has frequently demonstrated the inaccuracy of such concepts of 'pure' genesis. One overwhelming reason for considering these apparently disparate groups together is simply that, almost without exception, they consider *themselves*

to be part of one movement or genre that encompasses them all. Also, there is constant cross-over of individuals between the Forms and Types. For example, many calendar customs are maintained by morris teams, e.g. Kirtlington Lamb Ale by Kirtlington Morris - Case Studies 5 and 4 respectively; the partners of members of a sword team may form themselves into a clog team after which the two groups work together, e.g. The Hoddesdon Crownsmen and their Ladies, and mumming groups may end the evening with display dances, e.g. North Devon Mummers - occasionally. Several teams perform more than one or two 'folk' forms, e.g. Adlington Morris and Sword Dance Club, Tonbridge Mummers and Hoodeners, Stockton Morris Men and Rapper Sword, and some teams have even been created with the intention of including a diverse range of forms within their repertoire, e.g. Folk Ensemble Deva - IQ:067. In many instances individual performers may belong to several groups, each engaging in a different type of performance. There is a 'folk' commonality between these forms in the perception of the participants, even though some groups maintain a fierce independence and, on occasion, exclusivity.

The movement to which these groups relate themselves is referred to as the 'Folk Revival' and, in its general form, is almost entirely a manifestation of the 20th Century, as Boyes has recently pointed out:

> 'The English Folk Revival has been a significant part of the experience of many thousands of people over the past ninety years. From the conscious attempts to reform culture initiated by Cecil Sharp and Mary Neal at the beginning of the century, the institutions fostering the performance of folk dances and songs involved around twenty-one thousand people by 1935. An equally spectacular growth in folk clubs - from nine in 1959 to approximately seventeen hundred by 1979 - brought contact with the Revival to countless thousands of post-war generations. The revival is therefore, one of the few contemporary movements which a large number of individuals not only perceive discretely but regard themselves as having played a historical role in developing.' (Boyes. 1993a p.xi)

Within the last few years several writers have started to deconstruct the base premiss on which the revival was founded - the concept of 'folk' as a discrete entity. This has already been discussed in part above, but Boyes offers reasons as to why the English Folk Revival of the 20th Century was so successful:

> 'To some extent, the range of appeal of the Folk Revival movement lies within the Janus-faced concept of the revival itself. A revival is inherently both revolutionary and conservative. It simultaneously comprehends a demand for a change in an existing situation and a requirement of reversion to an older form. In the case of the English Folk Revival, however, to this structural possibility was added a further dimension of counter-interpretation. Within the concepts of the Folk and their society

> which the Folk Revival propagated, a variety of apparently contradictory ideological premisses could be supported. These revolved around the issue of the nature of culture in industrialised society. Given the evidence of æsthetic creativity inherent in the Revival's definition of folk-song, for example, how were past and present cultural manifestations to be interpreted? On one hand, urban popular culture, its context and consumers, could be demonstrated to be inferior, because folk culture had such high æsthetic, academic and historical connotations... Moreover, in the harder edged form of 'Industrial Song', the art of folk-song still lived to prove that the inhabitants of the urban present had not been disinherited of the greatness of their ancestors' rural past. And for all shades of political opinion, both folk-song and Industrial Song could be represented as a source of genuinely popular performance uncontaminated by mass culture, capitalism and commercialism.' (Boyes. 1993a)

I am grateful to Prof. Boylan for pointing out that similar arguments can apply to other aspects of the English heritage (such as the 'built heritage', crafts and occupational skills, etc.) and these manifest, in a parallel to the Folk Revival, in the current 'Heritage Industry'. Some aspects of the extent to which the revival has been successful are evidenced in the second part of this study, but Boyes' thesis that the 20th Century Folk Revival was a conscious and politically based manipulation of cultural concepts cannot directly account for the developments that have taken place in recent decades and which are identified in this study, without denying the profound influence of both supporters and detractors of those who 'created' the revival and, more particularly, those who succeeded them and were either oblivious of any political background or who 'didn't give a damn'.

It is important to stress that several of the long-standing Calendar Custom groups (e.g. Padstow's Obby Osses or the Hungerford Hocktide custom - the Tutti Men) do not consider themselves part of the *mainstream* of the Folk Revival. They stand, in their own view, apart and tend to be a part of the culture within their local communities to a degree that many more recent teams do not. Indeed, members of some of these long-standing performing groups show an expressed disregard, amused tolerance or even antagonism towards people that they perceive as being 'folkies' - members of what Boyes describes as a 'Revival sub-culture' (Boyes. 1993a p.240). Even so, they often still perceive their own tradition as a part of the wider category of 'folk' activity, and there is evidence that many will occasionally and willingly cross over into the mainstream of the Folk Revival to perform at special events. Ambivalence of attitude by individuals within these groups is a recurrent theme.

The fact that some customs remain part of a geographically and communally defined culture, even at the approach of the 21st Century, is itself worthy of consideration. The matter is discussed further in Part IV, in the light of the evidence, but at this point it may be noted that some recent revivals (or new 'folk' creations) have become established in the local culture whilst others have not. Age, or length of continuous existence, cannot of itself be the cause. Just as some Calendar Customs stand

apart from the mainstream of the revival, so too do an increasing number of performing groups and this also is considered in more detail later in the thesis.

To summarise what is common to all the groups researched in this study, one can say that they have all existed in the 20th Century and do, or have, performed vernacular forms of dance and theatre to an audience. Irrespective of their origin, they are all forms which have been maintained by a culturally (although not necessarily geographically) based community, or a section thereof, which has determined the form in which they take place and that, willingly or unwillingly, they each perceive themselves to be part of one genre.

The vernacular arts do occasionally make an appearance in studies of groups that have been aggregated under different sets of criteria. Hutchinson & Feist included 'Traditional and Folk Arts' as a category in their study of *Amateur Arts in the U.K.* Inexplicably, they categorise amateur arts by discipline except for the vernacular arts, and amongst the amateur arts Dance *only* appears within the 'Traditional and Folk Arts' category (Hutchinson & Feist. 1991 p.20-21). It is true that the performances and groups surveyed here are (presently if not previously) generally perceived as amateur in status - although there are problems with the meaning of the word. The varying extent to which individual groups are funded will become apparent in the course of the study. It is true to say that in terms of commitment to the art, standard of performance and creativity, there is as much difference between the groups as there is within any arts discipline across the amateur/professional range.

The question of performance standards arises in both the questionnaire returns and in the case studies, but neither standards nor æsthetics are themselves a focus in this study. It is the consequences of recognising issues of quality that are considered in later chapters, not the nature of the æsthetics or the basis for judgement of standards[16]. When such considerations are raised by groups, it is on an intermittent basis and does not appear to be related to any specific point on the amateur/professional continuum. The use of the word 'amateur', in describing the groups considered in this study, only be valid in the sense that none of the groups in the sample *employ* either their members or other staff. In some cases individual members of the groups do receive income, or benefits, from the income of the activity - albeit in an intermittent or ad hoc way, so it is not possible to categorise the groups collectively as organisations that do not pay cash to their members.

The activities studied can all be described as 'leisure interest' groups in the sense that members

participate in their leisure time, and do not regard participation as a 'proper job' (although this is not to diminish the seriousness or 'professionalism' with which many individuals approach the work of performance or the associated administrative tasks). 'Leisure interest' is the classification within which the Matthews Morris Men (Leicester) were examined by Bishop and Hoggett (1986) in their study of mutual aid in leisure. However, as will be shown, group members are divided as to whether they are participating in a 'hobby'. Intentionally or otherwise, the organisations do tend to be 'mutual-aid' groups. Some Calendar Customs, such as the morris dancing at Tideswell and Taddington (Derbys.) are first recorded as the 'Club Day' activities of organisations such as Friendly Societies, e.g. Bathe, 1985, although this is rare at the end of the 20th Century. Those that are would be excluded from any more than cursory scrutiny in this study, as such organisations exist primarily for purposes other than the maintenance of the custom (see Ch.1), but some of the customs remain extant long after the Societies that gave rise to them have ceased to function, if not exist.

Vernacular forms of art are also referred to tangentially by Coult and Kershaw when they describe the work of the theatre company *Welfare State International.*

> '[The] resources and skills, shared by a large and growing band of freelance artists rooted on a small core of permanent company members, have grown over the years in a context of both social and aesthetic experiment. This long-term process of research-and-practice seeks to re-establish, away from the conventional building-based middlebrow/middle-class theatre, *the popular theatre traditions of the working class*, such as Carnival, the Feast of Fools, the fairground, *the mummers' plays, that vein of subversion-as-entertainment that runs through so much of folk theatre and song.* Such a project is, of course, fraught with contradictions, and raises *the spectre of fake-primitivism and rootless, academic revivalism.* Welfare State tackle these problems head-on by creating new myths, new hybrid styles, and new celebrations on the matrix of the old, *rather than simply reviving the old for its quaint or arcane qualities.*' (Coult and Kershaw. 1990 p.1) (my italics)

The italicised phrases in the above passage betray a number of assumptions about the nature of the vernacular arts which are, inevitably but not intentionally to contradict these views, challenged during the course of this study. Generally, it is unsatisfactory to describe the vernacular arts groups simply as 'amateur' (for the reasons given above) or simply as 'mutual aid groups' (for reasons discussed later), but the 'arts world' in general - and quite apart from the Coult & Kershaw view - also has problems in dealing with these forms, as I have noted elsewhere:

> 'The way of the arts world, with the exception of what has become known as 'community arts', *is* to place art on a stage, and even in the field of community arts the practice is to consider individuals who are considered to be 'artists' and how they work with the 'community'.

> 'The singer, musician, mummer or storyteller who is, more or less, an accepted part of the local community is ignored. There are, I would suggest, only two possible reasons for this: either they are not considered to be artists because they do not aspire to maintain themselves wholly by their art nor even call themselves 'artists', or because... the so-called folk or primitive arts which they practice "have been dismissed as simple and banished from serious consideration" (Glassie, 1975 p.xviii)...
>
> 'How much more effective the 'community arts' movement might have been if it had *started* work with the existing artists in the community. To be fair, it must be said that with regard to ethnic minority arts this is exactly what the Greater London Council did, albeit at rapidly increasing cost, with marked success. It is unfortunate that, even then, the indigenous vernacular arts were not considered worthy of the same attention. Even with this example, the manner of 'assistance' was still to fund, or even create, 'artists' as the funding body could understand them.' (Brown. 1991 p.127)

The subjects of this study patently do not fit comfortably into any categorisation other than with each other although, as will be discussed, there are crucial differences amongst the groups and their administrative styles.

Historical Context

This introductory section has sought to identify the types of groups that are to be examined and to explain why all these diverse activities are considered within one study. Before considering the performances themselves, and how they are achieved, it is necessary to address other general matters with regard to the study.

Although this study examines the management and administration of vernacular theatre and dance in the later 20th Century, it is not entirely possible to do so without reference to the history of the forms themselves, or the influences which shaped those forms. In the main body of text which follows, and particularly from Part III onwards, the study records a great deal of opinion expressed by informants who contributed to the research. Articles and publications, from which further evidence is drawn, are likewise infused with opinion. Before embarking on the reporting of the research, therefore, it is as well to examine the influence of history on the formulation of those opinions - which are often expressed as beliefs, and consequently presented by the correspondents as facts. There are three ways in which this history impinges upon the traditions that are examined in this study.

Firstly, the evidence for much of the activity of those subject groups which existed in earlier times comes from the written record. Those who created that historical record were rarely of the communities which sustained the activity, and almost never members of the organising group.

Consequently, it is necessary to understand the theoretical base, or beliefs, which colour the interpretations that were placed on the activities. It is only within the last few decades that participants have contributed directly to the historical record.

Secondly, although factual statements, and reports of observed performance, may be accurate in the historical record, it is apparent that some members of the 'establishment' (on occasion, those who were actually reporting the activities) exercised a direct influence not only on the fact of performance but also on the form of performance. This was done for a variety of reasons: sometimes the individuals who interfered in this way believed they knew better than the tradition-bearers how performance *should* be conducted, sometimes to demonstrate to their peers that *their* 'peasantry' could perform such curiosities, sometimes with an entrepreneurial flair that helped line their own pockets[17]. Examples of all these occur in the text.

Thirdly, many opinions expressed by respondents and interviewees during the course of the research echo opinions (about the subject activities) which were published a hundred years or more ago, although there is a remarkable paucity of evidence that those opinions were held by the tradition-bearers at that time. As many of today's performers and participants have had access, directly or indirectly, to such published sources, the effect of this too must be considered.

The observer's perspective

Observation and study of vernacular activities such as those considered in this study can be traced back to the early/mid 1600s. The subject remained popular reading, and the object of 'learned debate' throughout the centuries until 1846, when the term 'Folklore' was first coined[18], and on to the present day. Bob Pegg provides a summary of the attitudes of these 'collectors' across the period (Pegg. 1981 pp.9-14), and I have elsewhere paraphrased these approaches with the addition of more recent ones:

> 'To summarise and style the approaches...:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | *Antiquarian:* | Recording of observation or hearsay with little or no interpretive commentary. |
> | *Puritanical:* | Recording of observation or hearsay with largely condemnatory criticism deriving from religious beliefs. |
> | *Reformatory:* | Recording of observation and sometimes hearsay, and critical selection of examples on grounds of supposed 'worth'. |
> | *Survivalist:* | Recording and study of examples with the desire to find a common origin or purpose. |
> | *Sociological:* | Study of material obtained largely by personal interview, and |

analysis of functional utility and supposed social 'value'.

Entrepreneurial: Use of selected material for alternative purposes such as tourism, entertainment, etc.

Pragmatic: The largely unrecorded attitudes of the performers themselves.'

(Brown. 1991 pp.23-24)

The *Antiquarian, Puritanical* and *Reformatory* approaches offer a useful factual record, although commentary and analysis present difficulties, but it is within the *Survivalist* and *Sociological* approaches that academic consideration of the subject can be found, initially as an anthropological study and subsequently as folkloric. The *Entrepreneurial* approach is non-academic and, today, Arts, Community, Tourist and Economic Development workers increasingly shoulder the mantle in this area as de facto successors to the Captains of Industry of the 19th Century, and other earlier 'establishment' patrons[19]. The *Pragmatic* approach is itself the approach I have primarily sought to use in this study by placing the emphasis directly on the performances and the tradition-bearers.

The strongest influence within the historical record on performances in the 20th Century and - critically in the context of the present study - on the attitudes of many performers even to the present day, is that of the *Survivalists*. As the approach is so influential, it is worthy of more detailed consideration.

The 'Survivalist' approach

The survivalist approach is epitomised by J.G. Frazer's monumental work *The Golden Bough:*

> 'The analogy between the basic idea of magic and those of science which we find merely sketched in Tylor is presented to us as a finished picture by Frazer.' (Evans-Pritchard. 1981 pp.134-5)

> 'Taking his lead from Tylor, and drawing heavily on Wilhelm Mannhardt's investigations into the agricultural customs of the European peasantry, James Frazer, in 1890, published *The Golden Bough*. Extended through later editions [from two] to twelve volumes, *The Golden Bough* presented such a vast amount of information about customs and beliefs that it served to bolster theories that were not Frazer's, and the work became so wellknown and discussed that one of its central motifs, that of ritual human sacrifice as a means of promoting agricultural fertility stayed with us.' (Pegg. 1981 p.13)

So attractive and widespread were the ideas, that Pegg was rightly able to claim, even in 1981, that:

> The idea also crops up periodically in the popular media, often in a report of some isolated rural murder accompanied by the hint that an isolated village community may still (secretly) be practising 'the Old Religion'. So although folklore studies have developed different approaches since the last century, the popular idea is still of fertility rituals and human sacrifice.' (Pegg. 1981 p.13)

Frazer's stated initial intentions in writing *The Golden Bough* were modest:

> 'The primary aim of this book is to explain the remarkable rule which regulated the succession to the priesthood of Diana at Aricia.' (Frazer. 1922 preface)

but the resultant work was a massive study in magic and primitive religion, and did two things which directly affect people's perceptions of many of the vernacular performing arts.

Firstly, Frazer developed ideas of the evolution of religion from magic, and its own subsequent evolution. Secondly, and more critically from the point of view of this study, came the conclusion that many customs and traditions were the rudimentary remains of primitive religions. Frazer's explanations thus gave meaning to activities which were otherwise inexplicable and mysterious to those outsiders who observed and recorded them. Every item of trans-world rural custom and lore across several centuries was pressed into service: corn dollies, folktale, myths, human and animal sacrifice, druidic rites, tree-worship, shamanism, taboos - the list is enormous. It is the 'human sacrifice' elements that are used to 'prove', via their themes, the antiquity of mumming plays and sword dances. Similarly, Frazer's tracts on tree-worship 'explain' the maypole, Jack-in-the-Green, the Burry Man, the Earl of Rone, etc. Frazer's perceived emphasis on tree-worship was criticised almost from the time of publication, and was intense enough for him to issue a rebuttal. As Frazer put it in his preface to the abridged edition of *The Golden Bough* in 1922:

> '... in committing the book in its new form to the judgement of the public I desire to guard against a misapprehension of its scope which appears to be still rife, although I have sought to correct it before now... But I am so far from regarding the reverence for trees as of supreme importance for the evolution of religion that I consider it to be subordinate to other factors, and in particular to the fear of the dead, which, on the whole, I believe to have been probably the most powerful force in the making of primitive religion.' (Frazer. 1922 preface)

Frazer was by now, however, fully aware of the impact of *The Golden Bough* and understood how tenacious misconceptions could be:

> 'But I am too familiar with the hydra of error to expect that by lopping off one of the monster's heads I can prevent another, or even the same, from sprouting again.' (Frazer. 1922 preface)

As indicated above, it was not necessarily Frazer himself that promulgated the opinions which took

hold in the popular imagination, but disciples of his arguments who extended them. Evolution was the cause célèbre of the times, and along with the evolution of magic and religion came the evolution of civilisation - cultural evolution. Gillian Bennett has argued a parallel to other natural science models:

> 'Cultural evolutionists found their niche within the science of the day by furnishing historical explanations for an intelligentsia enthused by the developments in natural science. It was perhaps inevitable therefore that a large part of their intellectual framework should be derived from geology, a discipline which combined natural science and historical reconstruction.' (Bennett. 1994 p.28)

> 'The historical approach found its most influential expression in the doctrine of 'survival of culture'. Pioneered by the pugnacious and indefatigable Gomme, it became enshrined as 'the method of folklore'. It is based on a literal reading of the old geology analogy. 'Survival' equals 'fossil'; 'culture' equals 'presentday or "cultivated" landscape'... On this analogy, folklore which had been laid down in earlier stages of the nation's evolution, though now overlaid with the silts and gravels of subsequent civilisations, could be retrieved and used to complete the record of the past.' (Bennett. 1994 p.33)

Whilst evolution provides the constructs to explain why the activities considered in this study first came about, survivalist consideration of them relies on the argument that they are in fact survivals, or remnants, of earlier practices. With this idea established, there is a further corollary that although these fossils of early religious practice were still performed, they were no longer 'understood' by the tradition-bearers themselves - this had to be the case, for to consider the activities as living and developing entities would be to deny that they were 'fossils'.

To bring the survivalist influence full circle - these ideas, when fed back to folklorists by performers of our subject activity who had aquired them by reading. This allowed the performers a response to enquirers that satisfied: it was exactly what the investigators wanted to hear, and they went away happy. Whether the performers themselves believed in their own response or not, they would be reported as holding this confirmatory view of their own activities[20].

There are significant problems with Frazer's work and the survivalist analysis. Contradictory examples are used to justify the same argument. The evidence is made to fit the themes. Later 20th Century students of anthropology and folklore have presented incisive arguments to demonstrate the flaw in the approach:

> 'It consisted in selecting from a vast mass of data, uneven and often poor in quality, whatever phenomena appeared to belong to the same type. This proved to be a very

> dangerous proceeding, because the selection of facts was made on the grounds of similarity between phenomena in virtue of a single common quality. The qualities which were different in each instance were neglected. This is a perfectly sound method of scientific analysis, so long as conclusions are restricted to the particular quality abstracted and it is not then assumed that because phenomena are alike in respect to this single quality that they are alike in other respects which have not been subject to critical comparative analysis. In a study of social facts the procedure is all the more hazardous, for these are defined by their interrelations; and if they are abstracted from their social milieu, it is essential to realize that they are only comparable in a limited number of respects and not as complete social facts.' (Evans-Pritchard. 1981 p.145-6)

Even without this 'overall' criticism, there is an interpretive problem with each item of activity that Frazer records. As Wittgenstein expressed it:

> 'Frazer's account of the magical and religious notions of men is un-satisfactory: it makes these notions appear as mistakes.
>
> 'All that Frazer does is make this practise [of killing the king] plausible to people who think as he does. It is very queer that all these practises are finally presented, so to speak, as stupid actions.
>
> 'Burning in effigy. Kissing the picture of a loved one. This is obviously *not* based on a belief that it will have a definite effect on the object [which is represented]. It *aims* at some satisfaction and it achieves it. Or rather, it does not aim at anything; we act in this way and then feel satisfied. The savage who, apparently in order to kill his enemy, sticks his knife through a picture of him, really does build his hut of wood and cuts his arrows with skill and not in effigy.' (Wittgenstein. 1967)

Notwithstanding the now obvious conceptual errors, the *Survivalist* approach is still the most widespread influence on the popular and journalistic mind when interpreting the customary activities encompassed in this study - not least because the early creators of the Folk Revival promulgated it strongly. Cecil Sharp's own view, for example, is expressed by his co-worker and biographer Maud Karpeles as follows:

> 'Although the folk dance appealed to Cecil Sharp mainly as a form of artistic expression, he was also deeply interested in its anthropological and folkloristic implications and in its historical background. He did intensive research on these aspects of the subject and the various introductions to his folk-dance instruction books contain much valuable information concerning the origin and history of the dances.
>
> 'Briefly, the theory he propounded was that the dances had grown out of primitive religious ceremonies which were associated in some occult way with the fertilization of all living things, animal and vegetable.
>
> 'The central feature of these rites consists of a ritual killing and subsequent sacramental eating of a victim. Traces of this rite are to be seen in the customs which

were at one time associated with the Morris Dance, such as the procession at Kidlington in which a live lamb was decorated, paraded through the village and afterwards killed, cooked and eaten at a feast, the Whit-hunt at Field Town, the Lamb-Ale at Kirtlington, and so on. At Bampton, and formerly at other villages, the Morris dancers are accompanied by a Cake and Sword Bearer, i.e. a man carrying a flower-decorated sword on which a cake is impaled. This is supposed to have magical properties and it is said that a girl placing a piece under her pillow will dream of her sweetheart. Cecil Sharp suggests that in this custom can be seen the vestiges of a fertility rite in which the animal victim has been replaced by the products of the vegetable world in the sacramental feast. In the dance itself he saw possible traces of mimetic magic in the high leaps, referred to by Shakespeare - "I saw him caper upright like a wild morisco" - which might be intended to encourage the crops to spring up and grow tall. Again, the sound of the bells on the dancers' legs might have had for its purpose the arousing of the earth spirit or the driving away of evil.' (Karpeles. 1967 pp.92-93)

Such beliefs have in recent years been largely discredited in academic circles, and study of the subject has moved on to a consideration of the context of the activities and their function within the culture in which they were found, because:

'If you start your observations with functionalism as a baseline, it is not too hard to put in the corrections later, as you proceed; but if you begin with some stratospheric evolutionary scheme, it is less likely that you will ever get it right.' (Evans-Pritchard. 1981 p.xxii)

In fact, anthropological consideration of context predates sociological study *per se* simply because Sociology, as a quasi-scientific discipline, was yet to be invented. It even predates the publication of *The Golden Bough* by a quarter of a century.

'...about this great battle for the soul of anthropology [between Context and Evolution]: the crucial date had been 1864... (Evans-Pritchard. 1981 p.xxxii)

Just as the *Survivalist* approach has had such an impact on perceptions, so too, although to a less manifest extent, has the *Sociological* approach, and this also needs some examination for the bearing it has on more recent commentary on the subjects of this study.

The 'Sociological' approach

The examination of context, the debate on cultural 'position' and expositions on ethnosemiotics have all been aggregated under the heading of the *Sociological* approach because they all deal with the activities in relation to their position in society or culture. This is also the danger in the approach - that these activities are viewed *only* in respect of their relationship with wider society - sometimes as if they could have no function or purpose purely of themselves, although recent work has started to

include self-purpose amongst the consideration of function and context - three examples will suffice:

> 'This thesis sets out to explore the contemporary nature of five extant traditions of the English Folk Play, with the intention of discovering the kinds of relationship that may exist between the dramatic form and social function.' (Harrop. 1980 abstract)

> 'It is my hope that the results will provide fresh insight into questions of how a particular piece of folklore functions for those engaged in its performance and the larger community of which they are a part.' (Ward. 1972 p.1)

> 'I hope to show that folk customs, both today and in the past, possess functions which have made them of immediate value to the people who take part in them...' (Pegg. 1981 p.18)

The following quotation from Georgina Boyes serves to illustrate the way in which the approach can set broad historical aspects of the subject within the 'society' context and, in this particular example, that of class war.

> 'Although the performance of many customs continued during and after the emergence of industrialisation, from around the turn of the nineteenth century traditional popular culture increasingly became a focus of middle- and upper-class intervention. Communal customs such as wakes, rushbearing and morris dancing, which were almost invariably associated with drunken license, and on occasion, provided symbolic and formal structures for political protest, were early targets of official discouragement and suppression. At the same time, the development of evangelical pressure groups and subsequent legislation on the treatment of animals affected other forms of popular custom. Seasonal sports such as bull running and 'cock-squailing' (throwing loaded sticks at tethered cockerels) were banned and driven underground. Changing attitudes to the respectability of public performance - particularly in customs involving drinking - also led to the suppression or curtailing of other pastimes in the interests of promoting 'decency and decorum'. Women were especially vulnerable to such social pressure, and from the 1820s and 1830s, their public participation in customary activities was greatly reduced. They came to 'service' customs by making food, drink and costumes, rather than actively performing in them. Overall, intervention on moral, religious, rational and educational grounds by a variety of authorities was effective in presenting customary performances as dangerous anachronisms. By the 1860s, therefore, many customs which had relied on the middle, upper and 'respectable' working classes for material support ceased entirely or were reduced in scale, as reciprocality came to be regarded as begging.' (Boyes. 1993a p.28)

The 'Pragmatic' approach

These academic, interpretive, approaches to the subject all colour the way in which their proponents write and, on some occasions, the modern verbalisation of the performers themselves, and the researcher must be wary. As the historian E.P.Thompson noted when discussing Rough Music

customs:

> 'If we are right to resist a structural analysis in which the mythic constituents from which charivari may have been derived assume ascendancy over the social process and replace it by formal logic, so also must we guard against disintegrating the mythic properties into plastic empiricism of one case study after another, defined only by their manifest functions.' (Thompson. 1992 p.13)

The present study seeks to reach conclusions based on the views, interpretations and explanations proffered by the participants in the subject activities - the tradition-bearers themselves. I am conscious that, although this study approaches the subject from a *Pragmatic* perspective, its ultimate intent is to analyse what happens in terms of management and administration and that by discussing draft case studies and other analytical parts of the text with informants, further comments from these sources may also be newly coloured. I have sought to indicate where this process is apparent. The researcher cannot but add yet another factor into the continuing process of the traditions: there is no such thing as a pure observer, particularly when they are part of an interactive audience. It is also advisable to remember that whatever is said, and whatever is derived from it, it is a truism that,

> 'The difference between talking about a custom and doing it is the difference between night and day.' (Horwood. 1992)

Problems of approach

Language

It is a prerequisite of an investigation into the management and administration of the vernacular arts to establish a vocabulary which can be used in the interpretation of both structures and activities. In such an investigation one might naturally expect to use terminology familiar to the manager and the administrator: a language that has evolved as the study itself of these disciplines has evolved. Like any specialist language, the language of management has become overlaid with jargon and the words carry a weight of symbolism and interpretation often quite different from how a 'layman' might interpret the same terminology. The leading English management 'guru', Charles Handy, recognises this problem in his now classic study of the management of voluntary organisations:

> 'The language of management is, when you think about it, odd. It is unnatural, to begin with. Only the English have the word 'manage' as part of their language and even they, when they use it colloquially, do not mean any of the things set out in the

> management textbooks: "How did you manage today?" "Did you manage to get the car fixed?" means "Did you find a way to....?" "Managing the house" means "looking after the house". Nothing about motivating, inspiring, structuring, controlling, setting standards or participative decision-making.' (Handy. 1988 p.20)

The present study is concerned precisely with that colloquial meaning of 'manage' - how do these groups 'find a way to' organise and bring their art to their audience? - but also with the meaning of those words as they have evolved in the professional field. The issue of language is however only one in a series of interpretive aspects that proves problematic in this study. Problems potentially arise:

- in the lack of common vocabulary between practitioner and researcher.
- in a misreading of the actuality of performance and its management.
- in assumptions made by the researcher.

The historian E.P. Thompson commented on the latter when discussing folk customs:

> 'This vocabulary [of performances] was not re-enacted involuntarily by village yokels as if they were somnambulists in the possession of a "folk memory". If we are always to discard the meanings given to an event by the participants themselves, and search instead for an ulterior meaning more in conformity to the structure of myth, then this is to diminish the rationality and stature of the actors and underestimate the self-awareness of illiterate people. They may not have read *Mythologiques*, but they had their own notions as to what they were turning out about.' (Thompson. 1991 pp 509-510).

Thompson recognised the dangers: *Survivalist* folklorists have imposed their own peculiar interpretations on the behaviours of the tradition bearers. As the folklorist Henry Glassie noted when writing of the mumming tradition in Ireland:

> 'The peasants of the present, they [i.e. the Folklorists] felt, were dull and incapable of understanding their own actions, but the original actors were contemplative and logical... They could not doodle a design on a barn door except as a mysterious symbol. They could not ramble the countryside putting on a play to have a good time, they must have been striving to ensure the growth of crops or the return of the sun. The survivalist made the 'original' mummers to look very much like themselves.' (Glassie. 1975 p.58)

In addition to the 'language' problem and this 'assumption' problem, there is the potential of missing relevant information in the course of the research itself. This is a problem that was addressed by Peter Harrop in the course of his doctoral research on folk-play performances:

> 'This problem of eliciting information, of questioning and interviewing, requires further elucidation. While it is immediately apparent that the standardised interview has little to offer the folklorist during the initial stages of investigation, it is equally apparent that the non-standardised interview has a great deal to offer.' (Harrop. 1980

p.29)

Whilst I concur with Harrop, who on this point follows Bauman (Parades & Bauman. 1971) in his view that a non-standardised interview may 'uncover insights at all stages in the actualisation and conceptual development of a study' and that 'it can be used to uncover insights or unanticipated areas of relevance to a study, which can then be followed up and capitalised on with the same respondent in the same interview', I cannot agree that a structured and standardised interview has little to offer.

Harrop and his contemporaries have sought an open holistic investigation into the cultural phenomenon of a single or small number of manifestations of a genre. The present research, on the other hand, seeks to gather and analyse information on a relatively narrow aspect of the practical functioning of a large number of apparently diverse groups. In this context, the standardisation of areas of questioning is of crucial importance in attempting to secure data that is reliably comparable between groups. This is not to totally discount the value of non-standardised interviews. They have been used during the course of this research to enquire into more subtle nuances of the way the groups organise but, in each case, non-standard questioning has followed a standard series of both open and closed questions. There is a potential problem with the way in which non-standard interviewing has sometimes been used by researchers. This is exemplified in the following passage from one of the leading studies of interview-based research, although written thirty years ago:

> 'One of the unique assets of the non-standardised interview is that the interview context can be varied from one respondent to another on the basis of *his conceptual grasp* of the over-all subject matter of the study, each respondent giving the information *he is best suited to provide*.' (Richardson et al. 1965 p.54) (my italics)

Such an approach seems both unfocussed and patronising. It presumes that some interviewees are incapable of addressing the questions being asked of them. The natural corollary to this assumption is the conceit that those interviewed cannot understand their own material and circumstances in the way that the interrogator, in this case the folklorist, can.

Etics and Emics

All the potential problem areas noted above can be viewed as variations of a single problem, one which has been most intensively addressed in the field of anthropology, and focussed in what has become known as the 'Etic/Emic' debate. I examined the application of the Etic/Etic paradigm in the context of this study in a short paper to research students at City University during the course of this research (Brown, 1997) and replicate the core description here. The words *Etic* and *Emic* derive from

the linguistic terms 'phonetics' and 'phonemics', and it was Kenneth Pike (1954) who first stripped away the 'phon' prefix and applied the terms Etic and Emic to the study of the full range of personal and group behaviour beyond just the use of language.

Stated briefly[21], the paradigm is that individuals *within* a culture understand behaviours in that culture in a specific way congruent with that culture: an *Emic* understanding: an *insider* understanding - which is a way not given to someone from outside that culture. The latter can only have an *Etic* understanding - an *outsider's* view.

It should be noted that these do not equate with a right or wrong view. There is a further suggestion, almost implicit in the early use of the terms, that the Emic approach is not an analytical approach which uses theoretical constructs whereas the Etic approach is just that. In an introductory paper to a 1990 conference on Etics and Emics, Pike himself argues:

> 'I view the emic knowledge of a person's local culture somewhat as Polanyi views bicycle riding. A person knows how to act without necessarily knowing how to analyze his action. When I act, I act as an insider; but to know, in detail, how I act (e.g., the muscle movements), I must secure help from an outside disciplinary system. To *use* the emics... I must act like an insider; to *analyze* my own acts, I must look at... material as an outsider. But just as the outsider can learn to act like an insider, so the insider can learn to analyze like an outsider.' (Pike. 1990a pp.33-34)

Since the introduction of the terms, their use has spread into fields as diverse as economics, education, medicine and management (Headland, 1990 p.19) and with this spread have come differing shades of meaning in their use, and acceptance that Emic constructs *can* be analytical:

> 'Emic constructs are accounts, descriptions, and analyses expressed in terms of the conceptual schemes and categories regarded as meaningful and appropriate by the native members of the culture whose beliefs and behaviours are being studied... Etic constructs are accounts, descriptions, and analyses expressed in terms of the conceptual schemes and categories regarded as meaningful and appropriate by the community of scientific observers.' (Lett. 1990 p.130-131)

Ultimately, it appears that the inventor of the two terms himself accepts the possibility of Emic *interpretation*:

> 'I agree... that there really is [such a thing as] a behaviour rooted in a cultural system, that there really is a concept used locally to identify it, and that there really can be a way of assessing it.' (Pike, 1990b p.184).

It should also be noted that the 'outsider' actually brings his or her own set of Emics to the study of

another culture and this has led to the further suggestion by John Berry (1990) that the most valid approach to research in the area is threefold: imposed etics > emics > derived etics. Harris has suggested a further alternative:

> 'I have found it at least as productive to start with separate etic and emic versions and then to use whatever contrasts emerge as probes for eliciting additional, less salient features of the emics. In turn a more comprehensive and accurate knowledge of emics might help one to probe and improve the etics, resulting in the following model:
>
> etics of behaviour and thought >
> emics of behaviour and thought >
> etics of behaviour and thought >
>
> What is the difference between this model and Berry's? First of all, these operations require that one distinguishes between thought and behaviour as well as between emics and etics. Second, they do not result in the merging or "absorbtion" (Pike's word) of emics into etics or etics into emics.' (Harris. 1990 p.207)

In his doctoral thesis on the performance of folk plays, Harrop (1980) questions the possibility of Etic interpretation and argues that it is a fallacy, largely on the grounds that the tradition-bearers do not, or cannot, offer an analytical interpretation themselves (pp.391-403). This reflects the attitude quoted above from Richardson et al (1965), but in view of the development of the Etic/Emic debate since Harrop was writing in 1980, which is summarised above from Headland, Pike & Harris (1990), it may now be argued that he has rather missed the elegant simplicity of the Etic/Emic paradigm.

The approach used in the core research of this study has predominantly been fourfold: to try to determine both facts and the performer's own interpretation of what happens in the management of the group in their own terms (i.e. using Emic constructs), to identify any patterns that become evident (i.e. an Etic approach, as I have not found such comparative analysis to be manifest in the groups already) and to compare and contrast them with each other and with models of management developed in other contexts. The terms *etic* and *emic* will be used in this study simply to distinguish the *outside observer's* and the *inside participant's* views. A further differentiation, also developed in the field of anthropological study, has proved useful in conducting this study:

> 'Berry recognized that not only is the orientation of the researcher toward the process of enquiry of importance... but the choice of a particular orientation has consequences for the way in which the research process is conducted. These consequences become manifest in the choice of *theories* (concepts), of *methods* (instruments), and of the object of investigation (*behaviours*).' (Berry. 1990 p.87).

Theories (concepts)

Whilst the results of this research will be compared with both theoretical models of management developed in the general field of management and with contemporary theories concerning the organisation of voluntary organisations ('The Fifth Estate' as they have been described by the European Society of Association Executives - Allen & Houghton. 1990), no attempt has been made to approach the subject of study with preconceived theories of how the subject groups are organised. It is recognised that personal involvement within the field of study for the last thirty years inevitably means that some ideas from personal experience might colour the approach, so for this reason, the analysis has been conducted on the basis of a series of null hypotheses: that anticipated patterns and structures of management are untrue unless proved otherwise.

Methods (instruments)

The methods chosen to conduct the research are given in the next chapter.

Object of investigation (behaviours)

The subject groups, and the aspects of their behaviours to be investigated, together with the reasons for taking performance as a constant, irrespective of the make-up of the performing group, has already been discussed above.

Metafolklore and Folklorismus

There are two further concepts emanating from recent folklore commentary to be considered before describing the methods used in this study. Both have a bearing on the discussion and analysis that appear in later chapters, but given the nature and history of many of the surveyed groups and the fact that a great deal of information has been garnered as anecdote through interview, the concepts need to be introduced here.

Metafolklore

Any organisation tends to generate a common bond between its members: an expression of the shared experience of belonging. Quite apart from one individual's personal feelings towards any other

member of the group, the members will develop a common stock of tales, anecdotes, attitudes and knowledge concerning their practises. This body of personal and vicarious experience and expectation, narrated between members, some (at least) of which may also be narrated to people outside the group, has been called 'metafolklore'. The term appears to have been introduced by Alan Dundes (1966). Simon Lichman became conscious of the role of metafolklore when he studied the traditions of the Marshfield Mummers (Glouc.) and in a paper subsequent to his Doctoral dissertation on the group he wrote:

> 'The mumming tradition is both entirely contemporary, and entirely timeless. Knowing where it comes from enables the present troupe to place the tradition, and we are told how they take their role of keeper of the tradition seriously, making it their own as opposed to a practise inherited from the distant and unfathomable past, although the past is venerated, becoming the role model for them... A welter of related stories mark various incidents, stages, and the involvement of individuals in the history and evolution of the mumming tradition. These stories or myths of origin are the metafolklore, providing atmospheric context in which the play-tradition exists, extending its folkloristic energy way beyond the two hours of a Boxing Day Morning (when the annual performances take place).
>
> 'The history of the tradition and the performer's aesthetic are transmitted orally to each successive generation of mummers through these stories. There is now a ritualised story-telling event. Becoming a mummer is a casual affair without an official learning period. Rather, it is a process of exposure to the play and the stories. The stories come up in all sorts of ways. They are often told when the mummers are asked what part they play, or how old the costumes are. Such questions are never met with simple responses. The mummer always gives some indication that his is one part in a play that is part of a tradition. The mummers place themselves in history rather than as members of a particular group in a particular time.' (Lichman, 1966 pp.106-107)

Metafolklore expresses itself in tales about experience common to the present group and also tales, from those who recall the time, of earlier experiences shared by the people of that time. It can also include narrative about incidents from previous generations, more or less refined or elaborated by the usual processes of honing through oral transmission. These tales can take on a life of their own, passing from generation to generation, maintained and transmitted by and to people who have no personal recollection of the time of the experience. This is the metafolklore that surrounds and bonds a current group. It is not necessary for all the metafolklore to be common to each member of the group, as I observed when the Symondsbury Mummers were interviewed during a visit to London in 1980 (T:001):

> 'It was apparent that motivation and practice were not normally discussed amongst the mummers themselves. Even some 'tales' from the earlier years were being shared

> within the group by old mummers for the first time. Other 'tales' were obviously part of the shared knowledge, for the younger mummers were encouraging the 'Doctor' and 'Father Christmas' to "Tell them the story about" so-and-so.' (Brown. 1991)

The same sort of interaction was evident when four of the Britannia Coconut Dancers were interviewed during the current research (reported in C/S:2). Such stories often carry a 'moral' overtone transmitting, as Lichman suggests above, not just the incident but also the history and æsthetics of the tradition as well as 'unwritten' rules, discipline and expectations.

Terms such as 'collective memory' or 'oral history' could be applied to part of the body of material that is here described as metafolklore, but by using the term metafolklore, the focus of the material (i.e. the custom or tradition itself together with its surrounding lore and its corolloraries) becomes implicit. Although most of the interviews for this study have been conducted with individuals, it has been apparent that much of the information given has been drawn from the metafolklore of the group and then enhanced by the individual's own analysis as the interview has moved into detailed areas not usually encompassed by the metafolklore e.g. decision-making processes, motivation, etc. Metafolklore is apparent not only in the case study on the Britannia Coconut Dancers (C/S:2) but also on The Hunting of the Earl of Rone (C/S:3) where my own recollections and notes have been 'tested' against the metafolklore in discussion (both individually and collectively) with several members of the organising group.

Folklorismus

Folklorismus, as a concept, is concerned with material which is apparently 'genuine' to at least some etic commentators, but is perceived by others as not 'genuine' or not 'traditional'.

> '[Hans Moser] distinguished three forms of folklorismus: the performance of folk culture away from its original local context, the playful imitation of popular motifs by another social class, and the invention and creation of folklore for different purposes outside the tradition. According to Moser, it was the upper classes who were first to cultivate folklorismus, for educational and political, as well as fashionable and romantic reasons.' (Newall. 1987 p.131)

Moser deals with the entire canon of 'folklore' and not just the vernacular performing arts but examples of the kinds of things he refers to are widespread and immediately recognisable in the history of the groups examined in this study. A few examples of each of Moser's three 'forms of folklorismus' will suffice:

Performance away from context would include: The Hunting of the Earl of Rone's excursions out of the village of Combe Martin (see C/S:3), the re-enactment of a local custom by the tradition-bearers at an international folklore conference (e.g. see Boissevain. 1992) and even examples such as Symondsbury Mummers performing within the local social context but out of season (Brown. 1991 p.90). Such examples involve a translocation of both the performance *and* the performing group, but it is also possible for the performance alone to be translocated, as in the late Victorian adoption of the Jack-in-the-Green character into many of its Arcadian Mayday celebrations, the performance of the Abbotts Bromley Horn Dance at Morris Ring meetings in Thaxted, or the occasion when an EFDSS 'group' copied the Padstow Obby Oss and included performances during a tour of Germany in 1956 (Bill Rutter - personal communication). This kind of translocation should, perhaps, be more properly included in Moser's second 'type' of Folklorismus.

Playful imitation by another class would include: the Royal Court's activities in Act II of *As You Like It*, the Arts and Crafts Movement's attempted assumption of the Chipping Campden mummers play (Fees. 1988) or the early years (at least) of the Folk Revival itself.

Creation for different purposes would include: the advertising industry's use of terms like 'traditional' and 'olden', the tourist industry's creation of events such as Broadstairs' 'Dickens Week', the creation of Mayday celebrations and the election of a May Queen at Whitelands College at the suggestion of John Ruskin in 1881 (Cole. 1981), or Stony Stratford's 350th anniversary of a tax rebellion:

> '...a three week living history project which involved the whole town which culminated at the 1994 May Bank Holiday weekend and included: Primary Schools, Sealed Knot Society, Playford Ball, Witch Hunt, Maypole, Victorian costume, Morris dancing and a Cromwellian battle reconstruction.' (Warburton. 1994).

Here, again, some care is needed. The Morris Teams who appeared were local teams for whom performance at such events was not uncommon and cannot be regarded as a translocation and, as the performers were the usual tradition-bearers, *their* performance should not be regarded as folklorismus although the overall event undoubtedly was. It is therefore important to be aware whether the performance alone, or the performance *and* the performing group are translocated. Various additional aspects of the three forms of folklorismus are evident in the case studies in Part IV, but such differentiation is not necessarily helpful for although it may be easy to identify *folklorismus*, it is less easy to distinguish folklore (even assuming general agreement is reached on what constitutes the term). Further, as Venetia Newall pointed out in her Presidential Address to the Folklore Society in 1987:

> 'Folklorismus and folklore are often complementary and overlap; it is not always easy to separate them. What do we mean by the 'genuine' and does it really exist in folklore? If it is true to say that one age's folklorismus is the next age's folklore, then the reverse is also the case. Bausinger [1961] says that what we believe to be a continuity is mostly a deliberate awakening of the past in the course of history, a deliberately inserted renaissance.' (Newall. 1987 p.146)

Given the recurrent evidence in this study, one cannot but concur. Examples of complementary and overlapping folklore and folklorismus may be seen in the chronological overlap of ascendent Northwest Morris with the EFDSS teaching of Cotswold Morris in the early decades of this century - and overlaps can also occur at the same time in connection with a single tradition, for example: Sowerby Bridge Council's 'adoption' of the rushcart for their Jubilee celebrations or the strikingly similar but longer-lasting effect on indigenous Northwest Morris of the local Establishment's Knutsford Royal May Day (further detail on these examples is given in Ch.5), the effect of the Shepherd Neame (Kent) brewery's sponsorship of Hartley Morris, the appearance of local morris teams during the 'Lorna Doone' festival (Exmoor), or as an attraction at the Ironbridge Museum (Shropshire) 'Open Days', and so on.

Such examples involve the creation of a communal event which uses extant performance traditions but, in the absence of an extant (or dormant) local cultural tradition, middle-class organisers - often, but not invariably, of the intelligentsia or the petty establishment - have a long track record of creating anew. This also frequently involves borrowing forms and other items from the vernacular vocabulary of performance. Hence the Jack-in-the-Green's appearance at Knutsford, the 'Merrie England' proliferation of May Queens and Rose Queens, and so on - folklorismus that does, indeed, become folklore.

This study has taken the (developing) performance of a tradition as a constant but it is not possible to ignore the folklore/folklorismus debate: to do so would be to deny the nature and actuality of the survival of vernacular forms. It will be shown that individual traditions/performances not only die and are revived, or are intermittently performed, but also pass between social groupings or classes - from folklorismus to folklore and back again, e.g. the Shrewton mumming tradition - see C/S:11 in Ch.11, and in and out of approval (and support) from the petty establishment, e.g. the Lewes Bonfire Night celebrations: see Etherington. 1993. A differentiation between folklore and folklorismus may be a useful concept for the folklorist or the social ethnographer but transition points between the two, if such there be, are impossible to identify precisely.

CHAPTER 3: Methodology

Conduct Of The Research

Development of Initial Questionnaire

The bulk of the information collected for this research comes from a questionnaire that was distributed to the surveyed groups. This *Initial Questionnaire* was derived from a *Draft Questionnaire*. The draft was constructed from personal experience, and in consultation with longstanding folklore collectors, and staff at the City University's Department of Arts Policy and Management. It was then 'tested' on close acquaintances who were involved in a variety of the subject activities.

Thirty-two draft Questionnaires were distributed to twelve individuals representing fourteen groups (see Table 1:2). Each questionnaire was sent following an initial conversation, and included a request for the questionnaire to be completed on an individual basis (i.e. without consultation with others in the same target group), and with a request for comments and ideas about the questionnaire, the phrasing of individual questions and other general feedback. Various comments and suggestions were returned with the questionnaires and considered in the redrafting process.

Some respondents were chosen because they were all, to varying degrees, involved in the *same* custom/tradition. It was therefore possible to compare directly sets of answers concerning a single custom/tradition. This gave a cross-check on which of the questions elicited identical answers for a given custom/tradition irrespective of which participant answered; which asked information that was only within the knowledge of certain individuals depending on their 'position' in the group; which questions were ambiguously phrased and elicited conflicting answers; which did not provide answers of real value at all; and where additional or restructured questions could be included.

By selecting individuals who were involved in a range of *different* customs/traditions, it was also possible to identify questions which were relevant to different forms of traditional activity and which were specific to particular forms.

The Draft Questionnaire was then revised and discussed with a number of folklore practitioners and collectors, resulting in the *Initial Questionnaire* which was subsequently used to glean a large volume of comparable information from as many as possible of the thirteen hundred or so groups known to

have existed during the period 1965 to 1995. Even following this process, some questions remained open to interpretation by respondents as is demonstrated in Part III where the results are presented and the resulting problems are addressed.

The *Initial Questionnaire* was in four parts. Section One covered the group itself including the name of the group (Q1) and the Form and Type of performance(s) in which they engaged (Q2) with an hierarchy of which was the most important Form or Type, if more than one was maintained. Section One also asked: the size of the performing group and the age range or age distribution of members (Q3/3a); the age of the group and details of annual continuity of performance (Q4); the geographical range of performance (Q5), again with an hierarchy of importance to the group; how the most important material (from Q2) was classified by them (Q6); and the annual pattern of performances (Q7). Other questions asked from what sources the group generated income, presently and formerly (Q8), and whether group members had anything in common other than membership of the group (Q9).

Section Two concerned how the group was managed. It asked about rules or constitutions (Q10), committees (Q11) and job titles (Q12) and who undertook specific jobs (Q13). It also asked how members are chosen (Q14) and why the group exists at all (Q16). This section also allowed for further commentary by the respondent if they wished (Q15).

CUSTOM/TRADITION		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	
INDIVIDUAL	1	✓	✓													2
	2	✓	✓													2
	3	✓	✓	✓												3
	4	✓			✓			✓								3
	5	✓				✓	✓									3
	6	✓			✓									✓		3
	7	✓	✓	✓					✓	✓						5
	8	✓	✓	✓												3
	9	✓			✓								✓			3
	10						✓							✓		2
	11										✓	✓				2
	12														✓	1
		9	5	3	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	32

Table 1.2: Distribution of Draft Questionnaires.

The third section sought more personal information about the respondent, but the introductory text

introduced the section as optional. It asked for name (Q17), occupation (Q18), age (Q19), position (if any) in the group (Q20), how long they had been a member of the group (Q21) and how they would classify the group (Q22). It also asked about other groups, relevant to the study, of which the respondent had been a member and when (Q23), and the extent and manner in which they were prepared to assist further in the research (Q24).

The final section identified those who had provided the answers to the questionnaire (Q25), how the information that had been given could be used in the study (Q26) and, finally, the respondent's address and telephone number (Q27). They were also asked whether they wished to be informed of the conclusions of the research (Q28).

In all, the Initial Questionnaire sought answers to seventy variables in the profile of the group and how it was managed, and a further seventeen variables concerning the respondent and their wishes.

Confidentiality

Much of the material and information used in this study derives from individuals who are currently, or within living memory have been, involved in the groups who practise, or practised, the performing vernacular arts. To a large extent, this material has been freely given and with a serious interest in the outcome of the research. However, some of this information, crucial to an understanding of the dynamics of how the groups sustain performance, handle change and survive or die, was given on the understanding that it would not be attributed either to the informant personally and/or to the group with which they perform.

To ignore all the non-attributable material would have diminished the volume of data and information available to work with, and would have biased the results to represent only those groups who hold an 'open' attitude to the subject matter and their performance. A semi-secretive, and indeed seriously secretive, attitude is held by a number of practising groups. In some instances this is due to expressed beliefs about the nature of the material that is performed. Other reported reasons are: a defence mechanism against outside attitudes; a hesitancy deriving from recent or orally-inherited experiences of being misrepresented (variously by both the media and academia) or of being 'ripped off' by collectors[22]; and deliberately adopted secrecy intended to add mystique to the group's performance or very existence. Examples of all these appear in context later in the study.

These various reasons are touched upon in this study but, whatever the reason for a degree of secrecy, I must honour the trust that has been given me by my informants in communicating much that is of value, and respect their wishes where they do not wish information to be attributed. In developing the Initial Questionnaire, it was recognised that some aspects of the questioning might probe areas that the groups would rather not disclose unless they felt assured that the information would not be directly associated with the group itself by name. For this reason, the introductory text to the questionnaire explained how the information might be used and gave an assurance that the correspondent's wishes would be respected.

It was anticipated from the outset that the Initial Questionnaire would provide no more than an initial set of data. The completed questionnaires would provide a high volume of fact (with some opinion) for analysis and would establish an introductory link between the researcher and the groups. Supplementary questions would be needed to gain a fuller understanding of the groups' operations. The specific questions would vary from group to group dependant on a) the particular form of custom or tradition, and b) the specific answers given by respondents.[23]

Use and Distribution of Initial Questionnaire

In a research project such as this, one standard approach is to utilise sampling techniques rather than attempt a 100% survey of all known potential targets. This option was rejected as it is by no means self-evident what could be regarded as a typical group, and therefore it is not possible, in the initial stages, to be confident that an ad hoc sample would be at all representative of the sector as a whole. Also, when considering just one Type of performance, e.g Cotswold morris, Pace-egg players, some categories offer too low a number of groups to be confident of results obtained by sampling - indeed many Calender Customs are unique in form and hence it is not possible to select a representative sample at all. For these reasons it was decided to seek the maximum possible distribution and recovery of the Initial Questionnaires. However, following analysis of the initial results, sampling techniques were used to obtain further detailed information through follow-up enquiries with some of the respondents who had indicated a willingness to give further publishable information.

Contact Network

Because of the various potential problems outlined above, it was decided to start distributing the Initial Questionnaires through the network of personal contacts which had been established over many years

of involvement in the folk movement. Those individuals known to participate in any form of the subject activities were asked to take, complete and return a questionnaire. The introductory text to the questionnaire allowed for the individual to complete it on their own or in consultation with other members of the group. Other individuals offered to take questionnaires and pass them on to groups with whom they were acquainted, but with whom they did not themselves perform. In addition, my attendance at a number of festivals and other events enabled me to introduce myself to a number of groups with whom I otherwise had no contact.

The Initial Questionnaire included questions about other groups that the respondent had worked with, and whether the respondent was willing to complete, or pass on for completion, further questionnaires for those groups or others of their acquaintance. Through this networking method, a total of 152 groups were supplied with an Initial Questionnaire. Returns were received from correspondents for a total of 98 (65%) groups.

Use of 'Umbrella' Organisations:

Concurrently with the introduction of the Initial Questionnaires, research was undertaken, by means of listings publications (Table 1.3), to compile a list of known groups in England and Wales, together with their form of activity and contact names and addresses. These were entered on a database[24] for further analysis.

The annual Morris Directories do not specify the Type[25] of performance in which the listed groups engage, although it is sometimes evidenced by the name of the group, e.g. Spen Valley Longsword Dancers, Datchet Border Morris. However, more general names do not differentiate between types within a particular form, e.g. Loftus Sword Dancers, Kennet Morris Men.

The Morris Organisations' Combined Membership County List, from 1991 onwards, lists the 'style' for each group, and this is qualified by saying that this 'indicates repertoire (very broadly)'. The correlation between this listing categorisation and those used in this study is shown in Table 1.4. The reasons for classifying the Lichfield style as Cotswold are discussed in Endnote[26] .

The Folk Directory lists 'Ritual Dance' groups, and other ceremonial dance groups together with dance forms that have been traditionally used for display or competition, e.g. clog dancing and other step-dance forms. The section on 'Social Dance' includes groups that perform social dance for display,

although the Folk Directory does not always separate them from social dance clubs that concern themselves only with participative social dance. In addition to these directories, various specific lists have been made available by interested individuals, and groups listed in them were also added to the database.

THE FOLK DIRECTORY:	A publication of the E.F.D.S.S. (est. 1932) listing 'Ritual Dance' groups, display dance groups, and other categories of folk activity. Also indicating whether the group was a Registered or Associated group of the E.F.D.S.S. The Directory also includes an unsolicited diary of some traditional calendar customs.
THE MORRIS RING DIRECTORY:	A publication of the Morris Ring (est. 1934), listing Member Clubs and Associate Clubs, together with further information.
THE MORRIS FEDERATION DIR.:	A publication of the Morris Federation (est. 1975 as the Women's Morris Federation. Became the Morris Federation in 1983), listing member clubs.
THE MORRIS ORGANISATIONS' COMBINED MEMBERSHIP COUNTY LIST	A listing produced by the Morris Ring, Morris Federation and Open Morris Organisations, listing their clubs' name, areas of performance, affiliations, type of performance and sex.

Table 1.3: Primary national listings sources used in compiling database

Each of the three 'Morris' umbrella organisations have officers with responsibilities towards the maintenance of records for the organisation and general archive matters. These officers come together periodically under the title of the Morris Archive Group. In October 1993 the group was informed of this research and the Morris Ring and Morris Federation offered to enclose a copy of the Initial Questionnaire to each member group of their organisations. This offered an opportunity for a large number of questionnaires to be sent direct to groups with some degree of 'backing' to the research from these umbrella organisations. It effectively gave an 'introduction' such as had been sought by the networking used at the initial stage.

Further change was necessary in the format but not the content of the questionnaire in order to take advantage of this method of distribution. First produced on eleven pages of A4 paper, printed single sided, the Initial Questionnaire was redesigned thereby reducing it to four sides of A4. With the addition of an introductory letter and a return mailing address, the entire document was designed to fill six sides of A4. This was printed double-sided on a single page of paper which, when folded, also

served as a return envelope. This allowed for both a significant reduction in weight (and therefore postal costs) and created an apparently smaller (and therefore less intimidating) document.[27]

As Listed in 'County List'	As categorised in this study.	
STYLE	FORM	TYPE
Border	Morris	Border
Cotswold	Morris	Cotswold
Lichfield	Morris	Cotswold
Garland	Morris	Northwest
Longsword	Sword	Longsword
Molly	Morris	Molly
Northwest	Morris	Northwest
Rapper	Sword	Rapper
Step-dancing	Stepdancing	
Mumming	Mumming	
Other	(various)	(various)

Table 1.4: Correlation of style, Form and Type between listings & the present study.

Three hundred questionnaires were sent to the Morris Ring for distribution to their member and affiliated groups in the early months of 1996 and a further 350 were sent to the Morris Federation[28]. Return postage for the questionnaires was prepaid to increase the likelihood of return. A total of 118 Morris Ring member and affiliated groups completed questionnaires and 124 Federation member groups replied. Among these were 9 groups which belonged to both organisations.

Follow-up to Initial Questionnaires

On receipt of completed questionnaires, whether from the network or from the bulk mailing, each group was allocated a unique number in sequence from 001 upwards and all subsequent analysis used this number rather than the name in order to further assist confidentiality where necessary. In 24 cases, more than one questionnaire was received for a specific group. Such questionnaires were compared and very few conflicts of evidence were found. Where such differences could not be reconciled through interview, information from the most reliable source (see Table 1.6) was used. In most instances respondents asked to be advised on progress of the research (71%), and where appropriate had offered to complete (50%) or pass on (44%) further questionnaires for other groups. A letter therefore acknowledged the request for result information, explained the time delay there would be, and enclosed further questionnaires for onward distribution to other groups the respondents

had identified, where these were not already in receipt of a questionnaire.

Even using these distribution methods, there were known to be a number of groups who, for reasons discussed elsewhere in the study, would not receive a questionnaire because they chose not to be affiliated to any umbrella organisation. These included some examples from each 'Type' under consideration and, in particular, several calendar customs and social dance display groups. There were also a number of groups which, although active earlier in the century, were now defunct. It was not considered practical to attempt contact with a representative of every group known to have existed, although responses to Q23 (membership of other groups) did provide some contacts with un-affiliated or defunct groups.

Supplementary Questions

Most respondents (71%) offered to provide further information on groups for which they had returned questionnaires. The list of supplementary questions that each respondent would be asked to deal with was dependant on specific answers in the Initial Questionnaire, and the specific questions for each respondent were developed from those results and compiled into a Supplementary Questionnaire (SQ).

Not all the supplementary questions were suitable for answers via a questionnaire. Information on supplementary questions is given in Appx.3. A total of 108 SQs (32% of IQ returning groups) were sent to respondents and 81 (75%) of these were completed and returned. Queries that were not suitable for inclusion in SQs were, where feasible, raised during personal interviews. The interviews were also used to introduce various areas of questioning which were felt to be potentially too sensitive, personal or indefinable to be investigated by questionnaire. It also sought to discover changes in management and administration that had taken place historically. Detailed conversations were also undertaken with organisers of selected groups focusing on the dynamics of group organisation and the mechanisms of change or development and how they had been handled. These are reported in the major Case Studies, and subsequent text, in Part IV.

The Initial Questionnaire was the first aspect of the research to be introduced, but Supplementary Questionnaires and interviews were initiated soon after, and well before the Initial Questionnaire stage was complete. Thereafter, all the research methods were used concurrently throughout the research period. A summary of the statistics concerning all questionnaires is given in Table 1.5 below.

The Initial Questionnaire, as completed and returned, surveyed some aspects of management extant within each group. It was apparent from comments both within the questionnaire responses and from interviews that many sides had experienced changes in management style or structure during their existence. This tendency to metamorphose is also borne out by personal experience, and it became apparent that change was itself an important aspect. Several groups reported a series of transitions during the lifetime of the group. It was necessary to enquire in greater detail into these changes and to investigate whether there was an evolutionary pattern consistent between groups (whether of one form, or at all), and if possible to establish the factors which precipitated change in such cases.

	Sent	Returned	% return
Draft Questionnaires	32	32	100
IQs via contact network	152	98	65
IQs via Morris Ring		118	
IQs via Morris Federation		124	
SQs	108	81	75

Table 1.5: Summary figures for questionnaires sent & returned

The Case Studies

Information in this area was obtained from a number of source types. Interviews with, and supplementary questions to, various respondents concerning their general experience in the field (i.e. not only concerning the group with which they were currently associated) offered insights into the networks and developments of, in some cases, a whole genre of dance Type. Some of these people may be regarded as key individuals in stimulating development. In several instances their influence, as they have moved around the country, has touched a number of different groups.

A number of groups were also targeted for in-depth discussion with prime movers, in some cases the actual creator of the group. The groups chosen were, to some extent, self-selecting in that respondents actually asked to contribute additional information, but some were targetted because they presented a particularly typical or atypical example of a type and others were selected because they could illuminate particular aspects of management, operation, change or influence.

It is important to stress that, for the reasons given above, these Case Studies cannot collectively be

regarded as a truly representative sample. Nevertheless, it is apparent that there are recurrent themes in the experiences of these groups, and these are discussed in Ch.12, following the case studies.

The reliability of information

One further aspect of the overall approach must be clarified in reporting the conduct of this research. As already stated, the bulk of the information analysed in the study has come from questionnaires and interviews with individuals active in the field, but the extent to which the individuals surveyed are personally involved in practising, studying or reporting does vary. This primary information has been supplemented by reference to a variety of articles, books, papers and notes. It has to be recognised that the reliability of information from these sources also varies and for a number of reasons, as follows.

Listings

Information and data on the existence of any particular group, which has been extracted from listings such as those given in Table 1.3, is factual but not necessarily totally accurate. The presence of a group's name in a listing is no guarantee that the group itself is still extant or performing regularly. Copy dates for most annual listings fall in the autumn of the year preceding the year of issue. Entries also rely on an officer or other individual member of the group forwarding information to the compiler and, in the course of this research, instances have been found where omission of a group's name for a period of years belied its continuing existence and regular performance throughout the period. There are also, as noted above, a number of groups that are not affiliated to any organisation and, for their own various reasons, have not included themselves in any listing or directory. This is particularly true of calendar customs, yet an appraisal of their operational methods is of particular interest in the context of this research. A disproportionate number of calendar customs are included amongst the Case Study groups. Five of the Case Studies include a 'FORM:Custom TYPE:Unique' although only three of these groups *only* maintain the custom.

Articles and minor published sources

Articles in publications, such as those in English Dance & Song (the members' magazine of the English Folk Dance and Song Society), are a mix of both emic and etic writing, and the emic

discourses should be recognised as an emic presentation *to an outside audience* and not an emic presentation *within the group*. Articles such as those by Geoff Hughes on the Abram Morris (Hughes. 1991), John Kirkpatrick on the creation of the Shropshire Bedlams (Kirkpatrick. 1979) and Barbara Brown on the North Devon Mummers (Brown. 1980), present insiders' views and are indicative of what the emic perspective wishes to show to the etic observer.

The probability that such articles will also be read by other members of the group will tend to shape (if not totally control) the information given to that which is acceptable to the group as a whole and/or which is consonant with the group view. As such, writing of this type may be taken as a valid statement of what the whole group find it acceptable to present to the outside world, but that is not necessarily the same information as observation of emic discussion would reveal. Nevertheless, they do present facts and opinions from an emic perspective and have been a valuable source of additional material that would otherwise have required interviews to obtain.

In contrast to these emic articles, there are others which are purely etic. There is a manifest tendency in such articles for a limited number of facts to be selected and presented to illuminate only the writers' perspectives. Such articles must be treated with circumspection.

Books and theses

Information provided in books and theses can also be categorised according to their likely reliability. Serious work published by active participants with research or archival interests must rate as the most reliable. Examples here include: Etherington (1993) on the Lewes Bonfire tradition, Stone (1979) on Yorkshire Longsword dancing, Cooper (1993) on the Haxey Hood game and Doel (1992) on three forms of calendar custom in Kent, although even here there is variation in the degree of rigour applied. Possibly only slightly less reliable is work by uninvolved researchers and work by non-research-orientated participants. Least reliable will be publications aimed only at a popular market by uninvolved observers, or even items written on hearsay by authors who have never even seen the performance. There has been a marked number of such 'coffee table' publications in the latter years of the 20th Century as the so-called 'Heritage Industry' has developed[29]. Doc Rowe (personal communication) has pointed out that factual errors in earlier publications tend to be replicated in such books as do familiar Survivalist interpretations of the activities themselves.

Personal contacts

The reliability of information from personal contacts is also relative to its source. The most reliable information is that received, as it were, 'from the horse's mouth' - that is to say, information given by individuals involved in the performing group, either through interview or in response to a questionnaire. Even so, some of the answers received may be the result of personal opinion or belief rather than fact, and for this reason the study maintains the distinction between behaviour (fact) and theory (opinion). Information gained from an individual involved in the organisation's management or administration must be regarded as more reliable in these respects than information given by a simple 'participant'.

Information received from, or previously gathered by, other academic researchers is also probably reliable where it concerns matters of simple fact. In other areas, however, responses may be coloured by the researcher's own perspective (opinion) on the nature or origin of the custom or tradition or its social function, and may also suffer from the researcher's position of being less involved in, and therefore less intimately acquainted with, the operational details of the group.

It is recognised that the two 'types' of emic information identified above (to an external enquirer and within the group) can also be present in the interviews conducted for this study. The information given by an interviewee is dependant on his or her perception of the interviewer. In the case of interviews conducted by the writer for this study, there has been the advantage of personal involvement in several activities of the types included for over thirty years. I believe I have been regarded by most interviewees as an 'insider' in the folk movement and have certainly been privileged with evidence that would not otherwise have been given, in some instances with information not generally known even within the group. This fact itself has further implications in respect of confidentiality. Notwithstanding, I would not consider myself an insider to many of the individual groups and hence recognise that the information received is not exhaustive. Throughout this research, where conflict of evidence exists, the source which is regarded as most reliable, according to the arguments above, has been utilised. The types of information discussed above are presented in Table 1.6. The categories differ in nature, and hence there is no benefit in attempting to compare reliability between or across the three sections. Each is considered according to its own nature and likely reliability in this study.

A. BEHAVIOURAL FACTS

1. From individuals involved in the organisation of the group.
2. From a research-orientated collector or participant.
3. From other group members.
4. From other sources, e.g. listing, correspondence, commentary.
5. From non-research-orientated observers.
6. From other information sources.

B. EMIC OPINION (INTERPRETIVE ANALYSIS OR EXPLANATION)

1. From central members of organisation ('officers').
2. From other members of organisation.

C. ETIC OPINION (INTERPRETIVE ANALYSIS OR EXPLANATION)

1. From academic researchers.
2. From non-academic students/observers.
3. From journalists and journalistic writing.

Table 1.6: Hierarchy of reliability of information by source

ENDNOTES - PART I

1. Examinations of the Folk Revival itself are few and far between: Fred Woods' *Folk Revival* (Woods. 1979) is primarily concerned with the folk song revival; Georgina Boyes' recent study of the foundation of the revival, *The Imagined Village,* (Boyes. 1993a) includes several performance disciplines including morris dancing; Schofield (1986) considers the artistic drive behind the formation of the EFDS; the introductory chapters of *England's Dances* by the then Director of the English Folk Dance and Song Society (Kennedy. 1949) offers an insight into the contemporary view of the revival and the material it was dealing with, as do various articles and editorials of the time in the Society's Journals (JEFDSS).

2. Books 1, 2 and 3 by Sharp in collaboration with Herbert MacIlwaine; Book 4 by Sharp alone; Book 5 by Sharp in collaboration with George Butterworth. All published by Novello (London).

3. Further information on the ideology behind the formation of The Morris Ring of England is given in Boyes (1993a), although some aspects of the author's analysis have more recently been challenged by Bearman (1997).

4. Although they insist that they are Sword Dancers, the Ripon team perform only their own local hero/combat mumming play. (Rowe, personal communication).

5. 'Pace Egg' is believed to derive from Pascal Egg. There are many egg customs recorded from the Easter period - not least the domestic tradition of giving eggs to family members. 'Souling' plays are performed (or start their performance season) around All Souls Eve. All Souls is synonymous with All Hallows - the last day of October. This is another point in the calender when various customs have been recorded, although since the Second World War the American development of Trick or Treat has tended to replace older customs.

6. Some Robin Hood play texts have recently (1996 onwards) been resurrected, from originals c.1470, by *The Lion's Part*, a professional theatre group associated with educational outreach work from the reconstructed Globe Theatre on London's Bankside, as part of their May Bank Holiday Monday processional tour around Southwark.

7. The term 'Playford' dance tends to be applied to 'country' dances of the 17th and early 18th century which were largely created and taught by peripatetic Dancing Masters. The most famous of these was John Playford, dancing master and publisher:

> 'The eighteen successive editions of The Dancing Master, consisting of tunes and dance instructions for country dancing, were originally published between 1651 and about 1728, and together constitute the most important source of instrumental tunes to be found in England during that period. John Playford (1623-1686) published the first seven editions between 1651 and 1686 (calling the book The English Dancing Master for the 1651 edition only). His son, Henry Playford (c.1657-c.1707) published the eighth to twelfth editions (1690-1703) and John Young (fl.1698-1732) the remaining six (1706-c.1728)'. (Barlow. 1985. p.4)

8. As will be shown during the course of this study, such people were to be a major influence on the continuing traditions - they by no means only 'took an interest'.

9. A term coined by W.J. Thoms in an article in *The Athenaeum* in 1846 (Thoms. 1846) - but see also Endnote 18.

10. The literature on calendar customs is quite extensive, and growing, but of variable rigour. Among many examples, one may cite: *British Calender Customs* (3 vols.)(Wright & Lowness, 1936, 1938, 1940); *Discovering English Customs and Traditions* (Gascoigne, 1969); *A Year of Festivals - A guide to British Calendar Customs* (Wane, 1972); *Aspects of British Calendar Customs* (Buckland & Wood, 1993).

11. This IFMC definition was strongly influenced by Douglas Kennedy, the then Director of the English Folk Dance and Song Society. He had introduced, and argued for, the contents of the third (c) element of the first paragraph and for the distinction of the 'form or forms' irrespective of the item's origin. This, together with the crucial last half sentence of the third paragraph of the definition, serves as a unifying indicator for all the genres included in the term 'Folk'. It does however, beg the question of what is folk *character*.

12. For example, *Christmas Mumming in a North Cotswold Town with Special Reference to Tourism, Urbanisation and Immigration* (Fees. 1988) which examines the Chipping Campden mummers.

13. For example: *English Ritual Drama: A Geographical Index* (Cawte, Helm & Peacock. 1967) which examines the location and distribution of mumming plays; *Ribbons, Bells and Squeaking Fiddles: The Social History of Morris Dancing in the English South Midlands* (Chandler. 1993a) which covers the period 1600 - 1900.

14. The reasons for common usage differing so markedly from the IFMC definition are complex, and beyond the scope of this study. Some aspects are examined in Abrahams (1992), Baron & Spitzer (1992) and Boyes (1993a). They are also lucidly observed by Tawney (1988).

15. By 'establishment', I here mean the squirearchy, church, politicians and intelligentsia. This is not to say that the establishment was not *influential* in the maintenance and performance of the traditions; indeed, as will be shown, many would not have survived without it, but the establishment did not manage the actuality of performance or the group itself. At different times, groups survived because of, with total indifference to, or even in spite of the establishment. Establishment-managed customs *per se* are omitted from this study.

16. Given the absence of schools of style, æsthetic concensus and comprehensive links between individual groups (other than on a casual or ad hoc basis), research into how standards are assessed within each group and to what extent groups share æsthetic frameworks would prove illuminating and might inform ideas as to how such schools initially come about. The influence of Cecil Sharp, his creation of a teaching group following his ideas, and the subsequent devolopment of that movement becomes evident in the course of the introductory chapters but, in the longer term, organisations such as the EFDSS and the Morris Ring have failed to provide a school that is generally followed by practitioners of these arts.

17. For example, the influence of Major Boyd on the Soul-cakers at Antrobus. There are many examples of performing groups being invited to 'the Big House' to perform for guests (and examples of them going of their own volition and being turned away - reciprocity was necessary). There are several examples of entrepreneurial 'influence' in the text but, for further examples, see Storch (1982).

18. This should, perhaps, be called the first *modern* use of the word as Mazo (1996) argues that:

> 'In fact, Thoms's article [Thoms 1846] was not the first appearance of the word in the English language. The compound *folclar* ("folklore") occurs in

three Anglo-Saxon manuscripts: twice in both versions of Bishop Wærferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*, dating to c.890 and 950-1050 A.D. (Hecht 1890, 286 and 290), and an eleventh-century collection of Latin-Anglo-Saxon glosses (Wright 1884, 1:463).' (Mazo. 1996 p.107)

19. It has been observed that Henry VIII was the first to re-create or mimic rural pastimes in an entrepreneurial fashion with his creation of the office of Master of the Revels at Court. (Richard Grainger during a workshop at Broadstairs Folk Week, 1993).

20. This is not idle speculation. I have, on at least three occasions, heard tradition-bearers from old customs offer enquirers a survivalist interpretation and, when challenged afterwards, dismiss their response as simply being what the enquirer wished to hear.

21. For a full discourse on 'Etics' and 'Emics', see Headland, Pike & Harris (1990).

22. All collectors, until the last few decades, published the material they had collected and thereby established their own copyright in the material. This had several implications which were not lost on the tradition-bearers from whom the material had been collected. Material was given widespread currency and the tradition-bearers thus had their inheritance removed from their own control. This was sometimes viewed as theft of property. Further, publication brought with it royalties and so the collector was actually making money out of that inheritance, or property. The problem has recently, in theory, been addressed by the introduction of European legislation concerning intellectual copyright but this has yet to be tested in the courts and, as the legislation is not retrospective, past wrongs cannot now be righted. A few examples of the type of problem caused can be found later in the study.

23. General supplementary questions are included in Appx.4.

24. Precision Software's 'Superbase Professional' database was initially used to record data on the years each group was extant. This database was subsequently transferred to Borland 'Paradox for Windows' (Version 1.0) and the programme developed to also include and analyse information recovered from the Initial and Supplementary Questionnaires.

25. For the purposes of this study I have used the word 'Form' to denote the broad terms used within the cultures that practise the arts, (e.g. Morris, Sword, etc.) and the word 'Type' to denote more closely defined styles within each 'Form'. Thus the specific genre may be related as follows.

FORM	TYPES
Morris:	Cotswold, Border, Northwest, Molly, etc.

The choices and the use of these particular words is, to an extant, arbitrary, and is pragmatic. It is perfectly possible to debate their 'correctness', but the use of variant terms would not alter the results of this research.

26. The Lichfield Morris style is most akin to, but with distinctive differences from, the Cotswold style. A detailed study of the appearance of this 'Lichfield Tradition' appears in Judge (1992). There are strong indications that the tradition is the singular creation of one individual. This is not necessarily a unique occurrence and this study considers the matter in due course. 'Lichfield' is categorised within this study for analysis purposes as FORM:Morris, TYPE:Cotswold for two reasons: a) the style is closest to Cotswold and (apart from the Lichfield Morris Men themselves and, according to Bacon (1974 p.230), the Staffordshire Morris Men and Green Man's Morris who have specialised in this tradition) only groups that

primarily dance TYPE:Cotswold also perform dances from the Lichfield repertoire (almost invariably the one dance, *Ring O' Bells*); b) with the exception of the groups mentioned above, groups which include Lichfield dance(s) in their performance repertoire do not distinguish them from Cotswold village traditions.

27. The Draft and Initial Questionnaires were designed using 'Word Perfect' (5.1). The redesigning was undertaken using Aldus 'Pagemaker' (5). The redesigning was undertaken by Doc Rowe to whom I am indebted for a huge amount of help and constructive criticism while undertaking this study.

28. Both organisations sent the Initial Questionnaire to all their member groups. Many of these were not eligible for inclusion in the study (see Ch.7), but selective mailing was not a practical option. Any individual group's membership was confirmed by looking up the group in the Morris Ring and Federation's published listings for 1996 (recording member groups that had responded in Autumn 1995). The accuracy of these lists is not totally reliable and hence percentage returns from each organisation are not recorded in Table 1.5.

29. For example: *A Calendar of Country Customs* (Whitlock. 1978), *Maypoles, Martyrs and Mayhem* (Cooper & Sullivan. 1994).

PART II
PROGRESS OF THE VERNACULAR ARTS

CHAPTER 4: The Origin of Species

Several of the groups considered in this research, and in particular some calendar customs, boast a long and proud history. The earliest record of the Abbots Bromley Horn Dance, a processional dance around the village and local area in which a costumed team of men dance, each carrying a mounted set of reindeer horns, comes from Plot (1686 p.343), but recent carbon dating of the horns themselves attributes them to 1065 +/- 80 yrs. (Buckland. 1980) - although the age of the horns does not itself indicate the age of the custom. The Haxey Hood game is credited with dating from a particular 13th Century event. The game itself, a primitive rugby match between the villagers of Haxey and Westwoodside (Lincs.) where the 'ball' is a leather tube (the 'Hood') and the object is to get the Hood into one of the public houses in one of the villages, is the culmination of a week-long ritual of visiting and singing by the 'Lord of the Hood', a 'Fool' and a group of eleven supporters known as 'Boggins'. On the day of the game itself, following a ritual chase, speech and the 'smoking' of the Fool, twelve sack-cloth 'Running Hoods' are played before the final leather 'Sway Hood'. Stan Boor, who was Lord of the Hood from 1966 to 1989 (Cooper. 1993), described one theory of origin thus:

> 'You can think what you like about the story. Could be superstition or anything. 'Tis supposed to be: Lady Mowbray lost her cap, the workmen squabbled over it, the biggest and strongest man got it but were too afraid to give it back to Lady Mowbray so she called him a Fool. The man who gave it back to Lady Mowbray was called the Lord. That's where we get the titles from, and from that day on to this we've played the game every January 6th to commemorate Haxey Hood.' (T:002)

This brief explanation[1], for what is now a complex and highly developed ritual, is totally adequate in the emic view of the speaker. Rarely, an actual date of origin for a custom is quoted - as it is for the Whitby Penny Hedge, a ceremony in which members of one family (together with supporters) go to the estuary of the river Esk at Whitby (Yorkshire) and build a short simple open-weave hedge between the extremes of the tide. Here, the reason for the annual undertaking, and a description of it, are contained in the traditional explanatory text (shown in italics). The surrounding text provides the origin:

> 'These men are performing a public and humiliating penance. It was imposed on their distant ancestors by a hermit whom they mortally wounded while out hunting a boar

> in the year 1159. The Hermit, on his deathbed, pronounced the following penance: *Upon Ascension Eve, at nine of the clock, each of you shall stake your stakes at the brim of the water. So yedde them, as with yeddes, and tether them, as with tethers, and stake on each side with your stout stowes that they withstand three tides without removing by the force of water. And you will do this service in remembrance that you did most cruelly slay me. The Officer of Eskdaleside shall blow his horn. Out on ye, out on ye, for this heinous crime. And if you and your successors do refuse this service, you and yours shall forfeit all your lands to the Abbot or his successors.* The titles and estates have long since disappeared, but the custom has continued for more than 800 years.' (T:002 - commentary)

It is often assumed that such traditions have been continuous from at least the earliest recorded date, and the Survivalist influence encourages a supposition of origins in the mists of antiquity prior to any historical attribution. Evidence cited in the following pages suggests that it has not been unusual for continuity to be interrupted, sometimes for a period (or periods) of several years - even several decades - but this fact does not alter the emic perception of the performers that there has been a continual history of performance. Modern etic interpreters often transmute this into a belief in an *uninterrupted* performance history.

Just as individual groups or traditions have their own singular histories, so all Forms and Types of performance over a longer timescale must also have a point of origin. Another touring calendar custom, involving what looks like a perambulating bush, is the Jack-in-the-Green custom. A wicker frame totally covered in greenery and usually decorated with flowers, ribbons or other brightly coloured favours is carried in procession by an individual who is completely hidden within the Jack. He is accompanied by various other costumed characters. In its earliest records the Jack custom was maintained, usually on Mayday, by chimney sweeps:

> 'Judge reviewed the Sweeps' Mayday customs of the Eighteenth Century and found no evidence of a Jack-in-the-Green before 1790, so it would seem it was invented about then. Within a hundred years it was 'fast dying out', and after 120 years it was the survival of a Druid sacrifice.' (Cawte, 1993 p.39, quoting Judge, 1979).

Not all calender customs have been credited with Druidic ancestry. Cawte argues that in England there is no evidence of modern style sword dance prior to about 1800, of the Wooing Play before 1760, of the Hero-Combat play before 1730, of Cotswold morris dancing before 1583 and of Plough Monday plough touring before 1413 (Cawte. 1993 p.53). The Tup play of Derbyshire is generally recognised as having supplanted earlier visiting Owd Hoss traditions (Russell. 1979) and is usually regarded as the most recent widespread Type to be added to the mumming repertoire, but even so it is difficult to trace a definitive 'earliest reference'. One informant is recorded as having performed

around 1888-90 and another refers to school-mates in Staveley performing in the late 1860s (Gatty, 1945). Research by the Manchester Morris Men, and reported by Michael Jackson of Royal Lancashire Morris Dancers (Int:017), suggests that Fluffy Morris was a creation of dancing teachers as recently as the 1920s and '30s. From a detailed study by Roy Judge (1992) it is possible to argue that the Lichfield morris type - as currently understood - is a recent addition to the folk canon, being created as recently as 1954/55, and in C/S:8 it will be argued that the Shropshire Bedlam's style of morris is a new type created in 1975. There are other recent examples of new and one-off creations, not all of which survive: arguably the present-day 'Hunting of the Earl of Rone' (C/S:03) is a case in point, as is 'The Running of the Black Dog' on Dartmoor (Penney, 1994).

All these examples only serve to illustrate that the various Forms and Types of performance considered in this study all have a point in time *prior to which* there is no evidence of their having existed. This is not to deny that customary activities in general or the seasonal celebrations with which they were associated may have a prior history, perhaps even a root in the Survivalist's pagan past, but there can be no justification for claiming that the style or content of any recorded performance derives, or survives, in a continuous, even if intermittent, line from that period. Reconstruction of customs, as is demonstrated in the Case Studies in Part IV, requires a considerable amount of speculation, guesswork and invention.

The somewhat obvious conclusion must be that each Type or Form has a starting point even though it may not be possible to accurately date that origin. Equally, each Type or Form has a subsequent history and across the historical record are frequently found indications of adaptation and change, of growth in the number of groups and their decline and, on occasion, the extinction of a type of performance. Examination of these aspects forms the core of the next chapter.

We frequently know the social groups, if not the individual names, who maintained these traditions historically but evidence is scarce to explain why the history of those traditions was as it was, or the mechanics of how it was organised. The surveyed groups, together with other sources, provide frequently recurring patterns and, when this data is aggregated, a striking picture emerges of developments in vernacular performance as a whole as well as in its constituent Types and Forms. On the face of it, the picture is the same as the picture we have from the 19th Century and it is tempting to suggest that the mechanics of management, the effects of the social milieu and the strength of tradition may not be so very different across at least those two centuries. It is appropriate to set out what is known of the subject activities during the late 19th and early 20th Centuries.

CHAPTER 5: Fashions and Booms

Cusps of History

In his detailed study of Jack-in-the-Green traditions, Roy Judge offers approximate chronological boundaries to the appearances of the 'traditional Jack':

> 'In so far as there is any virtue in attempting to point to beginnings and ends, it is possible to say tentatively, and subject to further evidence, that Jack, the beggar's aid, began as a dim figure in the background of a picture c.1780 and ended equally obscurely among the gipsy children of Newbury in the 1920s'. (Judge. 1979 p.68)

and

> 'By 1900 it seems likely that the *traditional* Jack was only appearing in Oxford and certain parts of London.' (Judge. 1979 p.54) (My italics)

Between these chronological boundaries, Jack had become a commonplace figure in Mayday processionals. References to the Jack-in-the-Green are more limited than for many other types of tradition but early in the 20th Century occurrences of the Jack are noted at:

> Bermondsey (c.1900), Bromley (1907), Cheltenham (1912), Deptford (1902-3), Ealing north (1921 onwards), Greenwich (1910 & 1913), Halton (1910), Knutsford (up to 1902 & 1914), Lewisham (1903), Lichfield (1913), Malbourne (1958), Northill Roads (up to 1914 & 1920), Oxford (up to 1914 & 1951). (All referenced in Judge. 1979)

The Knutsford appearance is in association with Royal May Day (discussed below); at Lichfield the Jack appeared occasionally in the Whit Monday Bower procession, which 'from about 1890... tended to become more elaborate'; at Bromley it appeared in the May Queen Festival; in Greenwich in 1913 Jack appeared in 'a pageant in Greenwich Park by the Merrie England Society'. All these appearances, regarded by Judge as 'not indigenous', are associated with middle-class civic pageantry. As he points out:

> 'Not surprisingly an Arcadian Mayday steadily became more popular and widespread, dependant on the active organisation or patronage of the church, school or big house... There were a considerable number of excellent accounts in local newspapers during the second half of the Nineteenth Century and these show clearly how important was the element of external patronage.' (Judge. 1979 pp.61-63)

Even prior to the demise of Judge's 'traditional' Jack - effectively by the First World War - the reformatory and nostalgic influence of the Victorian middle class is evident in its revival, as it is in

the re-invention of many 'classic' customs, for:

> 'Maydays used to be days of license and revelry which shocked the Victorians into inventing a cloak of innocent May Queens and maypole dancing: an acceptable vision of Merry England.' (T:002 - commentary)

Judge differentiates between the 'traditional Jack' as an adjunct and aid to processional begging (i.e. in Sweeps' parades, etc.), and Jack made subservient to what we may call 'Civic Pageantry', and although the differentiation should be noted, this study will regard both as a continuation of Jack performances for the reasons explained in Ch.2. From this perspective (and accepting Judge's earliest chronological boundary), Jack can be seen commencing as a focal character in vernacular procession, passing into civic pageantry and fading away as that form of celebration fades, only to be revitalised in the later 20th Century as a major character in a number of events, e.g. Whitstable Mayday (C/S:1); Hastings May Folk Weekend; Alton's May Queen ceremony, thanks to more recent re-invention of customary tradition.

Other types of performance seem to have been associated with civic function throughout their early existence. The Northwest type of Morris dancing is a case in point. The type was prevalent in association with rushbearing and rushcart ceremonies up to the early 19th Century, as Walton and Poole explain:

> '[The rush-bearing] was held on the anniversary of the dedication of the church, usually the third Saturday in August, when rushes were ceremonially carried from the outlying hamlets and strewn in the parish church to act as a floor-covering during the coming year. The rushes were brought piled up in special constructions on carts conducted by stalwart men, and accompanied by music and morris dancers. Often the carts came into conflict, and the fighting which also accompanied the other popular festivals was particularly prevalent at rushbearing. But this was also a time for hospitality, with houses being cleaned and whitewashed, and ale brewed to welcome relatives and friends from other villages.' (Walton & Poole. 1982 p.100)

> 'By the early-nineteenth century the rushcarts were beginning to lose their association with the parish church and to become an end in themselves, as the adoption of flagged floors rendered the rushes unnecessary to the comfort of the worshippers. The rushcart survived the loss of its (often residual) practical justification, however, and persisted in its more important role as the expression of the collective pride and prosperity of a small community.' (Walton & Poole. 1982 p.107)

Thus Walton and Poole suggest that the continuation of the rushcart tradition was dependent on a change of function. This is an important issue and both it and the rushcart tradition itself will be returned to in due course. As the Church-linked rushcarts became redundant after mid-century, so

information on the continuation or demise of the morris teams that performed becomes less frequent, although a few are known to have carried on - e.g. a team from Godley Hill which had been formed in 1855 had been taught by morris dancers from Mottram (Edwards & Chart. 1981 p.5) - and:

> 'During the period of the demise of the activities of rushbearing and the Wakes celebrations in Cheshire, the ancient ceremony of celebrating May Day was revived... In 1864 the railway reached Knutsford and this helped stimulate the revival of the May Day Festival at Knutsford itself.' (Edwards & Chart, 1981 p.5)

In 1878 the team from Godley Hill were invited to dance at Knutsford May Day:

> 'The Godley Hall [sic] team came from Hyde in Cheshire, where the tradition of morris dancing was strong and continuous, associated with the local Wakes. This reinforces the idea that the revival of the 1880s did not occur in a complete vacuum but was influenced by areas where the tradition persisted.' (Edwards & Chart. 1981 p.5)

In 1887, a visit to Knutsford May Day by the Prince and Princess of Wales resulted in permission for it to become Knutsford *Royal* May Day. The Godley Hill Morris Dancers became the *Royal* Morris Dancers from Godley Hill:

> 'Thus Knutsford Royal May Day became the supreme local event which other villages and towns in the area tried to emulate, and Godley Hill, by its association with it, became the stimulus to other morris teams *formed to dance at such events*.' (Edwards & Chart. 1981 p.5) (My italics)

Edwards and Chart (1981) trace the growth and development of the revival of Northwest morris in Cheshire thereafter, and note: the influence of competition (or at least prizegiving - often not for the dance performance itself); the role of individual teachers who spread the type; the focus for growth and development which was provided by annual events and by 'Royal' occasions such as Coronations and Jubilees. In an appendix (B) they record the years in which named Cheshire teams are first known to have been in existence. This information is reconstructed and reproduced in Table 2.1 below and shows particular growth in numbers in 1902/3, in 1908 and 1911.

With certain teams it is possible to trace the source of stimulus and subsequent developments in more detail. In one short article Roy Smith traces the history of the Leyland (Lancs.) Morris Dancers. The team first formed between May 1889 and May 1890. They danced at the second year of Leyland May Festival, which was itself an invention of local school teachers as 'an adjunct to the Leyland Club Day' in 1889, and was designed to entertain and retain the audiences who still turned up to watch the now

declining annual perambulation of the local Friendly Societies. By 1895 there was an additional team of 'miniature Morris dancers'. There was no May Festival in 1901 or 1902 because of 'epidemics', nor during World War One, 'but come 1919 it started up again and lasted until 1936' when the organisation behind the May Festival was, probably, bankrupt (Smith. 1989).

9										?												
8										F												
7										F												
6										F										?		
5										F	C									C		
4										F	F							F		C		
3									?	M	F							F		F		
2	M		M	C		G			F	M	F			C	F			M			F	X
1	M	B	M	M	B	M	C	M	M	M	F	F	F	F	M	C	M	M	M	F	X	M
	1880	1884	1893	1895	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912		

Key: M = male, X = male/female, F = female, B = boys, G = girls, C = children, ? = unknown

Table 2.1: Cheshire morris teams 1880 to 1912 - number & sex of teams first recorded by year

Some Leyland people attended Knutsford May Days in 1890 and 1892 and it is suggested that they 'borrowed' ideas of costume and dance figures from what was seen at Royal May Day in Knutsford. The 1890 team was 'recruited from the younger men of the Parish'. In 1932 the Leyland men claimed that 'their dances had been brought from Lower Peover, near Knutsford.' (Smith. 1989)

It may also be noted from the Table that, while male and children's teams existed prior to 1900, the first women's team appears in 1901 and in the subsequent period new women's teams outnumber new men's teams. The first mixed-sex adult team appears in 1911.

It is therefore arguable that Northwest morris, with its earliest references demonstrating it to be an adjunct to ecclesiastical seasonal pageantry, faded with that pageantry until it was revivified to become a vital element of civic pageantry in the industrial towns, where it enjoyed popularity and growth in the number of teams between 1900 and the Great War. Only thereafter does the form escape reliance on the Establishment of the day and become an independent type of vernacular dance which, as shown in the next chapter, enjoyed further development in the expansion of the Folk Revival in the later part of the century, and spread throughout the country.

The new railways, which helped the growth of Knutsford Royal May Day celebrations offered the opportunity to transport hundreds of people on day trips and excursions and Knutsford was not alone in being affected. Georgina Boyes (1993b) has noted the effect of the coming of the railway to Castleton (Derbys.) not only on the scale of the audience for the Garland Day custom but, in association with other social influences, on the development of the conduct of the custom itself from 1896 through to 1928. The advent of the railways did not, however, always have a positive effect on vernacular customs. At Marsden, in the Colne Valley, the rushcart tradition was adversely affected, for:

> '...interest waned following the emergence of a rival attraction in 1859:
>
> > "It seems that since the Mechanics' Institute were running a cheap excursion on the Monday of the Feast, there were no rushcarts made."
>
> Rushcarts were built again the following year, but by 1862 they had disappeared again, unable to withstand the competition from cheap trips to the seaside.' (Schofield. 1977, quoting *Huddersfield Chronicle* 16/9/1854.)

This, however, was not the death of the Marsden rushcart as there was a revival in 1903 when the following letter appeared in the *Huddersfield Chronicle* of 5th September:

> 'Dear Sir,
> Will you kindly allow me a few lines on the vexed question of the Marsden Feast. You are perhaps aware that the millowners have given us a midsummer holiday in place of our old customary feast, which has now been held annually for over five hundred years . . . I have been strongly informed that any person who ventures to come by train with the intentions of going to work will receive a grand reception at Marsden Station in the form of a rushcart, headed by the Marsden Brass Band, to celebrate the workpeople's kind wishes to the Masters for so generously granting us an extra holiday. In conclusion I have now only to say that if about five thousand inhabitants are going to submit to three or four millowners for their convenience, I really think we have got ourselves into a nice state of things in this glorious year of 1903.
> Yours Truly, A DISGUSTED INHABITANT'
>
> (Schofield. 1977)

The rushcart was accompanied by the Mossley Morris Men and collections were taken, but the prime agenda item of the revival was one of protest. The local millowners were trying to replace the old Marsden Wakes (or Feast) with a new holiday that suited themselves better - those who revived the rushcart as a vehicle of protest took both the old and the new, and thanked 'the Masters' for it. The local paper reported:

'The cart was prettily decorated, the front containing on a white ground in addition to a picture of the King and Queen the following words:

MARSDEN WAKES
AS IN DAYS OF YORE
SEPT. 7TH 1903
PROCEEDS TO THE INFIRMARY
AND EYE HOSPITAL

The back of the cart was most tastefully arranged with heather and flowers which greatly enhanced the appearance of the rush pile, estimated to be of 30cwt. A sum of nearly ten pounds was collected the first day for the benefit of the institutions named.' (*Huddersfield Examiner* 12/9/1903, quoted in Schofield. 1977)

This was not a one-day affair either:

'On Tuesday afternoon about one o'clock the rushcart and those in charge, together with the morris dancers and a considerable 'following' visited Huddersfield. The morris dancers gave a creditable performance in St. George's Square. A collection was made en route and the pageant attracted much attention. The rushcart returned to Marsden at about nine o'clock. The men were thoroughly drenched to the skin. They were, however, well satisfied with the way in which the people had received them and their funds were considerably increased thereby.

'Work was resumed on Wednesday morning and it is hoped the affair would now be forgotten and forgiven.' (*Huddersfield Examiner* 12/9/1903, quoted by Schofield. 1977)

It did, however, prove to be a one-year revival only:

'However a sour note had also been sounded, and after the affair a further letter appeared in the press, as much against the Old Feast as the first had been in favour. The village became divided and the following year was chaotic. The mills and one school remained open, and the foundry and the other school closed down. The showmen didn't turn up and there was no rushcart. The millowners had won.' (Schofield, 1977)

Over forty years from its 19th Century demise, the Marsden rushcart tradition had been revived, still associated with a team of morris dancers, for one year as a protest at changes being wrought by the local millowners. Revival had needed a catalyst - and revival had faded when the cause was lost. A further rushcart revival happened three years later, in 1906, at Sowerby Bridge near Halifax, and again:

'A catalyst was required, this time the Jubilee of the local council... The date of the

> previous last rushcart is not known but only two miles away is Ripponden, where they survived as an annual phenomenon until 1842, and the memory would still be strong among the older inhabitants.' (Schofield. 1977)

At Sowerby Bridge, as at Marsden, a morris team appeared with the rushcart.

> Both processions involved imported morris teams, however. At first sight this would indicate that no local teams existed, but this is wrong. A team, 'attired in yellow', had been got up for a gala in Marsden only two months before the 1903 Feast, and near Sowerby Bridge, the Barkisland Morris may still have been alive. However, records are scanty, permanent teams may no longer have existed, or perhaps local dances were thought too simple compared with the large flashy Lancashire sides, especially those calling themselves "English Champions"!' (Schofield. 1977)

These 'English Champions' - winners for two consecutive years of the annual contest at Knutsford - were our now familiar team from Leyland, imported especially for the celebratory revival at Sowerby Bridge. The outcome was a great success and on 14th September the *Sowerby Bridge Chronicle* reported that:

> 'They enjoyed themselves very much and they have written this week (through their Secretary) thanking the public of Sowerby Bridge for the reception they had, and intimating that they would like to come again.' (Schofield. 1977)

It may be noted that Schofield describes the team 'attired in yellow' as having *been got up* for a gala in Marsden. This corroborates the conclusion of Edwards & Chart (1981 p.5) that some teams were specifically created to dance at a particular event just as the Leyland team had been (Smith,1989). Several points begin to emerge from this evidence on the Northwest morris and rushcart traditions during the years spanning the turn of the century:

a) Traditions that had waned were revived or developed for particular purposes but specific social stimulus was needed.
b) Teams or sides were not infrequently deliberately created to take advantage of opportunities for cash or glory.
c) Revivals and new teams both copied and built on previous forms of the tradition; where they were successful they retained a 'days of yore' aspect but were attractive to the contemporary audience.
d) Lack of purpose could lead to decline and abandonment of the tradition: change in function could be a stimulus.
e) Technological development could have a direct impact on the maintenance of tradition.
f) Popular fashion could cause rapid development of the tradition.

The survival of customs - in some cases a resurgence - was not confined to the rushcart and Northwest

morris traditions. Evidence in this area concerning the Jack-in-the-Green has already been quoted and it has also been observed by Chandler, commenting on the history of Cotswold morris:

> 'Following the demise of the Whitsun ales - the majority had disappeared by the 1830s, although some lingered on into the 1850s - many of the festive aspects were assumed, albeit in a truncated and modified form, by the annual Feast Day of the village friendly or benefit society. During the nineteenth century the Whitsuntide celebrations were widely curtailed, stripped of many of their rough and rowdy aspects, and reduced to the duration of merely a day. Authority figures within the social hierarchy of the community - squire, parson, doctor - came increasingly to superintend the festivities, keeping a watchful eye open for potential transgressors. Despite this many of the features formerly associated with the Ales were retained. It was common, for instance, for one or more sets of morris dancers to attend the Club Feasts and perform, not only in the streets, but sometimes in the gardens of the houses belonging to the minor gentry. The village side, where one existed, was probably invariably attendant upon the day's events... but other morris dance sets, sometimes from quite considerable distances, were often present. On such occasions it was possible for dance teams to compete against each other, much as they had formerly at the Whitsun Ales.' (Chandler, 1993a pp.5-6)

Chandler describes such transitions by the teams as a change in the 'context of performance', but whether it is regarded in these terms or as an, albeit subtle, change of function is entirely dependant on the observer's etic perspective. There is little evidence of the emic view at this point in history except, perhaps, where it is explicit in occurrences such as the Marsden rushcart protest. Notwithstanding, the facts are (leaving aside the use as protest for a moment) that all these forms crossed over from being a norm in one situation to being a norm in another: from Feast Day attraction to tourist attraction; from Church Ale attraction to Feast Day attraction; from beggar's aid to civic procession character; from decline to ascendency - and perhaps on to decline again. In all identifiable cases the event *at which* the activity took place was organised by the petty establishment, but the activity *itself* was usually organised by the tradition-bearers. In the remaining cases (such as the Marsden protest), the tradition is utilised by the tradition-bearers as a form of protest *against* that petty establishment. It is evident that ownership of the art lies with the performers, the tradition-bearers, and not with the organisers of the wider event.

The historian E.P.Thompson (1991) goes further in describing vernacular processional customs used as a vehicle for protest within the community. Thompson refers particularly to 'Rough Music' activity, which was an occasional protest procession including effigies of the community's object of derision or disapproval and not a calendar custom. Such activity has different names in different parts of the country: Skimmington Riding, Riding the Stang, Stag-hunting, etc. A vivid description can be found in Thomas Hardy's *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, but Thompson also cites annual customs used as

protest, and Storch (1982b) demonstrates, through a myriad of examples, such activities almost formalised in various November 5th celebrations in Southern England. The Rough Music and Skimmington traditions were seriously affected by legal constraints:

> 'Rough music was a little discouraged by a legal decision that a stag-hunt was "a game" within the meaning of 5 & 6 Will. IV, c. 50, and hence prohibited in the streets.... see *Pappin v Maynard*, in *Law Times*, 21 Nov. 1863. Decisions in King's Bench in the late seventeenth century had defined "riding skimmington" as riot, see Ingram, *op. cit.*, p.101.' (Thompson. 1991 p.509).

Legal constraint however, does not necessarily mean elimination and it can be argued that the last vestiges of the form may be seen in the choice of effigies which are processed by the Lewes (Sussex) Bonfire Societies to the present day, with the focus made national or even international as well as local (see Etherington. 1993).

Historic uses of vernacular custom are comparable to their contemporary use by, on the 'attraction' side, institutions such as living history museums (Ironbridge, Beamish[2], Chatham Docks, etc.) to attract visitors and tourists and, on the 'protest' side, the aggregation of some 50 morris sides who descended on Parliament on the 30th of April 1996 to protest at the possibility of the 'Mayday' bank holiday being discontinued - a much milder protest, but perhaps of its time, and widely reported as a novelty news item in the national press at the time.

In the broader context of long-term adaptation to performance environment, there are two models available for the interpretation of what happens in this situation - one passive (in order to continue, groups have to accede to change and perform in a new context) and the other active (groups will take advantage of changing circumstances by grasping opportunities, and in doing so continue and develop their tradition). On the evidence the latter seems to be a more appropriate interpretation, and the former somewhat patronising. These are themes to which it will be necessary to return in the light of further evidence.

Research on other forms of the vernacular performing arts provides additional evidence on the history of continuing traditions. Trevor Stone's investigations into the Longsword tradition in Yorkshire indicate not only booms in the number of teams but the mechanism whereby it occurred:

> 'Historically, in the field of longsword dancing, there's fairly clear evidence of how the dance spread and the dance was organised - certainly in the Vale of York and North Yorkshire... There's a period of intense activity - or intense records of activity

- maybe the activity preceded the record... from mid-1860s through to about 1910. Prior to that, we know the dance took place, but we don't have specific records - it's not associated with a particular village, or any particular area. We don't actually know if it was the antiquarians of *that* era who were doing their 'squirearchy' bit.

'In the 1860s, 1870s, for example, in the Vale of York there was a character called Willy Worthy who is well recorded and was interviewed by an informant of mine in the 1940s. Now Willy Worthy was a musical instrument maker and to drum up business - a first class bit of marketing this - he went round all the villages teaching dances - sword dancing was only one of them, he taught social dances [too] - and there's another character prior to that called Dandy Jack who was well known in the Molton area and went around doing similar - he was like an itinerant dancing master.

'He used to go around and organise - usually based on the pub - sometimes based on a church recreational grouping (what we now recognise as a Women's Institute or some other kind of social grouping) and he would teach them various dances... Willy Worthy actually taught the Kirby Moorside sword dances and he taught the Ampleforth sword dances that we know, for definite. And he'd teach a slightly different dance to the two different areas, and indeed, Willy Worthy used to organise events when they could come along and dance for one another... and that stimulated interest.' (Stone. Int:003)

In contrast to this, Cecil Sharp, when collecting sword dances in Northern England, reported many teams as having ceased to perform shortly before the turn of the century. In his 1913 publication of Book 3 of *The Sword Dances of Northern England* he states that those teams which were not still performing were 'disbanded upwards of a quarter century ago' (Sharp. 1977 p.9). If Sharp's reports are accurate, and there is no reason to suppose that for the groups he referred to there was any misinformation, then the late 19th Century boom in Longsword dancing was short-lived - from the formation of teams up to the 1860s and 70s to teams disbanding in the 1880s. In fact, Stone's 'activity' from 1860-1910 can be reconciled with Sharp's 'disbanded upwards of a quarter century' prior to 1913 by accepting that:

'The dance maybe died out for a generation, certainly for eight or ten years. A new team would come along, and they'd be predominantly new people, although they might be able to rope somebody in who vaguely remembered. [There was] less of a reliance on old dancers than a lot of people seem to think.' (Stone. Int:003)

Thus it may be that Sharp's 'disbanded' teams were in reality only in a lapsed period and may well have revived, as teams had and would do given a specific stimulus, without his or his fellow activists' influence. Or perhaps we may regard this 'influence' (frequently little more than showing interest) as *being* the stimulus, because:

'About 1911 he wrote round to all the vicars in York diocese saying did they know

> of the sword dance, had it been performed in the area... What happened was, in writing to these people... this prompted them to think and do something about it and if the dance had died out a few years earlier, in some cases they revived it.' (Stone. Int:003)

It may also be noted that in the sword tradition, as in the Northwest morris tradition, dances and performances could move to a new 'home' location - transferred (and often subsequently developed) by individuals who took their knowledge with them from place to place either as they changed their residence or on a more or less professional basis. The North Walbottle dance was, according to Sharp at the time of collection 'still performed' and had been:

> 'introduced as recently as 1906 by a dancer... who taught the Walbottle men the sword dance which used to be... danced in his native village of Bedlington' (Sharp. 1977 p.103)

This man was Billy Raine. Another of Sharp's informants, and the leader of the 1906 team which had been taught by Billy Raine, was Billy Clark and he in turn moved to Newbiggin and was responsible for the formation of the team there *c*.1920 (Willamson, 1973 p.297). In fact, Sharp's 'North Walbottle' men should more properly be identified with the village of Westerhope because, as Williamson notes:

> 'Originally the village's [i.e. Westerhope] only employment was the pit at North Walbottle, a short distance away. This fact accounts for the misleading "North Walbottle" name applied to the team Sharp saw and collected from, although all the team lived in Westerhope.' (Willamson. 1973 p.297)

Sharp also notes that a Longsword dance originally 'belonging' to Woodhouse lapsed, and on revival transferred to Handsworth (Sharp. 1977 p.37). Similar translocation of performance has also been recognised in the mumming tradition (Cawte, Helm & Peacock. 1967) where it is noted as one of a series of different types of continuity in performance. To precis the reference:

> 'A team stops for a period and then starts again with all, or nearly all, of the original performers, or with nearly all the performers new but taught by an old performer, in a different village. This may be (i) spontaneous, (ii) as a result of outside influence.' (after Cawte, Helm & Peacock. 1967 p.15)

In the light of more recent evidence it may be appropriate to substitute 'spontaneous' with 'as a result of internal influence', for to deny influence and claim spontenaity is to denigrate those individuals who were undoubtedly responsible for such revivals, but otherwise this definition must be allowed to stand within the Cawte, Helm & Peacock series.

Intermittence in performance

It has already been shown that at 1900 the Northwest morris tradition was in the ascendant, with developments in the dances and in the make-up of teams - e.g. the growth of women's teams and subsequently mixed teams - but here too the history is of intermittent performance:

> 'Sometimes [Northwest] morris dancing in a particular area was not continuous, but habitually failing and then being revived. In this type of area the dance was dependant on the dancing experience of the person who revived the team.' (Edwards & Chart, 1981 p.9)

On the general evidence this may be expanded to the person who revived *or instigated* the team. Such repeated halting and restarting was by no means uncommon amongst the groups. One informant pointed out that the old Northwest teams, some examples of which have already been cited, were often 'put together' for specific events and one interviewee observed that many late 20th Century teams have done many more performances, and have a far greater history of continuity, than the 19th Century teams upon whom they have sought to model themselves on and whose names they may have taken. (Jackson. Int:017)

Lapses and revivals in the mumming tradition have been well documented at Bampton (Oxon.), where four revivals are recorded (Harrop. 1980b); Chipping Campden (Oxon.) where there are lapses in certain years (Fees. 1988); in respect of Blue Stotting in Yorkshire (Rankin. 1982); Symondsbury (Dorset) (T:001) and in many other instances with other teams. Chandler makes a similar general observation in respect of the South Midlands (Cotswold style) morris dance tradition:

> 'None of these teams may be shown to have been consistently active from the first date to the last. Indeed, some were raised to perform at specific events and would have been short-lived. Others maintained activity over two, three, four or more recorded generations. But even here regular annual performance was not necessarily ubiquitous. There were years when for whatever reasons, the dancers failed to appear. The history of morris dancing may, in fact, be one of bursts of activity interspersed with dormant periods.' (Chandler. 1993a. p.3)

Just as some Northwest and Cotswold sides were created for specific events so too were, and still are, some Longsword teams - sometimes on a very ad hoc basis:

> 'In Bellaby,... every few years they'll do a sword dance... over the last eighteen or twenty years, maybe they've done it three times. (Stone. Int:003)

Some of the reasons for intermittent performance have already been touched upon, but further discussion on the subject is deferred at this point.

Competitions

It has already been suggested that competition in the 19th Century, such as that at Knutsford Royal May Day, could be a stimulus for improvement and development. Certainly with Northwest morris, in the development phase between 1880 and 1914, with a competitive element to encourage creativity we find that:

> '...many of the dances changed over time. Sometimes this was totally intentional - it was said of Dick Jones, the leader of Crewe Original [Northwest morris], that "he seldom lets his dancers turn out without introducing some fresh step or movement"'. (Edwards & Chart, 1981, quoting *Crewe Chronicle* of 7/9/1901)

Competition was also apparent between Cotswold morris sides at the annual Ales and subsequently Club Days (Chandler, 1993a). Similarly, in the early years of this century competition was a stimulus amongst Rapper sword teams, as it had been under Willy Worthy and Dandy Jack for Longsword a few decades earlier. Cecil Sharp instigated a Rapper competition in the early 1920s:

> 'Here [Rapper] sword dance teams from the mining communities of Durham and Northumberland vied with one another for the 'Trophy'... (Kennedy, 1982 p.198)

Another Sharp acolyte, Kathy Mitchell, who was to prove a persistent stimulus within the folk revival for over 50 years, was closely involved with the Whitby Competitive Festival in the same period:

> 'Certainly the competitions that existed in Yorkshire - in North Yorkshire particularly - were a very strong influencing fact. In 1922 or 3 the Whitby Competitive Festival... was established, and apart from a short break during the war years it's been going ever since. What tends to happen there is that it stimulates interest in the dance - it gives them a focal point.' (Stone, Int:003)

Intermittence of performance and the influence of competition seem to be common across a number of dance forms, but perhaps at different times and at different stages of popularity. It is now possible to identify further common themes and extend the list given earlier.

g) Lapses and revivals could happen several times. The revival could be with the 'old' team, some 'new' people, or wholly 'new' people.

h) Groups/teams could perform intermittently, i.e. there could be periods, varying in duration, when annual performance (for whatever reason) did not take place.

i) Types or forms could, on a wider perspective, also run in phases or fashions.
j) Particular performances could transfer to a new location.
k) Individuals are frequently identifiable as being the cause of a revival, relocation or development.
l) Competitions could stimulate not only standards but the development of a Type and growth in the number of teams.

Development or evolution of a Type of dance can, as is shown several times in this study, sometimes change it dramatically. Given the parallel record of intermittence in performance, a degree of circumspection must be exercised when talking about continuity. Similarly, the ongoing records of a custom taking place in a particular location over a protracted period of time are not necessarily evidence of a continuing tradition for, in the historical record, there is a further complication when there are inadequate details of the performance to be sure of what is taking place. This is what Roy Judge found when he examined closely the records of morris dancing in Lichfield:

> 'We are dealing here with three quite distinct types of 'morris'. On the one hand there was the old Lichfield Morris, the Bedlam Morris, if we may thus distinguish it, which was declining and then disappeared by the [eighteen] eighties... Then there was the boy's processional morris, begun in 1890, with no apparent connection with the earlier Bedlam Morris... And finally there are the dances which appear in the [1954] manuscripts, quite different in character to the other two, with movements and individual dances which are more related to the Cotswold tradition.' (Judge. 1992 p.145)

Fortunately, the 20th Century records are usually more detailed and can usually be checked with living memory. The recurrent themes and patterns, stimuli and responses which have been discussed above indicate something of the way in which customary tradition has adjusted and adapted to the circumstances in which it finds itself. From the time of Henry VIII, when vernacular tradition first seems to have been emulated by 'higher' classes[3] (one of Moser's 'types' of folklorismus), there has been a symbiotic interplay - sometimes productive and sometimes repressive - between the tradition-bearers, individuals of other classes who lived in the area and the contemporary social milieu within which both social groupings existed.

The 20th Century Folk Revival

In the 20th Century there has been a particular set of circumstances which profoundly affected the continuing traditions and which must be briefly outlined before looking in detail at the record of the survey groups. As already suggested, this is the presence of 'the Folk Revival'. This was not, of course, the first time in history that vernacular performances were 'revived'. It has already been noted

that the Victorians hugely influenced the progress of vernacular performance: by restraint, encouragement or revision, the invention of custom (folklorismus that in some cases subsequently became folklore) and even accidentally through general social change. Following the Restoration, customs and traditions that had been driven underground by the Commonwealth must also have been reborn into their contemporary society, and we know that there were earlier popularisations of certain forms under the direct influence of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. Revival, recreation and re-invention have a long history.

The Folk Revival differs in that, whereas these earlier booms or revivals concerned individual customs or traditions and pertained to occurrence in the locality, this was a nationwide movement which grouped many different Forms and Types together under the umbrella term 'folk'. It had a network of middle-class activists with, broadly, a common philosophical approach, theoretical background and shared enthusiasm - albeit with occasional competitiveness or disagreement between the activists. The generation and early years of the 20th Century Folk Revival have been recorded elsewhere[4] and will not be repeated here, but there are particular aspects of this revival which need to be highlighted.

One major aspect is described by Douglas Kennedy, an acolyte of Cecil Sharp and the man who was to succeed him in 1925 as Director of the English Folk Dance Society (EFDS) - which subsequently became the English Folk Dance and Song Society (EFDSS):

> 'I was one of a small group of young men and women chosen by Sharp to demonstrate the English folk dances he then was seeking to revive... The Morris dances we performed were grouped under the names of the different villages where he had noted the steps and tunes, and other details. Thus the repertory of the local team at Headington Quarry near Oxford was known to us as the Headington tradition. When we were informed that a dance which we were to learn was, say, in the Bampton tradition, we could at once visualise the general style of dancing, different in detail and style from Headington, and recall the possible sequence of steps and figures.' (Kennedy. 1982 p.196)

To publish dances, Sharp had to 'invent a new language and vocabulary and to reduce "oral transmission" to printed instructions'. This inevitably fixed the dances which were now in print as definitive versions and Kennedy recognised the problems such an exercise could create:

> 'In order to make the distinction between one tradition and another we were apt to over emphasise the [i.e. Sharp's written] guidelines. We tended to interpret these too literally. For instance a guideline for a vaguely circular arm action would be turned into precise circles. Also in the notation the foot falls were printed under the notes that coincided with the beats. This tended to make us over emphasise the

> downwardness of steps at the expense of lift between the beats.' (Kennedy. 1982 p.197)

Kennedy recognised his own limitations, and those imposed by the publication of notated dances when he came face to face with strong ongoing local vernacular dance performance, rather than the stylised and regimented revival teams. This happened in Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1924:

> 'The year Sharp suffered his last illness he was forced to cancel his judging at the Newcastle [Rapper] Tournament. He asked me to take his place and I found myself face to face with the real rapper sword tradition for the very first time... I was stunned at the outset remaining in a daze until... the end of the day. (Kennedy. 1982 p.198)

What Kennedy recognises is the significant difference between that which he describes as 'the real tradition' and the revival that Sharp and his followers had created, and why it had happened: the notation of the dances and the subsequent reanimation from that notation created a fixed (and exaggerated) style in contrast to the unrecorded continuous evolution of the ongoing tradition without the fixative properties of a written document. The early Folk Revival therefore looked backwards instead of forwards and it ossified the material it embraced instead of developing it as previous booms and fashions had done - and as the continuing tradition still did.

The revival, as constructed by Sharp, was also selective in the forms and types which it regarded as of value, for example:

> 'Cecil Sharp largely by-passed Lancashire. He only published the one dance from Lancashire, recorded at Dolphinhoe, and it's mainly danced by Cotswold sides. That's the three-man Wyresdale Greensleeves dance, totally untypical compared to what was going on in the county.' (Jackson. Int:017)

As Georgina Boyes has pointed out:

> '...most glaringly absent from the range of English dance traditions reproduced through the revival were the morris dances of Lancashire and Cheshire. There were no technical grounds for non-inclusion - a simplified instruction book with a preface by Mary Neal was available as early as 1911. The dances also formed an admitted part of the range of performances believed to derive from prehistoric rituals and thus represented a 'survival' of the racial heritage Sharp was dedicated to reviving. But north-western morris was excluded from the English Folk Dance Society syllabus as a matter of conscious policy. The dances were held to be corrupt and thus 'unsuitable' for returning to national culture.' (Boyes. 1993a. p.101)

The real difference, as we know now, was that this particular form had been subject to more or less deliberate development within living memory - and this development was still continuing during the period of Sharp's collecting. It was Cotswold morris and the sword forms as he found them, that were selected by Sharp as exemplars of high vernacular dance. The Folk Revival not only taught new people all over the country supposedly definitive forms of these locally developed dances and styles (both through print and the work of Sharp's followers) but in some instances (directly or indirectly) reawakened interest amongst tradition-bearers (and amongst those in the community who would influence them) whose performances had lapsed. In other instances it provided a stimulus for the revival of traditions that were almost, and occasionally totally, dead. Some of the ways in which this was achieved are demonstrated in the Case Studies in Part IV. Most particularly the early revival provided a framework within which old forms were recreated (in definitive and ossified versions) by groups of young, largely middle-class, enthusiasts in new locations with a new audience - in some cases while the source tradition was still extant. For example, the Abbots Bromley Horn Dance was adopted as a feature of the Morris Ring meetings at Thaxted; Headington Quarry and Bampton Morris dances were taught throughout the country; The Arts and Craft Movement's community in Chipping Campden attempted (but ultimately failed) to duplicate the local mumming play (Fees. 1988); the sword dances of Newbiggin and Flamborough became de rigueur in the new EFDS groups, and so on.

The end result was a massive upsurge of revival in both uses of the word - in reinvigoration of many declining, declined or moribund traditions and also in the proliferation of performances of otherwise specific material out of location and often out of time (i.e. both 'revived' and translocated), for many had been confined to particular seasonal performance. The vernacular arts were thus not only popularised in a definitive style of performance, but the (etic) Survivalist interpretation placed upon them by the revivalists must also have coloured the way the tradition-bearers themselves interpreted their material, i.e. there was a change in the emic perception as well. This was a long lasting shift in view and one that is by no means extinguished to the present day, but the Folk Revival itself was not simply the spread of the traditions and the development of new interpretations of meaning. Just as the developing industrial towns utilised the developed Northwest teams as a means to an end - civic pride - and the promulgators of 'Merrie England' similarly used the Jack-in-the-Green, so the revival at this period was using the vernacular arts on a national scale and for political purposes.

World Wars

The First World War brought a halt to many performances both amongst the continuing traditions and

in the Folk Revival by removing the performers, invariably the active male section of the population, into the armed forces.

Many examples of continuing traditions halted during the World Wars and the Folk Revival similarly paused. Although the seeds had been sown, the harvest would have to wait. Sharp himself visited the United States for the duration of WWI. Douglas Kennedy notes that:

> 'Up to the outbreak of the first World War, this Society [EFDS] established dance groups in various parts of the country, and organised Holiday Courses at Stratford-upon-Avon. With his team of demonstrators Sharp visited all the main provincial centres, and by 1914 there was already a considerable degree of public interest aroused as a direct result of his individual effort.' (Kennedy. 1949 pp.15-16)

By the end of WWI, many continuing traditions had lost the men who had performed, and simply could not revive, at least until a new generation had reached performance age but, by then, social changes frequently meant that locally relevant performance was no longer possible in the same way and the continuation of many folk performances was largely left to the middle-classes enthused by Sharp and his movement. By now, significantly, the morris, sword and country dance forms were being widely taught in schools.

Between the wars the Folk Revival did not simply resume. Shifts in general social attitudes were inevitably reflected in some of the leading lights of the revival. Most significant for the way in which the revival of folk dance was to progress was the rise of nationalism, and vernacular dance was once again to be used as a means to an end.

> 'Following discussions through the winter of 1933, in June 1934... [Rolf Gardiner and others] set up 'The Morris Ring'. This organisation, conscious of what Vaughan Williams saw as 'the honour and responsibility' of preserving 'the aristocrat of the English Folk dance' [i.e. Cotswold morris], was intended to fill a gap in EFDS work on the revival of folk dance.' (Boyes. 1993a p.159)

Gardiner was no stranger to the attractions of National Socialism and Georgina Boyes has argued that he applied some of the underlying ideas to the new Morris Ring.

> 'Inherent in the German form was a corollary which Gardiner also took over into the Morris Ring - the Freikorps were an all-male association, created to 'escape women'... Dancing supermen - perfect physical specimens, spending their leisure time camping together, willing to subjugate their minds and bodies to 'the pure purpose of the group' and whose joint performance climaxed in 'one fluid, electric, purging, flame of

ecstasy' were Gardiner's version of brotherhood.' (Boyes. 1993a p.162)

> 'Manly and modern, Gardiner accurately delineated the inherent weaknesses of Sharp's version of the Revival and put forward an attractive programme of restoration, combining greater convergence with accepted theory and a developmental role for an elite of 'initiated' performers in which active revival became, rather than depicted, cultural identity.' (Boyes. 1993a p.161)

> 'Gardiner and his supporters had called for reform of the Revival, but elitism, a reactionary ideology and internecine struggles produced change which was regressive rather than developmental. As the outside world moved towards mixed sex, companionate groupings and equality, the Revival completed the shifts in its hegemony which set up a male elite drawn from the professions and "Varsity", confirmed the exclusion of the working classes from its organisation and policy and institutionalised the most patronising excesses of Edwardian "chivalry". (Boyes. 1993a p.176)

This analysis however should not be uncritically accepted. Bearman, fully citing the sources for the claim, has pointed out in a recent letter to *English Dance & Song* that:

> 'Gardiner had no influence on EFDS policy... Neither did he play the prominent part in the foundation of the Morris Ring which has been assumed - on no evidence whatsoever - by Georgina Boyes [in Boyes. 1993a].' (Bearman. 1997)

Whether Rolf Gardiner was a significant figure or not, there undoubtedly was a view in the Morris Ring that 'The Morris' was indisputably a men's dance. The Ring, with its origins in Survivalist theory, and with arguments parallel to the 'Friekorps' approach quoted above, has remained insistent on excluding women, even as musicians, from its member teams. The issue surfaces in some of the case studies in Part IV and even, to a limited extent, shaped the Initial Questionnaire by necessitating the omission of a question about the sex make-up of the group. The issue has given rise to vehement argument in the last few decades, following the rise of feminism, and would prove a valuable area for further research.

The Folk Revival spanned and survived both World Wars leading to a situation where, by the 1950s, these forms were widely performed throughout the country, even appearing on the schools curricula of the day, and a host of eager 'collectors' were scouring the countryside attempting to glean details of former customs and traditions that they hoped were still within living memory. Outside of the Folk Revival, across the same period, vernacular tradition in its 'own' environment had had a mixed experience. Some, like Padstow's Mayday or the Bacup 'Nutters' Easter performance, continued strongly but others, including many mumming performances, died out in the 1920s and '30s as can

be seen in the Cawte, Helm and Peacock (1967) index, failing to make a successful revival after the First World War. The old style Northwest morris had already declined, although not completely died out, and its functional replacement, the new Fluffy morris, was gaining popularity and spreading through emulation by other groups.

Very few of the groups surveyed in this study were extant at the beginning of the 20th Century. The vast majority came into being within the last fifty years, and it is the record of those groups that will now be considered.

CHAPTER 6 : Record of the Surveyed Groups

The history of the vernacular arts, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, is one of sometime specific origins, of ascendancy and decline, of survival by adaptation and of surges in growth in response to fashion. In particular, a number of recurrent themes have been identified, and it is against this background that the information from the present research should be considered. To repeat them here, they are:

a) Traditions that had waned were revived or developed for particular purposes but specific social stimulus was needed.
b) These revivals both copied and built on previous forms of the tradition: where they were successful they retained a 'days of yore' aspect but were attractive to the contemporary audience.
c) Lack of purpose could lead to decline and abandonment of the tradition: change in function could be a stimulus.
d) Popular fashion could cause rapid development of the tradition.
e) Technological development could have a direct impact on the maintenance of the forms.
f) Lapses and revivals could happen several times. The revival could be with the 'old' team, some 'new' people, or wholly 'new' people.
g) Groups/teams could perform intermittently, i.e. there could be periods, varying in duration, when performance (for whatever reason) did not take place.
h) Types or forms could, on a wider perspective, also run in phases or fashions.
i) Particular performances could transfer to a new location.
j) Individuals are frequently identifiable as being the cause of a revival, translocation or development.
k) Competitions stimulated not only standards but the development of types and growth in the number of teams.

Many of these aspects are identifiable amongst the later 20th Century groups, both individually and collectively, which are the subject of this study. There is nothing in the above list of pagan origins: there is plenty to do with market response, key individuals, innovation and development.

This chapter explores the evidence concerning the genesis and chronology of the survey groups, and compares this with some of the above aspects and influences. The data on the starting date of each surveyed group comes from the Initial Questionnaire (Q4) which asked when the group had started, whether it was still extant, and whether there had been any gaps in the continuity of performance.

Growth in the number of groups

From the sample groups, it is possible to plot when they came into existence during the 20th Century

to give a picture of development in the period. Some caution is needed however in interpreting the results: only 332 groups form the gross sample out of over 1300 that are known to have existed during the period - and even this is by no means all the groups that have been extant. The results, shown in Table 2:2 below, can therefore only give an indication of the development trend in this period. Only ten of the survey groups were extant at the turn of the century and, apart from one mumming group (Shrewton Mummers) and one Cotswold morris side (Thaxted Morris Men), which started (or revived) in 1906 and 1911 respectively, no other surveyed groups started prior to 1922. The years 1939 to 1945, the period of the Second World War (WW2), are likewise excluded from the table as none of the groups formed during that period.

Some remnant of the growth spawned by the early Folk Revival is evident prior to WW2. There were many more groups at the time but it has not been possible to ascertain actual numbers and evidently many did not survive the hiatus of WW2. There is a larger growth from post-war to the mid-1950s

Unknown	1920 1924	1925 1929	1930 1934	1935 1938	1946 1949	1950 1954	1955 1959	1960 1964	1965 1969	1970 1974	1975 1979	1980 1984	1985 1989	1990 1995
26	5	2	4	2	7	11	5	3	26	42	68	47	50	35

Table 2.2 Number of groups starting by year periods

- a period which includes the 1951 Festival of Britain when, again, many new groups were formed. Growth then slows in the early 1960s until the second generation of the Folk Revival led to a massive upsurgance in the number of groups forming which, having peaked in 1977, has declined slowly but steadily thereafter.

There are further aspects to these figures. Table 2.3 shows the numbers of groups that started, in the same year-blocks as above, according to the Form/Type of performance. Many of the sample groups have more than one Type and/or Form of performance and as not all these were in the repertoire from the time the group started[5], only those groups with a single Type or Form of performance have been included. Groups maintaining unique calender customs have also been excluded and are considered separately later in this chapter. The base sample is therefore 164. Only Types with more than three examples from the SQs are included and mumming is grouped as one row irrespective of Type as numbers are low. The data shows a surge in new groups performing mumming from 1965, Cotswold

morris from 1970 and Northwest morris from 1975. It is also apparent that prior to 1965 new groups were almost always formed to dance Cotswold morris. Overall, however, the sample is low and the results fragmentary. A different approach to the data provides a more comprehensive picture. When the Initial Questionnaires (IQs) were returned, a sample of groups who had indicated that they were willing to give further information was sent a Supplementary Questionnaire, and those groups in the sample who maintained more than one Type and/or Form were asked to state in which year each had first been performed by them. A total of 385 'start dates' were identified for particular Forms/Types within the groups. The results are given in Table 2.4 (following the same year groupings) and present a fuller picture of the patterns of development in forms and types.

The period up to the mid-1960s is dominated by teams newly performing Cotswold morris. From 1965 the number of these groups follows the overall pattern of growth in group numbers and it is also from this year that mumming groups and both types of sword dance begin to make an appearance. New mumming performances peak within a decade and the number of new performances then declines. Longsword and Rapper new performances follow a similar pattern although the decline is not quite as marked as it is for mumming. Northwest morris shows a similar pattern, starting perhaps a decade after the Cotswold surge. Step-clog does not make a group appearance until 1972 and the first group performing Appalachian stepping is recorded in 1989. These dance types, together with the Border and Molly types of morris, appear to still be in the ascendent although there are 'halts' in the progress of Molly and Step Clog.

It is evident that there have been developments in fashion: a particular Type of performance has, for reasons yet to be considered, become copied within a short period of time by existing groups adding to their repertoire or by new groups created to perform that Type. The tables include only main Types of performance (Rank 1 from the questionnaires), but many more lower ranked Types are also performed among the groups. More detail, and further discussion on this, is given in Ch.7, with the data from Q2 of the IQs, but it is evident that the growth in fashionable forms is demonstrable in the present century, just as it was in the 19th Century although with an increased total number of groups and, for each Type, over a wider geographical area.

It remains to be considered whether there is any relationship between the fall in numbers of new groups in one particular Type as the number of groups rise for a different Type as it becomes fashionable in its turn, but attention must now turn to why and how this growth in the number of groups arose and why particular Types become fashionable.

	1920 1924	1925 1929	1930 1934	1935 1939	1945 1949	1950 1954	1955 1959	1960 1964	1965 1969	1970 1974	1975 1979	1980 1984	1985 1989	1990 1995
MORRIS														
Cotswold	3		1	1	3		1		3	10	17	4	6	4
Northwest			1							2	12	14	8	3
Border									1		2	4		7
Molly											1			
SWORD														
Longsword	1									3			1	1
Rapper									1		1		1	2
MUMMING									6	8		1	1	1
STEPDANCE														
Clog											2		2	
Appalachian													1	2

Table 2.3: Number of single Form/Type groups starting

	1920 1924	1925 1929	1930 1934	1935 1939	1945 1949	1950 1954	1955 1959	1960 1964	1965 1969	1970 1974	1975 1979	1980 1984	1985 1989	1990 1995
MORRIS														
Cotswold	4	2	3	2	3	10	6	2	17	24	37	13	20	7
Northwest			1							4	14	19	12	7
Border									1	2	8	9	8	15
Molly										1		1	2	
SWORD														
Longsword	2						1		4	4	1	2	2	1
Rapper					1			1	5	3	2	1	2	3
MUMMING									8	11		2	5	4
STEPDANCE														
Clog										1	2		3	
Appalachian													1	3

Table 2.4: Number of groups starting performances of Forms/Types

Growth Factors

The early 1960s saw a huge growth in the folksong revival (see Woods. 1979) and a rapid increase in the number of folk song clubs. As I have described elsewhere (Brown. 1989), as the individuals attracted to the folk song revival grew older, married, and produced children, so attendances at the clubs dropped. There were additional economic reasons for this decline, but these individuals did not necessarily cease their involvement in 'folk' activity. There was an increasing number of summer Folk Festivals which offered a family holiday and, more importantly from the point of view of this study, workshops and tuition sessions on a wide range of dance Types. This exposure to morris, sword, social and international dance types (and less often to mumming) and this new interest, combined with a changed lifestyle, led to the increase in teams, as documented above, and an increasing diversity of activity, so that by the late 1960s, and increasingly thereafter, the sources of personnel for new groups and teams were often the members of other teams formed earlier or other individuals already involved in folk song activity - in other words the Folk Revival was feeding off itself as it expanded.

A few examples will illustrate the point. The Hunting of the Earl of Rone drew its initial performers from a pre-existing group involved in folk-life studies - The North Devon Folk Troupe, which also gave rise directly to the North Devon Mummers and indirectly to the Barnstaple Morris Men (C/S:3). A chain of development, which is not atypical, is demonstrated by Hornblower Morris (Cotswold) who gave birth to the Ripon City Morris Dancers (Northwest) who in turn spawned Highside Rapper, while 'Ripon City also perform a Plough Stott's play under the name of Wakeman Mummers'. (Ledbury. 1991. p.79). Rumworth Morris of Bolton started as an offshoot of Manchester Morris (Stone. Int:003). Three mumming gangs all performing village mumming plays in the Darent Valley in Kent drew their casts from Hartley Morris Men, as did White Star Sword (Evans. Int:005), and the men who maintain the local mumming play in Kirtlington are all members of Kirtlington Morris (Berry. Int:001). White Horse Morris Men, similarly, maintained the Shrewton mumming play for several years. (Applebee. Int:015).

A further example of interaction and growth is given in C/S:12 on the Folk Revival in parts of Kent. There it is shown how the folk *song* revival played a part in the *dance* revival. Folk song clubs have, like the dance groups, given rise to many new groups e.g.: The Whitstable Jack (Lee. Int:004), Lord Conyer's Morris (Ledbury. 1991 p.91), Bury Pace-Eggers (Ward. 1972 p.152). It was the North Devon Folk (Song) Club that provided those interested parties who formed the North Devon Folk Troupe which reconstructed The Hunting of the Earl of Rone (C/S:3). Barnsley Longsword, who

formed from the Barnsley Folk (Song) Club in 1968 is a further example:

> 'Jim Potter, who was to become the first Captain of the [Longsword] Team had attended a series of Longsword workshops at the [Whitby] festival given by Kathy Mitchell. ...by the end of September there were nine men interested... ...including Ivor Allsop [who] went on to teach the team for their first fifteen years.' (Ledbury. 1991 p.79)

In examining one type of performance - The Lincolnshire Plough Play - Rosie Cross calls attention to the different groups who currently maintain this Type:

> 'The revivals currently performed annually in Lincolnshire are performed by Folk Song Clubs or Folk Dance Teams. Alford Morris Men perform the Revesby Plough Play, Kesteven Morris Men perform the Helpringham Plough Play, members of Scunthorpe Folk Song Club perform the Scunthorpe Plough Jag.
>
> 'Other one-off performances have been staged for pageants, fêtes or anniversaries using local residents, for example in Brattleby, Owesbury and Barrow-on-Humber.
>
> 'The Brant Broughton play, too, was 'kept alive' primarily by one family, the Bagworths, who revived it after a 30-year lapse and are still performing the play, interrupting the yearly cycle only when a family quarrel prevents two of the brothers talking to one another'. (Cross. 1989)

Here it may be noted that with one exception - the Brant Broughton play - the annually performed plays are not maintained by gangs created only for performance - they are maintained as a secondary (although not necessarily less important) activity of year-round groups who normally engage in a different type of folk activity. This is not unusual, and the phenomenon is examined in more detail in Part III where responses to the Initial Questionnaire (Q2) are considered.

The new interest in a wide range of vernacular performing arts which arose from the Folk Revival of the 1960s did not simply add new young personnel to the extant groups which had been generated by Cecil Sharp's movement. As I have noted elsewhere (Brown. 1989), this was a new generation with its own ideas and it formed its own groups leaving many of those first generation revival groups which were not a natural part of their local culture to struggle for new young members, and many died out. The rate at which new groups were created is evidenced in the tables earlier in the chapter and each Form/Type may be seen to grow in a way not dissimilar to the development of Northwest morris (under the encouragement of a civic role) or Longsword (following the teaching and competitions offered by peripatetic dancing masters) during the 19th Century. Competition, and simply opportunity, were also suggested by Chandler (1993a) as being factors in the 19th Century development of

Cotswold Morris. Like the new groups in previous centuries, the new groups of the 20th Century would not have continued without an increasing number of opportunities to perform. The style of morris, sword and mumming groups has always been - in addition to taking such paid performances as may be offered - to create their own performances in the area in which the team lives - indeed, this is almost a hallmark of the vernacular arts. The mumming performances tend to take place over a short season but sword and morris have, for as long as there is an historical record, been performed over a longer period but, nevertheless, on a seasonal basis (see Chandler. 1993a). Both have their 'traditional' seasons and even particular days in their 'old' villages (e.g. sword dancing on Boxing Day, Bampton Morris on the Whitsun Weekend, Kirtlington Morris on the Trinity Sunday weekend, etc.) but the new revival sides often perform and tour over an extended season, if not year-round. More detailed evidence and analysis of seasonal performance is given in Part III, but the point is that these groups create their own opportunities for performance: they do not have to wait for an invitation to perform. This, added to the increase in festival stages, Days of Dance and, latterly, events such as heritage museum Open Days and tourism sponsored events such as the Rochester (Kent) and Hastings (E.Sussex) 'Mayday' gatherings (each based around a revived Jack-in-the-Green procession), or the aggregation of performing teams invited to other 'new' custom revivals (e.g. Saddleworth Rushcart or Whittlesey Straw Bear[6]), provided plenty of opportunity not only for the new groups to perform but also to socialise with other groups. As will be shown, several groups specialise in, and have revived, local dance forms or local mummers' plays but many more had or have no link whatever between the material they perform and previous local performances.

Even with the opportunities offered by creating their own performances, it is often the case that specific stimuli can be identified as precipitating the creation of a group in the first instance. The Festival of Britain (1951) is commonly quoted as being the 'excuse' for the creation of groups and Stone quotes both this and the collection activity of Cecil Sharp in respect of Longsword teams:

> 'An interesting little point about stimulating dance teams - two events that I find in Longsword over and over again - one is the Festival of Britain, the other is Cecil Sharp's - not visits 'cause his visits didn't seem to have much impact - but about 1911 he wrote round to all the vicars in York diocese saying did they know of the sword dance, had it been performed in the area... What happened was, in writing to these people... this prompted them to think and do something about it and if the dance had died out a few years earlier, in some cases they revived it.' (Stone. Int:003)

Many of these teams may have been short-lived: there are no teams from the survey who report forming in 1951 although three came into being in 1952. Royal events are also quoted as key times for the creation (or adaptation) of activities such as those surveyed. Two years after the Festival of

Britain was the Coronation of Elizabeth II in 1953 and:

> 'The 1953 revival of the [Helpringham plough] play [was] instigated by Peter Kennedy and Mr. Aram for the Coronation.' (Osborne. 1989 p.22)

Only four teams from the surveyed groups stated that they formed in 1953. In Table 2.2 it was shown that 68 of the surveyed groups started between 1975 and 1979. This is the highest number of any year block given, but within this period 17 of the groups formed in 1977 - the year of Queen Elizabeth's Silver Jubilee. A further 16 groups had formed in 1976 but in most cases did not 'dance out' until 1977.

Smaller and more local celebratory events have also played their part: like the Northwest sides which, in the 19th Century, were 'got up' for special events (Edwards & Chart, 1981; Schofield, 1977), Royal Oak Morris was 'formed to dance at a village fête when the existing side couldn't cover' (SQ:320) but continued to dance as a side. Another group, un-named and comprising the fathers of children at the Cobham St. Lawrence Primary School in Hampshire, is annually coerced into learning and performing 'morris' at the school fête. This is a new team each year, and the annual rite was initiated some 14 years ago (c.1984) by the headmistress. Originally confined to the school fête, the year's team also now dances, by request, at other fêtes, the harvest festival and the Christmas Bazaar (Underwood. Int:021). Another ad hoc annual performance exists in the Border morris group 'Bad Habits' which, drawing on morris dancers in the area, performs 'only one or two times a year' specifically in order to 'promote the Newton Abbott (Devon) Folk Festival' (IQ:129). As noted earlier, in Bellaby (Yorks.) the appearance of the local sword dance tradition is even more spasmodic.

> In Bellaby, where they still have the Bellaby Feast, near Ripon, every few years they'll do a sword dance. The sword dance over the last eighteen or twenty years, maybe they've done it three times - and it's been totally different each time - they don't regard the 'authenticity' of the dance as being anything relevant. It's Bellaby Feast, everybody gets dressed up, they go around with all the bag-of-tricks, all the fun, all the costumes, and they'll do a sword dance 'cos half-a-dozen had the wherewithal or the time to actually get together and do a few practises beforehand - and that's it! That still happens over and over again. (Stone. Int:003)

In these examples a group responds because of a forthcoming local community event, but examples have also been found of a core group motivated by a different cause almost accidentally adopting a vernacular dance form. Policemen in Southampton who were involved in charitable work decided to 'do some morris' under the name of 'The Hobby Bobbies'. Ignorant of anything to do with morris they invented something - and then met Victory Morris out on tour one day! From this experience grew

an interest in doing morris dancing 'properly' ('J.J.' Jones - personal communication). Such irregular groups as these are rare, but the opportunity to be part of a celebratory event is not an unusual stimulus to the formation of a team - even if it is short-lived. The role of the individual, and particularly that of the individual who teaches the material to a group, is considered after the Case Studies in Part IV, but here it may be noted that throughout the century, from the teaching by Sharp and his 'elite band of young men and women' (Kennedy, 1949) through the instructional weekends and gatherings of the Morris Ring, to the workshops at Folk Festivals during the holiday periods, the role of the individual is apparent in the development of both the numbers of groups and the increasing diversity of the Types that they choose to perform. Trevor Stone noted that several extant Longsword teams are the result of Kathy Mitchell's teaching work:

> '... from the 1950s through to the mid-1970s.
>
> There must be five or six revival teams around still today - Spen Valley, Barnsley, Middleton, Claro Sword - all have their origins from Kathy's workshops in one form or another.' (Stone, Int:003)

Similarly, many morris groups formed consequent upon the workshops and instructional weekends organised by the Morris Ring, and 17 groups (from a sample of 77 responding to a question on the source of material) cite this source for their material. Within these sources the names of Roy Dommett and Tubby Reynolds feature strongly. These two individuals have also been credited, by several correspondents, as major influences in the development of women's morris in the 1970s and '80s and, in this connection, further analysis of starting years, by sex, is illuminating[7]. The numbers of new teams, by sex in each year block, is shown in Table 2.5.

New women's teams, and new mixed teams (apart from social dance display groups), do not make an appearance until after 1970 although, by comparing the three blocks of data, it is evident that diversity of repertoire amongst men's teams also starts at this point. Notwithstanding, 11 of the 13 new women's teams which started between 1975 and 1979 performed only a single Type, as did seven of the nine new teams in the next period. Thereafter the majority of new groups have a more diverse repertoire and new women's groups outnumber new men's groups until mixed teams predominate from 1985 onwards. Table 2.6 examines the new women's groups in more detail revealing that there is also a trend in the Types of morris which it was fashionable to perform.

The phenomenon of women's morris has not been specifically examined in this study. There is

	1920 1924	1925 1929	1930 1934	1935 1939	1945 1949	1950 1954	1955 1959	1960 1964	1965 1969	1970 1974	1975 1979	1980 1984	1985 1989	1990 1995
GROUPS WITH SINGLE TYPE OF PERFORMANCE														
Male	3		2	1	3		1		3	15	8	1	1	1
Female											11	7	1	2
Mixed										4	2	1	3	4
GROUPS WITH ONE MAIN TYPE OF PERFORMANCE														
Male	4	2	4	2	5	3	2	2	9	17	11	3	4	1
Female										3	11	8	2	3
Mixed					1					4	5	3	8	5
GROUPS WITH ANY FORM/TYPE OF PERFORMANCE														
Male	4	2	4	2	5	11	5	2	21	29	22	5	5	2
Female										4	13	9	3	5
Mixed					2					6	6	4	10	8

Table 2.5: Frequency of groups starting, by sex

occasional evidence of women's involvement in morris in the 19th and early 20th Centuries although it is scarce and anecdotal, and it remains an area where further research would be both fruitful and valuable.

	1970 1974	1975 1979	1980 1984	1985 1989
Cotswold	4	6	1	
Northwest		5	8	1
Border				1

Table 2.6: New female morris groups, 1970-1989, by Form/Type

There is no doubt that the growth of involvement by women in recent years in the dance and drama styles that had been guarded as a purely male prerogative by the Survivalists and the Morris Ring[8], has been contemporaneous with the development of the feminist movement in the late 20th Century. In this regard, the increase in the number of women performing morris (either in purely women's sides, as joint men's and women's sides, or in mixed sides) is evidence that, as in the last century, the progress of the vernacular arts is not divorced from contemporary society, but develops in reflection of it.

Further evidence of repertoire diversity and development is given in the next chapter, but here it may be noted that, as in the previous century, fashion was an influence in growth and development and that this is applicable to the movement as a whole, to individual forms and types of performance and to the changing balance of the sexes involved. The birthplace of all this new activity was the Folk Revival but the revival may also have helped sustain older ongoing traditions beyond the time that some might have expired for lack of local support, by offering a new interpretation of the material and a new audience. Similarly, its enthusiasts helped some lapsed performances to be revived. The effect of this is not dissimilar to the effects, identified previously, concerning these arts in the 19th Century. Performances among the continuing traditions were given new or added value through new interpretation of the nature of the material, new performance arenas and new social functions. At the same time a new body of performers had adopted the collected material and were performing it throughout the country.

It is from this background of development that the subject groups in this study come, and it is to them and their responses to the questionnaires that the next part of the study turns.

ENDNOTES - PART II

1. For further possible origins see Cooper (1993).

2. I am indebted to Prof. Patrick Boylan for calling my attention to fact that the Beamish Museum now runs the Durham Miners Gala, which was previously run by the National Union of Miners. Although outside the boundaries of study here (as it is an institutionally managed calendar custom) it provides another example of continuity of performance across a change of organisation and purpose.

3. In fact, a series of restrictive legal constraints on the contemporary versions of mumming are recorded from as early as 1418 (see Tydeman. 1978 p.75) although it should be noted that there is no evidence that these mummings were of any type considered in this research.

4. For example: Boyes, 1993a, Karpeles, 1967, Kennedy, 1949. The journals and magazines of the EFDS and EFDSS, particulary in the early years, also provide ongoing evidence of what was happening, and the thinking behind the revival.

5. For example: Bedford Morris (IQ:102) started as a Cotswold team in 1932 but added Northwest in 1973 and both Border and Molly in 1987. Ripley Morris Men (IQ:121), formed as a Cotswold side in 1981, added a Christmas mumming play to the repertoire in 1983 and a Jack-in-the-Green custom in 1995. Kennet Morris Men (IQ:185) started as a Cotswold side in 1957 and added a Christmas mumming play in 1975 and Border in 1983. The Men of Sweyn's Ey (IQ:228), a Rapper team in 1966, added Cotswold in 1969, a Chrismas mumming play in 1970 and Border in 1980. As a final example, Southport Swords began in 1968 as a Longsword team, added Cotswold in 1970, Rapper in 1972 and a Jack-in-the-Green in 1993.

6. The Saddleworth Rushcart is maintained by the Saddleworth Morris Men (Int:016). The Whittlesey (Cambs.) Straw Bear is a straw-clad figure who is led around the town by a keeper and accompanied by musicians. The annual event takes place on the weekend nearest to Plough Monday in January. Straw Bears used to be more common in the area. The Whittlesey Straw Bear ceased traditional performance, cancelled by the police in 1912, and was revived in 1980 (see Frampton. 1989 and Crofts. 1998). The organisers invite dance teams of various styles (in particular Molly teams), and the event has grown to become a weekend affair with country dances, children's entertainments, etc., and is now styled as a 'Festival'. The Whittlesey Straw Bear Festival home page can be found at http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/pete_shaw_3/whittles.htm. My own observation in 1994 led me to conclude that the town itself has little involvement in the new custom and that it primarily serves (as I overheard attending morris dancers say) as the 'first morris weekend of the year'.

7. The Initial Questionnaire did not include a question asking the respondents to identify the composition of the group by sex. This omission was deliberate, in order to avoid the possibility of some men's teams automatically discarding the questionnaire because they perceived the survey as including women's teams. The Supplementary Questionnaire did include a question about the composition of the group by sex. From this evidence, together with other evidence from the IQ and SQ data, information from the listings and interviews and from the fact that The Morris Ring does not accept a team as a member if it includes women, it was possible to identify 213 groups in total as being male, female, mixed or joint teams.

8. Cecil Sharp, despite his Survivalist beliefs, had been less rigorous in excluding females from dancing 'The Morris'. Direct and indirect evidence can be found in: Kennedy. 1949, Karpeles. 1967 and Boyes. 1993a.

PART III
QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

CHAPTER 7: The Groups - Who, What, When & Where

The Initial Questionnaire (IQ), mailed to groups via network contacts and by the umbrella organisations (the Morris Ring and the Morris Federation) was intended to be the primary bulk information collection method for the study. The questionnaire included a number of different types of question. Some required simple factual answers such as the name of the group, the respondent's rôle in the group or the year the group was first known to have performed, and among these some were presented as requiring a 'YES or NO' answer (e.g. *Does the group still perform?* or *Does the group have a written constitution?*). Other questions asked the respondent to categorise an aspect of the group's operation by selecting one (or in some questions more) of a series of predetermined options listed beside check-boxes - for example, the area, range and type of performance, or how the respondent classified the group in terms of Traditional/Revival, etc. A number of aspects required more detailed or expansive responses and these were presented as open questions allowing the respondent to use their own words to explain what happened in their group. Examples here include the Titles used in the group for performance and management functions, recruitment methods, decision-making procedures and the objectives of the group. Responses from these open questions were analysed and categories of answer were developed allowing subsequent analysis. In some instances, different forms of question were combined within one area of enquiry, offering a number of pre-determined options plus a request to expand on a given aspect. A full list of the questions asked, together with the response options, is given in Appx.3. This Part of the study examines the responses to the questionnaires, and matters raised by the responses are reported and commented upon. Some correlations between different question results are noted during the progress of the text, but broader commentary is given in the last chapter of this Part.

A total of 372 questionnaires were returned (sources were shown in Table 1.5). 24 groups returned more than one questionnaire. Where these included a Draft Questionnaire, the DQ was discarded. Where groups were duplicated through network and umbrella organisation mailings[1] the most reliable, according to the hierarchy shown in Table 1.6, was used. In a few instances notes from both questionnaires were used and this is recorded in the text where relevant. In addition to these exclusions, some questionnaires were excluded because the responding groups were not within the

focus of the study (e.g. those received from groups not operating in England or Wales, or from junior groups run by an adult and therefore not self-governing). One questionnaire was excluded because it had been completed for one of the umbrella organisations itself. Another was returned completely blank except for a typed note which read:

> 'Answering Q.26, implies non-confidentiality; therefore we are not prepared to be involved with this inquiry.'

This question had asked - a) *May I state in the research which group this information relates to?*, b) *May I list your name as an informant in the research but without linking any specific answers to it?* and c) *May I credit you, or the group, as the source of the information given?* It is possible that other groups who failed to return questionnaires held views similar to the above and one cannot be certain that these groups did not share other aspects of attitudes or operation in common as well. Given the diversity of responses to each question area from those groups who did respond, it is unlikely that any significant variation was omitted from the totality of responses, although some caution obviously is necessary when drawing conclusions from any statistical analysis of IQ responses with a low sample number. All other responding groups appeared to trust that I would abide by the promises given in the introductory text.

Questionnaire returns from 333 different groups were considered relevant and therefore provide the raw data for this part of the study. In some instances individual questions were not completed, with no reasons specified, or the response was not comprehensible. Incomprehensible responses were omitted from data entry and these, together with the non-responses, result in the sample size sometimes varying from question to question. Sample sizes, where relevant, are given throughout.

The very informal structures which tend to be used by the groups to organise their activities, and which become evident in the following chapters, present problems in analysing some of the responses given to the Initial Questionnaires. Many of the questions were open (as described in Ch.3), allowing the respondents complete freedom in how they answered, and these responses have had to be codified into a series of response types to allow for further analysis. The methods used to codify open responses are explained, as appropriate, under each question below. Even some of the closed questions, although apparently seeking straightforward factual answers, were interpreted differently by different respondents. The ways in which these various interpretations were addressed is also considered below. Assumptions have been avoided as far as possible although some, again detailed as appropriate, have had to be made and it is prudent to err on the side of caution in interpreting

statistics drawn from codified answers. Some responses to questions which were intended to elicit factual responses also produced answers more accurately described as opinion. For example, Q2 asked the groups to state which Forms/Types their groups performed and to rank them in order of importance within the group's repertoire. The list is factual but the ranking may be a reflection of the opinion of the individual(s) who completed the questionnaire: it is possible that an individual respondent's opinion may be out of line with the opinion of the group collectively. Indeed, there is evidence that some of the issues raised by the questions had not previously been addressed, collectively or individually. Nevertheless, the totality of responses may be taken as an accurate reflection of the groups, their make-up, performances and management overall. There is no indication that any of the questionnaire responses are inaccurate.

Without a consistent overall framework within which to operate, each of the groups appears to have developed its own, often idiosyncratic, way of working and it is from within this mass of apparently inconsistent information that Parts III and IV of the study seek to identify how the subject groups are made up, organise, operate and manage themselves.

The Names of The Groups: Q1 of Initial Questionnaire

On receipt of a completed Initial Questionnaire (IQ), each responding group was allocated a reference number (IQ:*xxx*), which was subsequently used in linking database tables to facilitate data analysis. As indicated above, groups were also asked whether information from the questionnaire could be linked to the name of the group (Q26). A list of IQ numbers, together with the permissions responses (and the names of the groups and respondents where permission was given) is given in Appx.1. The allocation of these reference numbers enabled data to be compared without linking specifics to particular groups and this was important where anonymity was requested. The name of the group was therefore not critical, but useful for cross-checking information from the questionnaires with information from other sources. Nevertheless, some interesting points emerge concerning group names and the ways in which the groups present themselves to the public.

One 'group' from whom an IQ was returned is made up of a number of individuals (all of whom dance with other morris sides) who annually 'turn up' at a certain pub on New Year's Day and then go dancing. There is no name for the group but, for the purposes of the questionnaire, they referred to themselves by the place at which they meet (Good Easter, in Essex), and the type of morris dance they perform on that occasion, i.e. 'The Good Easter Molly Dancers' (IQ:015). A title deriving from place

and Form (or Type) of performance gives rise to the names of 172 (52%) of the responding groups. In some cases the place may simply be the current name of the village, town, city, or district, e.g. Oxford City Morris Men, Shrewton Mummers, Chesterton Molly, Matthews Morris Men - St. Matthews being a district of Leicester - Goathland Ploughstots, Fleetwood Rapper, Fylde Coast Cloggies etc.; in other cases a more ancient, but still geographically derived, name may be used, e.g. Deva Sword & Morris, Danegeld Morris, Men of Sweyn's Ey, Silurian Morris, Trigg Morris[2]. In some cases the location element of the name may be as local as the name of the public house at which the group rehearse or practise, e.g. Lord Paget's Morris Men, Dacre Morris (SQ:056), Lord Conyer's Morris Men, Green Man Morris & Sword Club (SQ:153), Royal Oak Morris (SQ:320), but these titles are still structured by location and discipline.

Some group names refer to Form or Type without location (e.g. Rogue Morris, Mary Neal Rapper, Acorn Morris, Whitethorn Morris). A total of 259 of named groups (79%) refer to the Form or Type of performance in their title. Conversely, other groups use location in their title without reference to the Form or Type (e.g. Yorkshire Chandelier, New Forest Meddlars, Severn Gilders). A total of 196 (60%) groups' titles refer to location - either immediate, or a wider area.

In some instances there is a local *reference* in the title rather than a specific geographical indicator. The use of the name of a rehearsal pub has already been noted, but some groups select other kinds of local reference. For Oyster Morris (Whitstable, Kent) the name reflects a significant local commodity:

> 'It was from Whitstable's fame for Oysters that the name Oyster Morris was adopted...'
> (Oyster Morris publicity leaflet & programme for 1995)

Similarly, on the opposite side of the Thames estuary, Cockleshell Clog (Southend-on-Sea, Essex) also derive their name from a shellfish:

> 'As many of the founding members were associated with the Hoy at Anchor Folk [Song] Club in Old Leigh, Essex, and that town is famous for its Cockle sheds, it took very little discussion to name the side.' (Cockleshell Clog's 10th Anniversary programme, 1995)

Tarka Morris (Bideford, Devon) takes its name from the Henry Williamson story *Tarka the Otter* which is set in the area (they also have an otter as their Morris 'animal'. IQ:193)[3], White Horse Morris Men's name refers to the ancient white horse figure scoured on the chalk downs at Uffington

(Wiltshire) which is within their customary area of performance, while Victory Morris Men (of Portsmouth) take the name of Admiral Lord Nelson's battleship, *The Victory*, which is preserved in the port, and so on.

Some of these local references are obvious, as shown above, and may even be explained in the team's literature, but others seem to be almost deliberately obscure. One of the questions asked in the Supplementary Questionnaires (when the team's name was not obviously location/type) was the reason for the team's name. The replies revealed several local references which were not immediately obvious. Examples illustrate the point:

> Hook Eagle Morris: 'Hook - because we live there; Eagle because we formed for a "one-off" dance at an auction of promises to raise money for St. John the Evangelist church in Hook. St. John's symbol is an eagle' (SQ:220)
>
> Caddington Blues Morris: 'The name comes from the name given to bricks made in the village at the turn of the last century. The bricks look slightly "blue".' (SQ:292)
>
> Treacle Eater Clog: 'Named after "Jack the Treacle Eater" folly in Barwick Park near Yeovil.' (SQ:291)
>
> Northgate: 'It is the name of the brewery that used to be in Bath, which was one of the largest in the South West. It was closed in the 1860s.' (SQ:106)
>
> Faithful City: 'Worcester is known as the Faithful City as it is reported to have stayed faithful to the monarchy throughout the Civil War.' (SQ:177)
>
> Red Stags Morris: 'From the stag in Southampton University's crest.' (SQ:077)
>
> Cock & Magpie Morris: 'From the coat of arms of Chesterfield.' (SQ:118)

Group names with an heraldic reference typically refer to local Coats of Arms or heraldic devices, e.g. Ragged Staff, Invicta, etc. If such indirect local reference titles (where recognised) are re-classified as location based then the total rises from 60% to 63% of named responding groups. Titles which have an obscure local reference are merely titles to an outsider (the etic perspective), but have additional meaning within the team or the local community where the reference is understood (the emic perspective). Shared knowledge of such obscurities can be a unifying bond, and discussion of it a part of the metafolklore.

As shown in the case of the temporarily named Good Easter Molly Dancers (above), some groups operate with no title at all. Many of the performing groups which *only* maintain a calendar custom, or a local seasonal performance fall into this category. For example, in the revived custom of The

Hunting of the Earl of Rone (C/S:3, Ch.11), the performers are collectively referred to as the 'Party' and the organising group is known as the 'Earl of Rone Council', but there is no title for the performing group. Similarly, the Haxey Hood Game (Lincolnshire), Castleton Garland Day (Derbyshire), Minehead Hobby Horse (Somerset), Whitstable Mayday (Kent), and other such customs, may have titles for certain roles in the conduct of the custom, but the whole *group who perform* do not themselves have a title. The title by which the *custom* is known refers to the activity, place and/or time of celebration rather than to the group.

For some calendar customs, there is more than one performing group maintaining the activity, and here the different groups do tend to be identified locally by different names (and differing costumes). In Padstow (Cornwall) on May Day there are two hobby horses. The *Old Oss Party* (both members of the 'Party' proper who maintain the custom and their followers/supporters) wear red ribbon while those associated with the *Blue Ribbon Oss* (sometimes referred to as the *Peace Oss*) wear, obviously, blue ribbon. Amongst the *Bonfire Boys* in Lewes (Sussex), who maintain elaborate fire processions on November 5th, each participant belongs to one of the Bonfire Societies and these are named according to the district of Lewes from which they ostensibly come (Cliffe, Southover, etc.). Each Society chooses a theme for its costume annually which visually distinguishes its supporters (Etherington. 1993). In Minehead (Somerset), over the first three days of May, there are currently (1995-1997) five Hobby Horses (where previously there had been two). Here, costume does not vary but the participants are referred to collectively by the title of the Horse they support: the ('original') *Sailors Horse* (the name is also painted on the side of the beast itself) and, the *Town Horse* (similarly painted but also referred to, by the leader of the Sailors Horse, as the *Folk Club Horse* and formerly known as the *Show Horse*). The remaining three horses (named *Sailor's Horse* (sic), *Sailor's Colt* and *Black Devil*) are all brought out by one individual and his supporters and are collectively known by his name - *John Land's horses* or *Lando's horses* (noted during performance in 1996).

Such names have a local significance and are used within the community to identify an individual's allegiance but have little currency outside of that community (except for officianados) where 'the Lewes Bonfire Boys', 'The Hobby Horse', etc. fail to differentiate. It is only where a group needs to identify itself to people other than its 'own' community (e.g. by being engaged at a distant event) that a 'fixed' name has been adopted. Unsurprisingly then, a formal title is also sometimes missing for groups which are ad hoc and only come together for occasional or periodic local performances. To an outsider, this lack of title for the organisation lends it a kind of invisibility. This is an aspect which is further discussed later in the study.

The remaining kinds of titles, those by which the group is generally known but which are not Type/location based, also fall into several different types. A total of 21 (6%) of responding groups have canting[4] titles. These, for example, include: Mind The Step, Plain Brown Rapper, Wode Works, Gift Rapper, No Mean Feet, Scrambled Legs, Wrekin Havoc, Broken Ankles, etc. In the case of Rapper sword teams, the performance type obviously lends itself to punning, as in:

> Gift Rapper: 'Our first 'dance out' was on Boxing Day - the name started as a joke, but never got replaced.' (SQ:107)

Names that play upon words or terms for feet, steps, ankles and legs all belong to groups that perform Appalacian step-dancing. Some canting titles are simply puns - for example:

> Bullnose Morris: 'A 'Bullnose Morris' car was seen whilst trying to decide a name!' (SQ:124)

> Belles and Broomsticks: 'With our semi-french connection Belles was a play on words for young girls & Morris bells. Broomsticks was one word that featured in the early days as one of our first dances - Bradninch Millers Broom Dance.' (SQ:105)

Canting titles may be, apart from simply a source of amusement, a choice to avoid locating the group geographically by its title may be as deliberate for those groups as it is for others who chose to identify their geographic origin.

Other types of group name include: those with a literary reference, e.g. Jabberwocky, Poly Olbion, Snark, Sergeant Musgrave's Dance and, as mentioned above, Tarka Morris, those with reference to aspects of the Folk Revival itself, e.g. Hands Around, Queen's Delight, Mary Neal Rapper, New Esperance Morris[5], and names with a botanical reference, e.g New Forest Meddlars, Beggars Oak, Acorn Morris, and a number of women's Northwest style morris teams such as Flowers of May, Devon Violets or Whitethorn. There are also occasional connections *between* different team's names:

> 'All the sides in the New Forest are named after trees - our name [New Forest Meddlars] is a cross between the Medlar tree and the fact that we Meddle in several different traditions.' (SQ:103)

> 'The group [Whitethorn Morris] was formed as a result of a 'split' in 1977 from the Flowers of May. The name is another of the many common names for Mayflowers [i.e. Hawthorn].' (SQ:098)

The sex of the performers is also explicit in some groups' names although the use of the appellation 'Men' (as in Such and Such Morris *Men*) or 'Dancers' is often used, or dropped, inconsistently[6]. There remain a number of names which do not fit these classifications. These are sometimes explained in the responses to SQs. These include, for example:

> Weslevan Morris Men: 'The group was formed from a scout group - the church we used was called Wesley. Nothing Wesleyan about the group!' (SQ:216)
>
> Betty Lupton's Ladle Laikers: 'Taken from a local character - Betty Lupton, supposedly an inn-keeper's daughter who ladled out spa water (Harrogate is a spa town) in Victorian times.' (SQ:183)
>
> Fidlers Fancy Womens Morris: 'Named after Stockport girls team early this century started by a Mr. Charles Fidler (a former Stockport Morris Man) so his grand-daughter could dance. They were also well known Maypole dancers.' (SQ:281)
>
> Clerical Error: 'The costume was based on a Victorian Cleric, but it would be an error to assume we were saintly!' (SQ:288)

Other names are less easy to explain, although some may contain local references that I have not identified: White Star, Stone the Crows, Elephant Up a Pole, Rampant Rooster, Fen Nightingale, Chalice, Nancy Cousin's, Mr. Wilkin's Shilling, Old Palace, Dr. Turberville's, and so on. Some names serve to elevate the group by (unsubstantiated) royal association: Kingsmen, Crownsmen, Queen's Oak, King John's, etc. One unusual morris group, formed in 1985 in response to a specific request for overseas performances when two local extant sides could not raise sufficient men, is the Chameleonic Morris Men. Since 1985, the group has been reconstructed whenever a similar situation has arisen and 'there have been 40 participants from 7 or 8 different [morris] sides over the last 10 years' (IQ:250). The group is unique in a number of ways and its name is utterly appropriate in view of its changes in repertoire and style every time it appears in different situations. The analysis of group name-types is summarised in Table 3.1.

There is probably no significance in the actual proportions of different name-types, they are simply illustrative of the variety of ideas that are used to arrive at names. However there are some broad points which emerge. It is evident that although most group names are casual and unstudied, others are deliberately chosen. Whilst names based on Form/Type and location predominate, many names have an historical, retrospective or nostalgic aspect - ancient names, e.g. Deva, Trigg, Silurian, heraldic references, names with connections to previous teams, the early period of the Folk Revival or the Victorian era, and so on. Even the Bullnose Morris car has this aspect and local reference names such as Oyster Morris, Caddington Blues and Cockleshell Clog[7] have a local historic, as well

as contemporary, relevance. The role of history, or perceived history, within the Folk Revival and amongst the groups examined is significant, although the relationship is complex and, demonstrably, of varying importance to different groups.

	No.	%
Form/Type	259	79
Location	196	60
Local reference	34	10
Botanical	17	5
Canting	21	6
Literary reference	8	3
Heraldic reference	5	2
Folk Revival reference	4	1
Total named groups (sample)	327	100
Nameless groups	6	

Table 3.1: Numbers of groups adopting different name-types.

It can also be noted that the choice of names can follow fashion. No canting titles exist for groups formed prior to 1976 but occur consistently thereafter through the 1980s and '90s. Groups with literary references in the title first appear in 1974 with a total of 4 in the 1970s and 3 in the 1980s - only Tarka Morris appears in the sample from the 1990s. Political and policy issues have also been occasionally detected behind the choice of names: The Royal Lancashire Morris Dancers (C/S:7) wished to be pan-Lancashire and avoid location conflict with other sides, the female Windsor Morris deliberately avoided calling themselves 'Womens' Morris (and chose to style their 'kit' on the 'classic' Cotswold morris mens' dress, rather than any more traditional female costume[8]) making a political statement at the beginning of the period when an increasing number of women adopted what were, at the time, generally thought of as male dance forms.

From the 1950s onwards there has been a fairly steady decline in the proportion of new groups which choose to title themselves simply by Form/Type and location. The figures are shown in Table 3.2. This may be a reflection of the way in which the Folk Revival has changed over time and, in particular, of a move away from localised public performance to the more widespread stages of the folk festival and the tourist attraction. Further evidence is presented under Qs 4-7 later in this chapter.

Period formed	1955 1959	1960 1964	1965 1969	1970 1974	1975 1979	1980 1984	1985 1989	1990 1995
Percent	100	100	96	86	77	81	63	57
Sample	10	6	51	83	129	89	92	62

Table 3.2: Percentage of new groups choosing Form/Type and location titles

One may generally conclude that group names of whatever type exist for convenience rather than for any specific purpose such as marketing, meeting sponsorship demands, etc., and that they can be influenced by fashion, insider knowledge, humour and pure whim.

Type of Performance: Q2 of Initial Questionnaire

Q2 asked the group to identify the *Form(s)* and *Type(s)* of performance that they undertook. In addition to a series of pre-determined check-boxes listing the various forms and types described in Ch.1 (see Appx.3), space was allowed for further personal descriptions to be entered, and this resulted in a fuller specific list than first offered. Notably, the option 'Other Specific Custom' yielded a range of participation in calendar customs (e.g. Plough Bullocks, May Garlands), which had not been individually identified in the question. These have been classed as *'FORM:Custom'* for purposes of analysis, and have been compared individually where relevant. Four of the case studies in Part IV are of individual calendar customs and comparisons between these are discussed there in greater detail. Groups' repertoires and repertoire rankings are listed in Appx.5.

The survey also asked groups, if relevant, to rank the importance of different Forms/Types that they performed on a descending scale, with "1" as the most important to them. Several groups reported a large number of low-ranking Forms/Types and, for the purposes of data entry and ease of subsequent analysis, all Forms/Types that the questionnaire ranked at "3" or lower were grouped under "3". Some groups ranked several Types within their primary Form as being of equal import, and these have been classified as *'Repertory'* groups within that Form. Specifically, in the case of morris groups such cases were typically where three or more types of morris were all ranked "1" or, in the case of sword groups, where both Longsword and Rapper were ranked "1". Four responding groups (only two of

which still operate) which were created specifically for displaying a range of different English traditions, rank a number of different Forms *and* Types equally. The motivation of these groups is explicit and is exemplified by the publicity literature of the Folk Ensemble Deva (IQ:067).

> 'The Group was formed in 1987 to create a new and youthful representation of the English Folk Dance and Song Society. Its repertoire includes examples of most facets of English Folk Dance... The Group's principle objective is to provide quality representation of our traditional heritage, both at home and abroad, with enjoyment as a paramount feature.' (Folk Ensemble Deva - publicity handout 1994)

Such groups are classified as *'FORM:Cross-form, TYPE: Repertory'* but are now rare (except for a few youth groups which are not included in this study) although several are known to have existed as part of the English Folk Dance Society (and subsequently English Folk Dance & Song Society) earlier in the 20th Century, following the consolidation of all these diverse forms into the umbrella concept of the 'Folk Tradition'. The full repertoire of each group was entered in the database, together with the importance ranking of each Form/Type.

Table 3.3 shows the number of groups performing different Forms/Types as their only repertoire, as a main type in the repertoire and as an aspect of their repertoire irrespective of importance ranking. The number of groups who perform any given Type is seen to increase considerably when the number of groups performing that Type as Rank 1 (column B) is compared to the number who perform *only* that Type (column A) - 2.6 times as many on average - and if the number of groups who perform that Type at all (column C) is similarly compared there is, on average, a 3.9-fold increase in numbers. Social singing groups were not a focus of this study, although the category was included in the list to test how widespread it was amongst the groups. No groups gave it a Rank 1 status but 11 included it as of some importance. 'Bedlam' morris and Broom dancing[9] are the other Types that appear only at a low ranking, possibly indicating that they are speciality items within a wider repertoire.

Two groups are the only representatives of their Type of performance in the sample: the Owd Hoss tradition (IQ:258 - Merry England Mummers) and a Hobby Horse custom (IQ:012 - The Hunting of the Earl of Rone). Similarly, only one group carries out the Dorset Ooser[10] custom and for them it is a Rank 1 type (IQ:249 - Wessex Morris Men).

	A No. of groups performing as Only form/type	B No. of groups performing as a Rank 1 Form/Type	C No. of groups performing this Form/Type at all
MORRIS			
Cotswold	63	167	175
Northwest	43	64	76
Border	15	44	86
Molly	1	5	10
Bedlam	0	0	1
Other/unspecified	1	8	13
SWORD			
Longsword	6	24	46
Rapper	6	23	42
Other/unspecified	0	2	3
MUMMING			
Christmas hero	11	41	61
Souling	2	2	4
Pace-egg	4	7	11
Tup	0	1	3
Wooing/plough	2	7	13
Robin Hood	0	1	2
Other/unspecified	1	4	12
SOCIAL DANCE (ALL TYPES)	**4**	**22**	**31**
STEP DANCE			
Appalachian	3	3	8
Clog	4	9	22
Welsh	0	3	6
Broom	0	0	2
Other/unspecified	0	1	2
EFFIGY			
Jack in the green	1	5	12
ANIMAL			
Dorset Ooser	0	1	1
Owd Horse	1	1	1
Hobby Horse	1	1	1
Hoodening	1	4	5
Mari Lwyd	1	1	3
SOCIAL SINGING	0	0	11
WASSAILING	2	6	11
CALENDAR CUSTOM	5	10	15

Table 3.3: Number of groups: Only, Main & Total Form/Type.

It is difficult to assess 'other/unspecified' categories (as the specific performances vary considerably and, in some cases, are entirely self-created) but it is evident that some Types which have one or two groups performing *only* that Type are immediately more widespread as Rank 1 amongst groups with a wider repertoire: Molly (x3), Hoodening (x4), Wassailing (x3), Wooing Plays (x3.5), Jack-in-the-Green (x5), and it may be noted that these are all highly seasonal types of performance. Other seasonal Types increase in number at a lower ranking: The Mari Lwyd (x3), Souling plays (x2) and Tupping (x3). It is evident that many groups maintain seasonal performances in addition to other, or other more important, Types. This is a phenomenon which will be returned to later in the study. For the remainder of Types, increases in numbers between columns in the table do not vary significantly from the average (i.e. A>B, x2.6 and A>C, x3.9).

Rank 1 classification	No.	Rank 1 classification	No.	Rank 1 classification	No.
Border	19	Northwest	51	Mumming Pace-egg	1
Border & Jack	1	Northwest & Border	1	Mumming Repertoire	3
Border & Other	1	Northwest & Cotswold	3	Mumming Other	1
Border & Own	1	Northwest, Cotswold & Clog	1	Mumming & Hoodening	1
Border & Social	1	Northwest & Clog	2		
Border & Xmas hero	2	Northwest & Pace-egg	1	Sword Longsword	8
Border, Molly & Sword Rep.	1	Northwest & Rushcart	1	Sword Rapper	12
		Northwest & Xmas hero	1	Sword Repertoire	1
Cotswold	110	Northwest & Other	1		
Cotswold & Border	10			Social dance	5
Cotswold, Border & Rapper	2	Molly	1	Social dance - Welsh	6
Cotswold, Border, Rapper & Mumming	1	Molly & Custom	2	Social dance & Step (Welsh)	3
Cotswold, Border, Jack & Wassail	1				
Cotswold & Jack	1	Morris Repertoire	2	Step-dance - Appalachian	3
Cotswold & Custom	2	Morris & Mumming	5	Step-dance - Clog	4
Cotswold & Longsword	4	Morris, Mumming & Sword	2		
Cotswold, Sword & Wassail	1	Morris, Mumming & Custom	1	Custom - Hoodening	1
Cotswold & Plough play	3	Morris & Social dance	2	Custom - Mari Lwyd	1
Cotswold & Other	2	Morris & Step-dance	1	Custom - Wassailing	1
Cotswold & Xmas hero	6	Morris & Sword	4	Custom - Unique	4
Cotswold, Xmas hero & Clog	1	Morris Other	2		
Cotswold, Xmas hero & Longsword	1			Crossform Repertoire	4
Cotswold, Xmas hero & Dorset Ooser	1	Xmas hero	14		
Cotswold, Xmas hero & Sword rep.	1	Xmas hero & Longsword	1		

Table 3.4: Number of groups by Rank 1 Form/Type classification

Although a slight majority of groups (53%) maintain only a single Type of performance, others listed up to seven. Amongst these groups, where only one Type was ranked '1', the establishment of an overall category of performance presented no problem, but for those where more than one was ranked '1' it was decided to devise a further method of categorising each group in order to see if certain combinations occurred frequently. The combination of Forms and Types varies considerably, and the final list of repertoire classifications, based on No.1 rankings, is presented in Table 3.4, together with the number of groups falling in each. The combinations of Cotswold and Border, Cotswold and

Christmas Hero play and Cotswold and Longsword, and the broader combinations of morris & mumming and morris & sword do show some clustering, but this composite classification did not prove particularly useful for comparative analysis with the data from some later questions because it produces a large number of classifications with relatively low sample numbers. However, it does serve to demonstrate the wide range of combinations that exist.

The breadth of repertoire amongst some of the groups is further demonstrated in Table 3.5. Here the number of groups is given showing how many Forms/Types they rank at '1' against the number they maintain at all - (*number of Forms/Types ranked 1 : number of Forms/Types in repertoire*). Thus groups shown under '1:1' perform a single Type only, where groups under, for example, '2:5' have two main Types (Rank 1) but a total of five. Most cross-question analysis against Form and Type hereafter is done with the groups that report only one main (Rank 1) Type of performance. A full listing of Form/Type(s), rankings and ratios is given in Appx.5.

	Number of main Forms/Types						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Total number of Forms/Types							
1	164						
2	48	29					
3	21	11	12				
4	8	12	4	5			
5	3	2		1	1		
6	2	4			1	1	
7	2	1					1

Table 3.5: Number of groups by ratio of Rank 1 to all ranks

It has already been suggested in Ch.6 that some of these combinations may be the result of groups adding fashionable Types to a previous repertoire but other more mundane reasons have also been suggested. When asked why groups expanded the repertoire with different items, one interviewee said:

> "Cause it can't half be bloody boring, week after week, especially if you've a village dance - only one dance. You take the average morris team: they might do three or

> four village traditions and four or five dances out of each tradition. Take even a Rapper team - most teams would practise the individual moves and weave them into two or three different phases of the dance. But [Long]sword dance teams generally just have the one dance.' (Stone. Int:003)

The tendency of some Cotswold morris teams to perform a repertoire of 'four or five dances' from each of 'three or four village traditions[11]' is explained by the way in which morris dancing was, and is, taught within the Folk Revival - initially by Cecil Sharp, then by his followers and subsequently by The Ring. This was briefly discussed in relation to the quotation from Douglas Kennedy in Ch.6 above, and it has continued long after the dominant influence of those sources of tuition ceased: tradition dies hard and the approach has been continued by subsequent teachers. Also, within the repertoires, many morris sides include a single dance from the 'Lichfield tradition' (usually the dance known as *'Ring-o-Bells'*) although they usually do not differentiate 'Lichfield' from 'Cotswold'. A similar 'multi-tradition' tendency is observable amongst some Northwest morris teams, but the specific dances within a team's repertoire have not been investigated in this study (although the size of the repertoire is the subject of some commentary towards the end of this chapter).

As noted above, a number of groups reported the maintenance of an annual calendar custom and there are frequent links with morris sides. The Saddleworth Morris Men also maintain the Saddleworth Rushcart and both activities are regarded as being of equal importance (Saddleworth Morris Men. Int:016). Similarly, the Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers maintain the customary Election of the Mayor of Ock Street, and the interviewee for this group described the two activities as 'closely linked and inseparable' (Bartram. Int:008). This is further emphasised in the text of a letter published in *English Dance and Song* (Winter 1997) where the side explains why they do not wish their dances copied or taught:

> '...the Abingdon dances are only one component of the Abingdon tradition, which comprises the Ock Street Horns, the Mayor of Ock Street and finally the dances themselves. The tradition as a whole would be damaged if one component - the dances - were performed out of context. Also it is highly likely that other sides would dance only a few favourites, which would devalue the other dances in the tradition.' (ED&S v.59(4):20)[12]

A further example of a morris side maintaining a calendar custom which they regard as being as important as their dancing occurs in C/S:4 and C/S:5 on the Kirtlington Morris Men and the Kirtlington Lamb Ale (see Part IV). In such examples the annual custom is signally different to just the dance performance, but for other sides the annual custom *is* their dancing - but on a special day in their home territory. Examples here include Bampton Morris (Oxfordshire) at Whitsun who conduct

a more or less ritualised tour of their 'home ground' and invite specific sides to join them, and the Britannia Coconut Dancers (Lancashire) on Easter Saturday (see C/S:2). This is also true of several mumming groups for whom the raison d'être is the annual local seasonal performance, but who may occasionally perform at other locations and even at other times (e.g. Symondsbury Mummers, Dorset). These aspects are considered further under Q5/6/7.

In summary, it is possible to say that although 53% of the surveyed groups maintain only a single Type of performance, the remainder show a remarkable range of combinations of Types. Novelty and fashion (which are not necessarily dissimilar) have been identified as possible causes for this - and there begins to emerge a significant link between some year-round groups and a particular calendar custom which they maintain.

Size and age profile of the groups: Q3 of Initial Questionnaire

The third question sought details of the size of the performing group, the age range of the performers and the age distribution of members' ages within that range. A total of 322 groups answered the question. In order to simplify analysis, where a group reported an uneven number, it was rounded down to the next even number thereby halving the number of size bands. No groups reported less than six in the performing group. A total of eight groups reported a number over 40 - these were all allocated to the group '40+'.

It may be noted that the number of people *needed* to perform a particular dance Type, or to complete the cast in a mummer's play, is dependant on the nature of the items that are being performed. The number *needed* will constitute the minimum number for the group to be viable. Again, it may be noted that, in the case of mumming gangs, the number of characters in the play is not necessarily the minimum number of actors needed for a performance to take place. The North Devon Mummers, for whom I played the 'Doctor' part for ten years until 1980, have a play with nine characters but it was often performed with six actors. In more recent years, with some redistribution of text between characters, it has even been performed with only five actors (Francis Verdigi - personal communication).

The 'classic' Cotswold morris set comprises six dancers and to these may be added one or two musicians and perhaps a fool and/or beast - a total of somewhere around nine persons. In contrast,

a Northwest morris team will usually have to turn out a minimum of eight dancers and, upwards in multiples of four, with over twenty dancing simultaneously in some sides, and they are frequently accompanied by a band rather than a single musician. Thus a Northwest team in performance is most likely to need somewhere between twelve and twenty-four people.

It might therefore be expected that the size of the group will show a simple correlation with the Type/Form that they perform, but the questionnaire results demonstrate that this is not necessarily the case. Table 3.6 shows the number of groups in each size band both for the survey overall and, more particularly, for those groups who only perform certain Types.

SIZE OF GROUP	06	08	10	12	14	16	18	20	22	24	26	28	30	32	34	36	40+
Number of all groups (322)	10	32	26	38	41	35	16	40	18	23	10	5	11	4	4	1	8
% of sample	3	10	8	12	13	11	5	12	6	7	3	2	3	1	1	0	3
Number of single Type/Form groups (165)	7	19	25	20	20	15	8	17	10	10	3	1	2	4	0	1	3
% of sample	4	12	15	12	12	9	5	10	6	6	2	1	1	2	0	1	2
MORRIS																	
Cotswold	2	7	8	8	8	5	6	11	1	3				2			
Northwest		2		4	6	4	1	4	7	7	3		2	1		1	
Border				4	3	2		1	2			1		1			
Molly							1										
MUMMING																	
Christmas hero	2	4	4	1													
Pace-egg/Plough/Souling			9														
SWORD																	
Longsword		2	1		1			1									1
Rapper	3	1			1	1											
STEP DANCING																	
Clog		2		1													
Appalachian						2											
WASSAILING		1	1														
UNIQUE CUSTOMS			1	1		1											2
Hoodening/Mari/Owd Oss			1	1	1												

Table 3.6: Size of group: totals and by selected Form/Type

Among the morris sides it is noticeable that Northwest sides tend to be larger than Cotswold sides, while Border sides are about the same size. However, the data also shows that for all three Types there are two peaks in the number of sides across the size band continuum. There is one obvious

reason why some sides are larger than is necessary just to perform the dances: it is not unusual for sides to maintain more than a single dance set who may perform concurrently or with individuals dancing in rotation to take a rest. For example, at their peak in the 1970s, Hartley Morris (Kent, who perform Cotswold type morris) had over 50 fairly regular dancers (C/S:12) - i.e. the potential for some eight six-man sides to be dancing simultaneously.

If a group has enough dancers and musicians to put on a performance, it does not need to recruit new people: it is only when numbers fall below the critical level that new performers have to be recruited if the group is to remain viable as a performing unit. Evidence quoted under Q16 (motivation) also indicates that there is a strong leaning towards socialising among some groups which would tend to attract more dancers than are actually necessary to tour out. This is the subject of further commentary under Q16. Mumming groups, in contrast, evidently do not turn out more than one team at a time and cast size varies from play to play - though usually between six and twelve[13]. This is borne out by the figures in Table 3.6 and it may be noted that, although there is a spread of sizes among groups who perform only a Christmas-hero play, all other mumming groups fall in the 10/11 size band.

Like the mummers, the sword, wassailing, step-dance and horse performing groups also tend to be small. The noticeable Longsword exceptions are one group who unfortunately declined to be identified (IQ:075) and the Goathland Plough Stotts (IQ:274). The reasons why the latter is significantly larger than the norm for their Type is explained in Stone (1979). The calender customs examined are also small except for The Hunting of the Earl of Rone (IQ:012 - see C/S:3) and for 'Oxford May Morning' (IQ:172) where a number of different morris sides gather to 'dance in' Mayday, the whole being classed as a calendar custom in its own right. In some calendar customs there can be an opportunity for more and more people to become involved. From personal experience, this is certainly true of many calendar customs which were not in the survey (e.g. Padstow Mayday, Haxey Hood Game, Lewes Bonfire Night). Amongst such customs an unlimited number could theoretically take part in the performance, although *who* takes part may be limited or defined in some other way - often by place of residence, birth or genealogy. In others, where the overall custom has grown to include major public dance displays, the host side may import additional teams to participate in the processional aspects of the custom as they do for May Morning in Oxford. Further examples include Saddleworth Rushcart, Kirtlington Lamb Ale and Whittlesea Straw Bear. On the other hand, some calendar customs can and do only accommodate a very limited number of participants because of the nature of the performance, e.g. Hungerford Hocktide (the Tutti Men), Whitby Penny Hedge, the Mari Lwyd and mumming plays. As suggested earlier, several calendar customs, because of their nature

and diversity, must each be regarded as unique, and only rarely (and then only in certain aspects) can they be compared as a group in terms of structure and management.

The second part of Q3 concerned the ages of performers. Groups were asked both the age range of participants (i.e. youngest and oldest) and the number of people in each of the following age-bands: 1-10 yrs., 10-18 yrs., 19-24 yrs., 25-34 yrs., 35-44 yrs., 45-54 yrs., 55-65 yrs. and over 65 yrs. Three groups failed to give a reply to this question in any form and of the balance, 79 gave the max./min. but no break-down by age band and 39 gave the break-down without the max./min. figures. The remaining 212 groups (64%) answered both parts of the question. The results are both listed and tabulated in Appx.6, the tabulation showing the number of groups in each segment of a grid formed by Group Size against Age Range. On cursory examination, it is evident that there is only a limited correlation between the size of the group and the age range of its members. One can observe that no group with over 30 members has an age range less than 41 years, nor are there any groups with less then 18 members that have an age range less then 16 years but, within such cut-off points, groups are as likely to have a wide age range as a narrow one. Similarly, groups with any particular age range are as likely to be small as they are to be large.

Although 251 groups (as reported above) gave a breakdown of the ages of their membership, it has already been noted that the Type or Form of performance can have a bearing on the number of people needed to perform. A comparison was therefore made between the age distributions among groups that reported only one, or one main, Type of performance. Of the 251 groups, 172 came into this category to form the sample. The actual distribution of numbers of members across the age-bands varies considerably. Only one group (IQ:287) reported members in all eight age-bands, although eleven groups reported members in seven of the age-bands. Table 3.7 shows the number and percentage of groups who reported having no members at all in certain age-bands. Overall, the distribution is not surprising: over 80% of groups have no members under 10 yrs. old or over 65 yrs., a little over half the groups have no members under 19 yrs. or over 54 yrs., over 90% of the groups only have members between 35 yrs. and 54 yrs. and just under 80% only have members aged beween 25 yrs. and 34 yrs.

This simple examination however is not very informative and gives no indication of whether the ages of members tend to be clustered or whether this parameter is related to any other parameter examined. Of the same sample of 172 groups, nine (5%) had no members over 44 yrs. but a further 77 (45%) had no members over 54 yrs. At the other end of the age range, one group (0.5%) had no members

under 45 yrs., a further 14 (8%) had none under 35 yrs, another 49 (29%) had none under 25 yrs and, lastly, a further 25 (15%) had nobody under 19 yrs. These figures are shown in Table 3.8.

Age bands:	<10	11-18	19-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-65	65+
Number of groups reporting no members per age band	151	93	112	37	4	13	93	141
Percentage of sample (172)	88	54	65	22	2	8	54	82

Table 3.7: Groups reporting no members per age-band

Ages:	19	25	35	44/45	54
Total of groups with no members older than:				9	86
Total of groups with no members younger than:	89	64	15	1	
Percentage of sample (172)	52.5	37.5	8.5	5 0.5	50

Table 3.8: Number of groups with no members above/below age thresholds

Neither Table 3.7 nor 3.8 show anything other than the sort of classic distribution that might be expected nor, within the sample, is there any discernable difference between groups on the basis of Form/Type. There is a strong tendency among the groups (112 or 65%) for the individual group to have the largest percentage of its membership in one age-band, or sometimes two adjacent age-bands, with fewer members in the age-bands either side (again, a classic distribution) but the proportion of the membership that falls into that age-band (or bands) is highly variable, ranging between 26% and 83%. Of the remaining 60 groups there are as many having some older members (in addition to the bulk of the membership) as there are groups having some younger members. There are some groups with one or two members significantly older than the rest of the membership and slightly more groups with one or two members significantly younger than all the rest. None of these types of distribution of ages appears to be related to Form/Type, nor to the size of the group. It may be noted that, in Table 3.7, there is a higher percentage of groups reporting no members in the 19-24 age-band than

might be expected. One possible reason for this became evident in the interview with John Kirkpatrick concerning the Shropshire Bedlams (C/S:8). John observed that in the side:

> '...there's hardly anybody in their 20s, but then there's a lot of teenagers. It's because a lot of the sixth formers who come up, go away to college and never return - so that's one reason for the gap. They reappear occasionally and then disappear again.' (Kirkpatrick. Int:014)

Overall, none of the analyses of age distribution has shown any significant aspect to the way in which the groups are made up, and it is not possible to draw any conclusions about this aspect other than that the bulk of the membership of any given group will, typically, be of a similar age. It remains to be shown whether this fact correlates with any aspects still to be investigated.

Age and continuity of the group : Q4 of Initial Questionnaire

Q4 requested chronological details of the group's existence: when it had started, whether it was still extant (and if not, when it had ceased), and whether there were any years during its lifespan when performance had not taken place. The years in which groups started has already been analysed in Ch.6 of the study. However, the intermittence of, and lapses in, performance which were demonstrated in Ch.5, which pertain to so-called traditional performance primarily in the 19th Century, is not generally reflected in the history of the later 20th Century groups surveyed in this study.

17 of the survey groups did not answer the question about lapses in performance: the sample is therefore 316. Of the seven groups in the survey which were extant before WWI and continued after the war, only two (one Cotswold morris side and one seasonal custom) claim to have continued without a break during that war. By WW2, 22 of the survey groups were in existence. 16 of them reported that performances stopped during the war and two of those groups did not continue afterwards - both remained in abeyance until revived in the 1980s (IQ:016 & IQ:234). As noted previously, many other (non-survey) groups did not survive either, or both, of the World Wars and this period of early 20th Century history may be seen as a general watershed in the continuity of many customary activities. Both old 'traditional' groups and the new 'revival' groups[14] were affected, probably in equal measure, although some correspondents have argued that the 'revival' groups had a better chance of re-starting after the war because they had the support framework of the Folk Revival itself. This argument, however, overlooks the fact that many of the 'traditional' performing

groups had been absorbed into the revival and its support framework, via the Morris Ring which had been created in 1934.

In the post-war period there are relatively few lapses once a group has started. One of the 'revival' morris sides had brief pause in its continuity in the '50s (IQ:078 from 1954-1957) as did one 'traditional' mumming gang (IQ:144 from 1959-1961). Other lapses in this period were longer lasting: IQ:160 from 1949-1976 and IQ:188 from 1952-1973 although both these groups had survived WW2. Other reported pauses in continuity were as follows:

IQ no.	**Years of no performance**	**Years lapsed**
175	1960 - 1968	9
235	1975 - 1991	6
294	1980 - 1986	7
027	1982 - 1985	4
038	1983 - 1986	4
016	1983 - 1987	5
053	1986 - 1987 & 1989 - 1991	2 & 3

Apart from the above, no surveyed group reported lapses in performance once they had started (although several reported ceasing performance altogether - the demise of the group). Thus, ignoring the effect of the World Wars, only eleven groups (4%) reported lapses in performance at any time and, arguably, two of those (IQ:160 for 28yrs. & IQ:188 for 22yrs.) were actually cessations with a later revival and not a continuation of the old group. It is tempting to observe that the number of years over which groups have lapsed diminishes the nearer one gets to the present, but the sample is small and such a conclusion would be unreliable.

The reasons for lapses in performance have not been specifically examined in this study. In Ch.5 it was suggested that groups that did not change to meet new circumstances would cease: there had to be a reason for performance to continue. Sometimes groups were created specifically for events, sometimes they would continue afterwards - if the opportunities remained. There is some unsolicited evidence, from the replies to questions in the Supplementary Questionnaires, that groups cease because of a lack of numbers: that those who leave, for whatever reason, are not replaced by new recruits. This is, in fact, the only reason offered and it is quite different to the reason we might suppose to have pertained in the 19th Century - that the opportunities for performance had disappeared. It is not possible to take the discussion further without more evidence, and the question of why groups lapse must remain unanswered at this point.

Although it is not possible to be certain why groups cease, it is possible to see some of the measures taken by groups to try to ensure their future survival. The responses to IQ Q14 (recruitment) and Q16 (motivation) are reported in the next chapter, and these generally show to what extent the dance groups and mumming teams seek to maintain continuity. Some calendar customs with a strong local community commitment ensure the survival of the custom into future generations by having a junior form of the custom; as shown in C/S:3 (Part IV) the top class of the school in Combe Martin (Devon) perform a 'mini' version of The Hunting of the Earl of Rone annually on the Saturday of the customary weekend, there are early morning perambulations of children's Obby Osses in Padstow (Cornwall) on Mayday (personal experience) and the Antrobus Soulcakers (Cheshire) are on record as having started a junior group for fear of losing the tradition (see Brown.1991). The Padstow children's Osses, unlike the other two examples above, are not organised or managed by adults, they emanate from the children themselves but, like the Tupping tradition in Derbyshire (see Russell.1979), adult encouragement and help are significant factors in ensuring that it happens. Customs such as these have a function within the community in which they are based that is quite different to the relationship that most morris, sword, or display dance teams have with their local community and it is necessary to digress temporarily in order to try and make a distinction around this issue.

Culturally Embedded Groups

The relationship between an individual group and the local community in which it exists varies from group to group. Many calendar customs, such as The Hunting of the Earl of Rone, the Saddleworth Rushcart or 'The Fifth' (Bonfire Night) in Lewes, exist *only* within their local community and are never replicated outside of it. However, but the level of support given to a custom by its local community may vary. For example, the Minehead Hobby Horses which appear around Mayday (1st May) have few followers from the local populace (although, from my own observations, this has increased over the last decade) whereas the Padstow Osses attract hundreds of costumed, and predominantly local, followers around the town. Similar variation in the extent of local support can be observed in comparing other traditions.

Some groups which are of local importance also engage in performances away from their local community: here one can cite the Britannia Coconut Dancers and the Kirtlington and Bampton Morris. Cockleshell Clog present yet another scenario: they are used quite often by the local Council as representatives of the community of Southend (Essex) when it is engaged in civic relationships with

other similar organisations (e.g. twinning events), but otherwise they have no general following in the town and exist to perform anywhere they can and to associate with other groups. The Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers also maintain a close relationship with the local civic organisation and their events (see Case Studies in Part IV).

Many groups seem to have little or no function in the local community and exist only to perform, at home or away, to any audience. Further complexities arise where a group's performance repertoire embraces more than one type. The Saddleworth Morris Men maintain the Rushcart as a particular calendar custom, but travel widely to dance their dances - they regard both the dancing and the custom as being of equal importance. Similar models exist with Kirtlington Morris and the Lamb Ale, Oyster Morris and the Whitstable Jack-in-the-Green, etc. The attitudes adopted by each group may have a bearing on the ways in which they are managed and the issue of motivation is analysed more fully under Q16, below. Various aspects of these traits are also examined in the Case Studies (Part IV), but it is useful to develop a concept of the degree to which a team or performance is a part of the local culture.

The term *Culturally Embedded*, which is used in this study, originated in discussions of this issue with several fellow folklore researchers but primarily, and initially, from an interview with Longsword expert Trevor Stone[15], who commented that:

> 'It's interesting how villages and localities have got different views about what constitutes a tradition or something that's interesting. White Rose Morris and Leeds Morris used to combine to organise a Whit tour of the [Yorkshire] Dales... One of the villages that they were going to was a venue that had formerly had a sword dance... I went in [to one of the pubs] and I said, "Is there something happening today?" "Oh yes," they said, "There's going to be something happening outside the pub in about half-an-hour"... Two thirds of the pub emptied... and coming belting in from one corner [of the village green] is a pram race - all the local pubs, the football club and the Round Table, each with a pram in the race...
>
> 'So I look across the village green, at one of the other pubs, and there's the traditional 'one man and dog' and the team dancing. So there's all the local people doing their own tradition. That made me realise that you can't impose something on a location. I've seen teams set up in villages, and I've seen them fall on their face. There was a team set up in Malton, as a result of the Malton Longsword Weekend. They had every reason to become well-established: they had money, they had backing from teachers and well-wishers, they had two or three people who had done a bit of dancing before, they had a good organiser among 'em. And two years later they'd virtually ceased to exist.

> 'Further down the way, in Kirby Malzeard, another team formed with a couple of lads who'd done Northwest morris, but decided they'd like to try something a bit more local - heard about the sword dance - set the sword dance up - and now they're regarded as a fundamental part of the village. They do the Plough Blessing ceremony [and] they wouldn't dream of having a village carnival without them.' (Stone. Int:003)

There are key indicator phrases in this quotation: 'local people doing their own tradition', 'regarded as a fundamental part of the village'. These locate the performers/performance as an integral part of the community. Stone suggested that an indication of the degree to which the activity is part of the community (i.e. is embedded in the community) would be for a stranger to ask what were the significant things about the place or the community. Where does the subject activity then rank?

> 'If I was doing 'Down Your Way' or 'Songs of Praise' or... - a snapshot of a locality - if I went into Goathland and said, "Tell me about characteristics," [then] second or third on the list - Goathland Hunt, The Plough Stotts, the quoits team. You go into Grenoside and maybe fifth or sixth on the list would be Grenoside Sword Dancers. You go into Spen Valley and maybe twentieth in the list, if you were extremely lucky, would be the sword dancers. It's that difference in terms of its position [in the local culture]. Go a few miles the other way, a younger team than Spen Valley - Kirkburton - ask anybody in that area for their key things and maybe fourth or fifth in the list would be Kirkburton Rapier Dancers, as they go and dance a lot in the locality. If you're not dancing out locally, how the hell can you expect local people to come and see you and become part of the operation?' (Stone. Int:003)

Stone's idea has several important aspects which validate it as an approach. As there is no relationship between the enquirer and enquiree there is no preconception of the 'area of interest' and, as a result, the enquiree will present things that are, in their view, significant to the community and are *also* felt to be possibly of interest to a stranger. Similarly, the individual of whom the question is asked will select items that are felt to be generalised in importance to his/her community, rather than personally. The rider to the approach, however, must be that it may only be valid within a relatively small and cohesive area where it is perceived that a 'community' exists. The person who is answering, however, does not need to consider him/her self as part of that community - although their answer is most likely to be accurate if they are.

Of course, customary activities which are not of the type examined in this research - such as the pram race, the village fête or a local football 'Derby' - do feature predominantly in the local 'event' calendar. This raises the question of the relationship between those activities which are regarded as 'folk' customs (and therefore potential activities for this study) and those that are not. 'Folk', as shown in Ch.2, is ill-defined and in terms of social function the two types of activity may ultimately be indistinguishable. The subject is examined further in Part V of the study.

Vernacular arts activity, viewed as part of a local culture, is important to Trevor Stone. The reverse, and its effect, is something he has commented on in earlier writings. For example:

> 'Many teams now are 'artificial' groupings. Dedicated folkies often travel substantial distances to get together with like-minded people. Apart from their interest in folk they often have very little in common. At its worst this results in a team which stands apart from the local community but exploits its local facilities and extracts cash from local people. This reflects in attitudes to other aspects; the recruitment of new members only from Folk Clubs and the bookings policy often favours folk festivals in preference to local galas and events.' (Stone.1987)

This view is largely validated by the evidence in this study (commonality amongst group members is examined under Q9 in this chapter), but Stone refers to groups who primarily perform in, and exist only within, the revival sub-culture, as part of a *Folk Circus*. Experience in Europe indicates why he feels that it is important that groups should be culturally embedded and he notes that:

> 'I've seen what happens on the Continent. The next step after the Folk Circus - often a group of fifteen people being able to present an hour's performance - is for it to become choreographed. The next step is to regard it as a stage show rather than a tradition - and it goes through a whole series of steps. I don't necessarily deplore it, I think it's a thing that's brought about by the requirements of the venues and the audiences, and maybe somebody's got to fulfil those requirements, but... I'm not absolutely sure that the Folk Circus ethos is what I would like to be encouraging. I've seen workshop leaders go along to workshops and teach a bit of this and a bit of that and bit of the other and so on. And that may be ideal for someone who's got a general background, but as far as I'm concerned I still think of a bit of what's being done as being *The Tradition*. I still think The Dance has association with: locality, a particular time of year, a particular local attitude. (Stone. Int:003)

The epitome of the *Folk Circus* is perhaps that observed by John Pick in the U.S.S.R. when he describes a tourist attending...

> '.. the inevitable folk evening as part of his packaged tour. Whatever the troupe is notionally called the central shape and essence of the entertainment will be the same; a careful, colourful, slightly mechanical presentation... The attractive 'folk costumes' will vary, and a Master of Ceremonies will sometimes announce in the bureaucratic patois that in this particular country the people are so full of joy in their labours that they always dress up and sing like this and that this is typical of the place, but the effect is of a folk culture presented like an animated museum.' (Pick.n.d)

It is outside the scope of this study to research in detail the degree to which each group is, or seeks to be, culturally embedded (though this would be a fruitful area for further research and would

necessarily involve a survey amongst members of the community who were not of the performing group), but it remains an important consideration. Evidence can be drawn from the questionnaire returns and from the interviews conducted for this research and reported in the case studies in Part IV.

The term *culturally embedded* is applied in this study to groups which, according to the evidence available at present, appear to this researcher to be perceived by the local community as a part of themselves (either as a significant aspect of community life or, in some examples, as an expression of community identity) and to signify groups where there is evidence or argument indicating that the local community views them in this light. To further clarify, it is not necessary for the community to actively support the group or the activity in which it engages - only to expect it as a regular occurence; to view the activity as idiosynchratic of that community (or an identifiable section thereof); in the 'Stone' text above, that it is a recognised part of the local vernacular culture. Nor is it necessary for the group to conceive of its activity as being for the benefit of the community - evidence from the case studies in Part IV demonstrates that groups can be expressly independant but still enjoy the expectation of the wider community. It is, of course, necessary to define 'community' in each instance and, as the social demography of a geographical area changes over time, it may also be necessary to re-define the relevant community in whose culture the group or activity is embedded.

A possible indicator of the probabiltiy of a group being culturally embedded may lie in the importance that the group itself places upon the location of its performance(s). Geographic focus was the subject of the next question in the IQs.

Geographic area performance: Q5 of Initial Questionnaire

Q5 asked the groups to identify the sort of geographical catchment in which they commonly performed by selecting from:

a) Own town/village
b) Local area
c) Within one county
d) Over several counties
e) Countrywide generally
f) Countrywide but only at Festivals/Events
g) Internationally

They were also asked, in cases where they selected more than one option, to rank them in order of importance to the group with '1' as the highest rank. The number of groups attributing Rank 1 importance to the various performance areas are shown in Table 3.9. The full data showing responses to Qs 5 & 6 of the IQs is given in Appx.7.

A considerable majority of the groups (234 or 70%) reported the immediate area (i.e. 'Own town/village' or 'Local Area') as being the only catchment of greatest importance (Rank 1), but only 34 of them reported this as the *only* performance area. As might be expected, these 34 included all the calender custom groups but in addition there were 11 mumming groups out of a total of 17. All 11 were 'single play' groups - i.e. the play is the only activity of the group. This is shown, together with other selected Types of performance in Table 3.10. Mumming is a highly seasonal activity, as are the calendar customs, and it is not surprising to find the Wassailing, Hoodening and Mari Lwyd gangs also reporting a local priority (IQs 035, 063, 296). In the case of the two horse gangs, they did report performing countrywide at festivals and events (category 'f' above) but these were their only excursions away from very local seasonal performance and in both cases these distant performances were given lower importance rankings. Only three groups (IQs 023, 121, 246) gave a ranking to all seven areas of performance and in each case the ranking steadily decreased the further they went fromhome. In the case of IQ:246 (The Britannia Coconut Dancers) this is illuminated in C/S:2 in Part IV.

	No:	%
a. Own town/village	78	24
b. Local area	217	65
c. Within one county	52	16
d. Over several counties	28	8
e. Countrywide generally	14	4
f. Countrywide but only at Festivals/Events	10	3
g. Internationally	8	2

Table 3.9: Groups reporting Rank-1 importance to areas of performance

From the figures in Table 3.10 it is possible to say that there is a very slight tendency for groups with a wider repertoire (than a single Type of performance) to prioritise a wider geographical area for performance, but it is only slight and it is not possible to assert that it is significant from these figures.

Type & repertoire:	Num.:	Town / village (a)	Local area (b)	In one County (c)	Several Counties (d)	Country-wide (e)	Country-wide (a) events (f)	Internat-ionally (g)
Morris:Border (1:1)	14	5	10	1				
Morris:Border (1:x)	20	6	13	2	2			
Morris:Cotswold (1:1)	68	13	43	9	7	5	2	2
Morris:Cotswold (1:x)	113	24	70	16	10	7	4	2
Morris:Northwest (1:1)	44	8	31	11	2	1		
Morris:Northwest (1:x)	53	10	35	12	3	2	1	
Morris:Other (1:x)	6	1	5				1	
Mumming (1:1)	13	7	8					
Mumming (1:x)	17	7	11	3				
Step:Appalachian (1:x)	3	1	1	1				
Step:Clog (1:x)	4	1	2		2			
Sword:Longsword (1:1)	5	2	3	1				
Sword:Longsword (1:x)	7	2	5	1				
Sword:Rapper (1:1)	6	2	3	1		1	1	1
Sword:Rapper (1:x)	11	3	5	2		1	1	2

Table 3.10: Number of groups by Type, reporting areas of performance at Rank-1

In broad terms, some groups perform *only* locally ('a' and/or 'b' in Table 3.9) while others report the local area as Rank 1 but perform more widely. Others prioritise their home county without a more local focus to their activity, again with or without priority to a larger area. Finally, there are the groups whose Rank 1 arena of performance is over several counties, nationally or even internationally (areas 'c', 'f' & 'g' in Table 3.9). The groups vary as much in their performance area priority patterns as they do in other aspects that have been considered so far and it is not possible to discern any other common factor among groups with a similar distribution of priority patterns. For example, amongst the groups who gave priority 1 ranking to performance areas 'e', 'f' or 'g' were thirteen who gave no ranking at all for more local performances. These were as follows:

IQ no	Size	Repertoire classification	Rank 1 Type:All rank Types
021	12	Morris:Cotswold	1:1
043	30	Crossform:Repertoire	4:4
052	10	Morris:Cotswold	1:3
059	24	Morris:Northwest	1:2
079	24	Social & Step Dance (Welsh)	2:2
091	30	Social Dance (Welsh) & Morris	2:5
141	26	Morris & Custom	2:3
179	08	Morris:Cotswold	1:1
264	16	Morris:Cotswold & Other	2:2
300	?	Sword:Rapper	1:2
303	20	Morris:Cotswold	1:1
305	08	Morris:Cotswold & Border	2:2
307	16	Social Dance (various)	3:3

These groups have no commonality through size, repertoire classification or repertoire size. It may be noted that four (includes IQ:043) of the 17 surveyed groups which perform social dance at Rank 1 appear in the list, but there is no discernable reason why the Northwest and Rapper teams, nor the remaining five Cotswold sides should be here and the question must remain in abeyance until motivation (Q16) is examined. Nevertheless, the overall figures in Table 3.10 show that fewer groups prioritise their home town/village than prioritise the wider local area. This is particularly true of morris sides, less so among the sword teams and distinctly less so among mumming groups.

Performed material in an historical context: Q6 of Initial Questionnaire

Q6 asked the groups to indicate how they classified the material that they performed with regard to its position within the canon of vernacular performance. The introduction to the question asked them to consider only those Form/Type(s) that they had ranked 1 in importance to the team and to tick as many of the following list as applied to that performed material. The list offered was:

a) Own unique tradition.
b) Item(s) handed on from previous generations.
c) Conscious creation of a 'new' tradition.
d) Item(s) collected from other traditions.
e) Item(s) recreated from otherwise defunct traditions.
f) Item(s) adapted or reworked from other traditions.
g) New item(s) written for the group.
Other.

Unlike most of the questions put to the groups, this question is wholly concerned with opinion rather than fact. It is demonstrated several times in this study that the history - or perceived history - of the material performed can be an important part of a group's self perception and the responses to Q6 may illuminate this to a degree. The question is also related to issues surrounding 'tradition' and 'revival' which are examined specifically under Q22 in Ch.9. As the groups had been asked to consider their Rank 1 Form/Type(s) only, initial analysis was carried out using the Rank 1 repertoire classifications as detailed in Table 3.4.

	No. of groups	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)
Crossform:Repertoire	4	2	1	1	3	2	3	3
Custom (inc. horses)	7	4	6	0	0	2	0	1
Morris:Border	19	6	5	8	3	2	13	19
Morris:Cotswold	110	17	30	13	81	17	51	30
Morris:Northwest	51	7	25	2	16	5	28	31
Mumming:Christmas Hero	13	6	5	0	0	7	8	1
Other Mumming	5	1	1	0	3	1	2	1
Social Dance (excluding Welsh)	5	1	3	0	3	0	4	4
Social Dance (Welsh)	6	2	3	0	1	4	1	2
Stepdance:Appalachian	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Stepdance:Clog	4	2	2	1	2	0	4	3
Sword:Longsword	6	3	0	2	0	1	5	2
Sword:Rapper	12	3	4	2	8	2	8	6
TOTAL	249	54	86	29	123	46	133	107

Table 3.11: Number of groups reporting source types of their material

Table 3.11 shows the number of groups, in selected categories, who reported that their material derived from the different sources listed above. Although the number of groups in some of the categories is low, there are noticable difference between the categories. This data is more easily seen if the figures are presented as percentages of the sample of groups as shown in Table 3.12.

	No. of groups	(a) %	(b) %	(c) %	(d) %	(e) %	(f) %	(g) %
Crossform:Repertoire	4	50	25	25	75	50	75	75
Custom (inc. horses)	7	57	86	0	0	29	0	14
Morris:Border	19	32	26	42	16	11	68	100
Morris:Cotswold	110	15	27	12	74	15	46	27
Morris:Northwest	51	14	49	4	31	10	55	61
Mumming:Christmas Hero	13	46	38	0	0	54	62	8
Other Mumming	5	20	20	0	60	20	40	20
Social Dance (excluding Welsh)	5	20	60	0	60	0	80	80
Social Dance (Welsh)	6	33	50	0	17	67	17	33
Stepdance:Appalachian	2	0	0	0	0	0	50	100
Stepdance:Clog	4	50	50	25	50	0	100	75
Sword:Longsword	6	50	0	33	0	17	83	33
Sword:Rapper	12	25	33	17	67	17	67	50

Table 3.12: Percentage of groups reporting source types of their material (by group Type)

In many of the Type categories no groups reported the conscious creation of a new tradition (c). The highest percentage that did occured in the Border morris Type and, in this group, all the teams reported that new items (dances) were written for the group (g). Most groups of this Type also reported the adaptation or reworking of other traditions (f-68%). Given the paucity of source (i.e. Border morris) material this is understandable and, given the model of The Shropshire Bedlams (see C/S:8) to show how dynamic the reinvention of a style could be, it is not surprising that these groups should have followed that model (copying and the rise of fashion was discussed in Ch.5 & Ch.6).

In contrast, and also following the pattern of development of the Folk Revival, the highest reported source of material for Cotswold sides was items collected from other traditions (d-74%) and nearly half of the Cotswold sides (46%) also reported reworking or adapting this material (f). Relatively few of these sides saw themselves as having, or trying to create, their own tradition (a-15%, c-12%) and a similar number viewed their dances as recreated from otherwise defunct traditions (e-15%). The pattern of reported sources amongst the Northwest teams is not dissimiar to that for Border sides although there is more emphasis on inherited (b) and collected (d) material and less on unique material

(a) and new traditions (c). It is as though Northwest fits between Cotswold and Border. Given the way in which these Types have sequentially become fashionable within the Folk Revival (as demonstrated in Ch.6), it is tempting to conclude that teams have become progressively less hide-bound by the historical tradition, and more creative in the writing of new material, as the century has progressed. It may be possible to test this hypothesis by repeating the analysis of responses against the age of the groups. Caution is however required in interpreting the results as each group has responded concerning their *current* performance repertoire and this may not be the same as the inital repertoire when the group started. The results of this analysis are given in Table 3.13.

Decade in which group started.	No. of groups	(a) %	(b) %	(c) %	(d) %	(e) %	(f) %	(g) %
1900s	10	90	90	0	10	0	10	20
1920s	7	29	71	0	43	14	14	0
1930s	6	17	83	17	33	33	50	17
1940s	7	14	14	0	86	0	43	43
1950s	17	35	35	12	82	29	41	24
1960s	31	16	29	10	61	13	42	26
1970s	120	20	34	22	51	28	49	34
1980s	109	13	32	8	55	20	60	41
1990s	39	21	23	18	44	10	59	51

NB: groups in the 1900s decade include those extant before the turn of the century

Table 3.13: Percentage of groups reporting source types of their material (by age of group)

Even exercising caution, in view of the above comment and in view of small sample sizes, it may tentatively be noted that younger groups tend to progressively report more re-working and adapting of material (f) and the same may be true of creating new material (g) - the 1940s may simply be an aberration[16]. Over 80% of groups created in the 1940s and '50s perform material as collected from other traditions (i.e. the 'village' morris or sword styles) - this reflects the preservationist attitude that pertained when these groups were formed. The oldest groups (1900s) consistently report maintaining continuity in what they perform (a & b) and none report creating new traditions (c) or resurrecting dead ones (e).

Some of the other high or low figures in Table 3.12 are also worthy of note even though the sample sizes are low. All the Clog-dance teams reported their material as adapted/reworked (f) and three of the four reported new items written for the group (g). As clog dancing was, historically, an individual

skill, and the present study is of groups, this is not surprising. The two Appalachian teams, reporting on step-dance material developed from the solo to the group in America, and then imported, make reference *only* to adapted/reworked (f) and new material (g). The whole Type is a modern invention and the report reflects this historical fact. Among groups maintaining only a custom (not including mumming), the highest percentage reported the inheritance from previous generations (b-86% or 6/7): the four unique customs rightly claiming their uniqueness (a), the remaining three (the Mari Lwyd, Hoodening and Wassailing gangs) recognising that others also maintain these Types of custom.

There is a noticable contrast between the social dance groups in England and Wales. Whilst the English groups predominantly report reworked/adapted and new material (f & g - 80%), with 60% reporting material collected from other traditions (d), all three of these sources have much lower reported levels amongst the Welsh social dance groups. Amongst the Welsh groups the highest reported level (67%) is of material recreated from defunct traditions (e). This category is not reported at all amongst English groups. All these perceptions are in line with the widely accepted belief that Welsh social dancing (and other dance forms) had died out whereas the English tradition had continued - to be rediscovered by Cecil Sharp and his contemporaries[17].

One of the questions put in the Supplementary Questionnaires (SQs) concerned the source of the material that the group performed when it was first established and the responses have some relevance to the data given above. A total of 77 groups responded to the question and 30 of these quoted two or more sources for their initial repertoire - for example:

> 'From Sharp books [Sharp. 1909-1913], from masters at schools where several men learnt their dancing, research from manuscripts, talking to old dancers - Brackley Bean Setting discovered in 1955, [Morris] Ring instructionals' (SQ:102)

> 'Bacon's book [Bacon. 1974], Sharp's books [Sharp. 1909-1913 & Sharp. 1977], Ring archival material (archives used extensively since 1981), Ring instructionals, experience gained from membership of previous sides, critical observation of other sides, one dance developed within side as original after 10 years.' (SQ:230)

There were two groups whose material had been directly 'inherited' within a continuing tradition and thus, for present purposes, had no 'new' repertoire for the group to establish at inception - the base sample is therefore 75. The most frequently quoted source of repertoire was founder members and incoming members who had previously performed with other groups (37 - but only 21 groups gave this as their *only* source of repertoire) - for example:

'... from dances known by members who had danced with other sides.' (SQ:121)

'The group was established by three former members of Cardiff Morrismen. They taught the dances.' (SQ:143)

'Dancers from other sides who had moved to the area.' (SQ:198)

A further 11 groups were actually taught by other existing sides - for example:

'[We] formed as [an] outcome of Hillingdon Borough evening class run by Herga Morris Men.' (SQ:272)

In four more groups a founder taught the inital repertoire from the fruits of his/her own field research and collecting activity - an example of this appears in Part IV (C/S:7 on the Royal Lancashire Morris Dancers). There were 21 groups who reported festival workshops or team attendance at instructional sessions as their source, and the tutors for these were also current performers with other groups (but with a more widely acknowledged expertise, at least in the view of the event organisers). Altogether, (and allowing for more than one source of repertoire among some groups) 62 of the groups (83%) had acquired some of their material from current performers in a variety of other groups and for 44 of these groups, this was their only source.

Published and manuscript sources provided the material for 24 (32%) of the groups, with 12 of them specifically citing Bacon (1974). Other sources were: material collected by the group - 3 (but only individual items within the repertoire), material inherited from older performers - 3 (2 as the only source), newly invented/written material - 8 (2 of these as the only source) and, although it was not the only source of initial repertoire, three groups reported using video recordings of other groups.

Analysis of these SQ responses concerning sources of material against the age of the group, or against the Type of material performed, shows no particular tendencies other than to note that no pre-1970 groups report inventing/writing new material for their initial repertoire and no pre-1984 groups reported using video as a source.

Overall, the views reported by the groups (in both the IQs and SQs) follows what might be expected. For example, in the field of morris dancing: from the early years of the century, there was a large body of collected Cotswold material, this was followed in the 1960s and '70s by extensive research into Northwest which proved fruitful and, more recently, there has been a re-examination of Border material. This pattern, set against the growth and development of the Folk Revival and the constant

demand for novel material (even if of a different type) accounts for the overall development of the sum of performing groups: the three strands of research/transmission, growth of the movement and the search for novelty run parallel. There is sufficient evidence to suggest that a more accepting attitude to newly written or invented material has developed as the century has progressed. This is in comparison to the preservationist attitude that pertained at the beginning of the century - as discussed in previous chapters. However, this shift cannot be distinguished from the overall development of the Folk Revival 'movement' and what it performs - it may actually be a function of it.

Seasons and times of performance: Q7 of Initial Questionnaire

In Ch.1, where the various Forms and Types that are examined in this study were briefly described, the time of year at which various of the Types were traditionally performed is noted and further evidence is recorded in Ch.5. Not all Types have a traditional season of course - social dancing could happen at any time of the year, step-dancing similarly, and even the 'ritual dances' (i.e. morris and sword - more recently often called 'ceremonial' dances) could be performed out of season[18]. The mumming plays appear to have been the most strictly bound to season, but even here performances have historically been noted 'out of season'. Q7 of the Initial Questionnaire enquired about the yearly pattern of performance of the studied groups and whether there were particular days of significance to the group.

A total of 317 groups responded to the question with information that can be used in this analysis - this forms the base sample. Performance can be categorised broadly as being: throughout the year, at a particular 'season' of performance, on specific dates or days and when booked (paid or otherwise) to perform. It is evident from the responses that the concept of a season of performance varies according to the Type of material being performed. For many of the surveyed morris sides the 'season' covers a number of months - often starting, if not finishing, on specific days - for example:

> April to October (IQ:209)
> 1st of May to 31st August (IQ:231)
> Every Thursday throughout Summer (IQ:121)
> From 23rd April [St. George's Day] to Autumn (IQ:047)
> Easter to end of September (IQ:122)

In contrast, many mumming sides maintain a season (or seasons in the case of 'repertoire' groups) of a much more limited period. For example:

> Plough play only Christmas Eve to Plough Monday (IQ:277)
> Saturday, Sunday, Wednesday and Thursday before Good Friday (IQ:199)
> Christmas eve and Boxing Day (IQ:328)
> Last weekend before Christmas only (IQ:321)
> Pace-egg: Easter, Souling: 1st Nov., Xmas-hero: Christmas-time & Boxing Day (IQ:048)

It has been necessary to analyse the replies to ascertain whether responses along the lines of 'only at one season' or 'mainly at one season' refer to a narrow season or an extended period. Where specific days or dates within a narrow time-span have been given in association with 'one season', the latter

has been taken as only encompassing those dates and not as indicative of a longer performing period unless actually stated in the reply. By way of illustration, the following can be compared -

> Only at one season of the year. Normally Saturday before Christmas, Boxing night and New Year's Eve. (IQ:063 - a Mari Lwyd gang with only a narrow performance season)
>
> Friday nearest Midsummer. Mumming - Christmas/midwinter. Dance out May-September. (IQ:126 - a Crossform Repertoire group with an extended 'dance out' season, a narrow mumming season and one specific day).
>
> Morris - Easter Monday and Thursdays May - September. Mumming - on certain days at one season: Saturday before Christmas and mid-December to end-December. (IQ:322 - a morris and mumming group with an extended 'dance out' season, a narrow mumming season and one specific day).
>
> Boxing Day - sword dances. May morning - morris. And throughout the year. (IQ:276 - a team performing both morris and sword each having a special day as well as being performed year-round).

In total, 167 groups (53% of sample) stated that they perform throughout the year and 106 of them (33% of sample) gave no additional information on seasons, specific dates or bookings. There were 104 (33% of sample) groups who reported an extended season and 43 of these (14% of sample) performed *only* in that season. Groups reporting specific important days numbered 87 (27% of sample) and there were 47 groups (15% of sample) who reported that they performed at bookings, but only six of these *only* performed when booked. Many groups reported more than one performance-time category and a summary of the groups' categorised responses, against Type of group (and using the Rank-1 group-Type categories listed in Table 3.4), is shown in Table 3.14.

As with previous tables, some samples are low but several features emerge. With only three exceptions the mumming groups reported only performing on specific dates - i.e. individual days/dates or short specified seasons. The two *Mumming:Repertoire* groups (IQs 005 & 270) who reported only performance 'throughout the year' are both known to accept bookings throughout the year but also to maintain the play Types at the appropriate (historical) season. How this operates in respect of Coventry Mummers (IQ:005) is demonstrated in C/S:6 in Part IV. The *Christmas Hero* group who reported both 'throughout' and 'specific' (IQ:055) reported that they only sometimes perform throughout the year.

	Throughout the year only	Throughout + season	Throughout +season +specific daye(s)	Throughout +specific +bookings	Throughout +bookings	Throughout +season +bookings	Throughout +specific	Season only	Season +specific dates	Season +specific +bookings	Season +bookings	Specific dates only	Specific +bookings	Bookings only	SAMPLE
MORRIS															
Cotswold	31	10	5	1		1	5	14	19	11	3	6	2	1	109
Cotswold & Border	3	1						1	1	2				1	9
Cotswold & Northwest	1							1	1						3
Northwest	18	2	1				5	12	4	2	6		1	1	52
Northwest & Border		1													1
Border	11	2		1				4	1		2			1	22
Molly	1														1
Other	1							1							2
Repertoire	1				1		1	1		1		1			6
Morris & Social	2						1								3
Morris & Step	1						1								2
Morris & Sword	6						1	3	1					1	12
Morris & Mumming	1	1	1				4	3	5			1			16
Morris & Custom		1						1			1	1			4
Morris, Mumm & Sword	2	1							1						4
MUMMING															
Christmas Hero							1					12			13
Pace-egg												2			2
Other												1			1
Repertoire	2											2			4
Social dance	4	1													5
Social dance (Welsh)	3						1				1				5
Social & Step (Welsh)	2	1						1							4
Appalachian	3														3
Clog						2			1		1				4
Longsword	3						3					1			7
Rapper Sword	8				1		1	1						1	12
Custom				1			1					5			7
Crossform - repertoire	2								2						4
TOTAL	106	21	7	3	2	3	25	43	38	16	14	32	3	6	317

Table 3.14: Number of groups by Rank-1 Type(s) reporting times of performances

Thus, mumming emerges as a highly seasonal activity - whether or not the group performs any other Type - with even the specialist, year-round, repertoire groups maintaining traditional seasonal performances.

Not surprisingly, the calender custom groups all reported short seasons and/or specific dates for performance although two of them - the Brittania Coconut Dancer (IQ:246 - see C/S:8) and a Hoodening gang (IQ:035) - also reported performing throughout the year at bookings.

The Welsh social dance group who gave specific dates (IQ:088) reported that those dates related to a Mari Lwyd which they maintain only at the New Year period. Otherwise they, and all other social dance groups, operate throughout the year or during an extended season. The same is true of the step-dance teams - both Appalachian and Clog - with one exception (IQ:036). In this case the specific dates given were regular annual bookings (at a Castle on Boxing Day, at the town's annual 'Victorian' event and at an old people's fellowship each September).

With few exceptions, the specific days/short seasons mentioned were the days/seasons viewed as historically 'correct' for whichever Type was being performed - with one or two adjustments to modern society. The exceptions and the adjustments warrant brief comment. In addition to the regular annual bookings of IQ:036 (para. above), one group (IQ:041) always perform on the day of (and at) the Oxford and Cambridge boat race. Three Cotswold morris sides mentioned dancing on all Bank Holidays and another always dances at the Inter-Varsity Folk Dance Festival. A few groups cited their own annual 'Day of Dance' or '(Morris) Feast' but more are known to maintain such annual events even if not referred to in their answers. Other examples of specific days appear later in this chapter.

The primary 'adjustment' occurs where activities (mostly Cotswold morris) have moved, following the 1978 cessation of the Whitsun Bank Holiday, to the Spring Bank Holiday which replaced it. This is even true of some very old continuing traditions such as Bampton Morris (Oxon.). The custom of The Hunting of the Earl of Rone (formerly an Ascension Day custom) also moved to the late May Bank Holiday when it was revived (see C/S:3). Similar shifts are observable from Plough Monday, Midsummer and Mayday to the nearest weekend - although this is not invariably the case. For example the hobby horses of Padstow (Cornwall) and Minehead (Somerset) still adhere to 'real' Mayday (May 1st)[19] as do many more recent morris sides - indicative, perhaps, of these new groups' will to adhere to 'tradition' as it is perceived within the group (or at least by the group leaders).

As already indicated, for some groups the 'special' day(s) involve(s) a different Type of performance to their 'usual' Type and this is clearly demonstrated among the IQ replies. For example:

> Throughout the year, *except for Mari Lwyd - Christmas period only* (IQ:088. Welsh social dance group).
>
> Boxing Day, New Year's Day, *2 Wassailing days in January.* April - October (IQ:209. Crossform Repertoire group).
>
> *Mumming - pre-Christmas only.* Morris etc. May - September (IQ:228. Morris, mumming and sword group).
>
> *Mummers - Boxing Day, May Queen - Saturday before Spring Bank Holiday weekend.* Also throughout the year (IQ:115. Morris and mumming group)

These are special days (and activities) and the maintenance of them seems to be important to the group. Even when groups do not maintain customs different to their normal Type of performance, some have particular times or days when their performance is elevated into something unusual and special. The Britannia Coconut Dancers, although they will perform throughout the year, have their special (and culturally embedded) day on Easter Saturday in Bacup (see C/S:2) and the Goathland Plough Stotts maintain their annual Longsword tour of the area on the nearest Saturday to Plough Monday (although a team will perform on request at other times - and even abroad[20]). Again, the same idea is apparent in other replies to Q7 from several groups. A few examples illustrate the point:

> Throughout the year except for August. Always dance at Abbots Bromley on Horn Day at invitation of Abbots Bromley Men. (IQ:232 - Northwest).
>
> Mainly New Year's Day, 1st May, 1st August (Yorkshire Day), Sowerby Bridge Rushbearing Festival in September. Also other rushbearing festivals in Lancashire and North West, plus folk festivals throughout the country. (IQ:083 - Northwest)
>
> Mainly at one season. Also at other specific times & sometimes throughout the year. We dance at dawn on May Day - and lunch or evening depending on work, and lunchtime on Boxing Day. Apart from that we mainly dance in the Summer but also at Fetes, barn-dances etc. - whatever bookings turn up. (IQ:0131 - Northwest)
>
> Mainly at one season. Also at other specific times & sometimes throughout the year. Bookings happen at all times but mostly in summer, so our 'mask' season is post-Easter to beginning of August. We always dance out on Boxing Day. (IQ:032 - Cotswold)
>
> On certain days throughout the year. Always May 1st (IQ:042 - Cotswold)
>
> Throughout the year. Mainly May - September. Regular tours in May Bank Holidays, 23rd June, Boxing Day. (IQ:182 - Cotswold).

Almost all groups for whom there is evidence have 'special' points in their annual cycle. In most cases these are times when these traditions were noted historically (allowing for convenience 'shifts' such as those noted above). This is reminiscent of the calendric adaptations that customs and traditions made during the 19th Century, as noted in Ch.5. Once again, the likelihood of continuation of performance is enhanced by its ability to adapt to changing modern circumstances. For those groups who do not maintain such days, then the annual feast, day of dance, visit to someone else's special day(s) or even regular annual bookings seem to serve the same function of being a focal point for the group in the year.

The fact that several groups quote specific days for the beginning of their (extended) summer season of dance suggests that these days also have particular significane for them: 'St. George's Day' (23rd April) was cited as the start day for the dancing season by six groups, 'Easter' by eight groups and Mayday (1st May) by another twelve. An analysis of the extended seasons quoted by groups is given in Table 3.15.

Rank-1 Type	Cotswold	Northwest	Border	Cotswold + Border	Cotswold + N/west	N/west + Border	Morris + Mumming	Morris + Sword	Morris + Mumming + Sword	Morris (other)	Social dance (inc. Welsh)	Clog	X-form repertoire
SEASON													
Jan - May													
Mar - Sept		1											
Mar - Oct		1											
Easter - July								1					
Easter - Aug	1						1						
Easter - Sept		3					1						
Easter - Boxing Day			1										
St.George's Day - Sept	3									1			
St.George's Day - Oct							1						
St.George's Day - Autumn			1										
Apr - July							1						
Apr - Sept	5	2											
Apr - Oct	3	2	1										1
Apr - Nov	1												
May Day - July	1												
May Day - Sept	4	2	1				1	1					
May Day - Oct	1												
May - June & Sept	1												
May - July	6	1			1								
May - July & Sept	1												
May - Aug	1		1	1			1						
May - Sept	17	8	1				1	1	1	1	2		1
June - July & Sept	1												
June - Sept	1												
July - Sept								1					
July - Oct										1			
Spring/Summer	4	2				1							
Spring/Summer (not Aug)	1												
Summer	8	3	2	1			2	1			2	1	
Winter							1						
All except Winter									1				

Table 3.15: Number of groups (by Rank-1 Type) reporting different performance seasons

Taking those groups from the base sample of 317 who gave specific months for their extended season and who perform Cotswold, Northwest or Border at Rank 1 in importance (i.e. whether it was the only Type performed or not) it is possible to compare the modern 'seasons' of these three Types of Morris[21]. Assuming that Easter falls in March, and including groups who reported starting their season on St. George's Day as dancing in April, it is possible to calculate the numbers and percentages of the sample of each Type that is dancing out in each month of the year as part of their main performance period. The results are shown in Table 3.16.

	Sample	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
No. of groups													
Cotswold	51	0	0	2	18	49	51	50	40	40	7	1	0
Northwest	22	0	0	5	10	22	22	22	20	20	3	0	0
Border	8	0	0	3	4	8	6	6	6	4	4	3	3
%age of groups													
Cotswold	51	0	0	4	35	96	100	98	78	78	14	2	0
Northwest	22	0	0	23	45	100	100	100	91	91	14	0	0
Border	8	0	0	38	50	100	75	75	75	50	50	38	38

Table 3:16 Number & percentage of groups dancing per month (selected morris Types)

From the data in Table 3.16 it is immediately apparent that the main 'season' for these three morris Types is the summer months - there is a proliferation of activity in May, June and July. None of the 'seasonal' groups reported Jan/Feb as part of their season, although it is acknowledged that many continue practices and rehearsals throughout the winter and may even take paid bookings during that period. It is noticable that Border is danced by some groups later into the year. It should be remembered that Table 3.16 excludes those groups who reported year-round performance without a particular season and the numbers of these groups always exceeds the number of 'seasonal' groups (see Table 3.14). A similar analysis to that used in Table 3.16 can be applied to a wider range of performance Types: Table 3.17 takes a range of Types (and combinations of Types) and, including all the specific references to particular Types of performance - from single-Type groups, year-round groups, multiple Rank 1 Type groups (where they cite seasons for particular Types) and from

identified dates for specific performances, shows the percentage of groups performing the particular Type during each month.

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	SAMPLE
%age of groups													
Cotswold	63	55	58	64	98	93	92	85	84	59	56	73	111
Northwest	57	53	63	71	100	98	98	96	96	73	53	55	49
Border	81	81	85	89	100	96	96	96	96	85	85	89	27
Molly	100	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	2
Morris and Mumming	50	44	63	69	94	94	94	81	75	50	44	69	16
Mumming (Xmas Hero)	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	100	12
Custom (Hoodening)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	1
Custom(Mari Lwyd)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	2
Custom (Wassailing)	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Social dance (excl. Welsh)	86	86	86	100	100	100	100	100	100	86	86	86	7
Social dance (Welsh)(inc. step)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	7
Crossform Repertoire	50	50	50	75	100	100	100	100	100	75	50	50	4
Appalachian	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	3
Longsword	86	86	86	86	86	86	86	86	86	86	86	100	7
Rapper	100	100	100	100	100	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	10
% of number of teams	63	56	60	67	91	88	88	84	82	63	56	73	100

Table 3.17: Percentage of groups, by Type, performing each month

The addition of these other groups does little more, among Cotswold, Northwest and Border groups, than extend the concentration of activity in May, June and July, into the adjacent months. The pattern remains but it is noticeable that some groups perform during the Christmas (December) period although it is otherwise 'out of season' for them. Mumming and seasonal customs adhere to their traditional seasons although a quarter of the mumming teams' season spills over into the new year (January). The one mumming group that performs in August does so at one of those 'special' events. The 'Morris & Mumming' groups show the pattern that might be expected from a combination of these two Types. The various social dance groups, crossform groups and Appalachian groups demonstrate a much more even distribution through the year with some of the (English) social dance groups and crossform groups only performing through their Spring/Summer dancing seasons. All but one of the Longsword groups perform throughout the year, the other keeping only the traditional season. Similarly, all but one of the Rapper groups perform year-round but there is no explanation for why

the other one maintains a season only from January to May. The social dance groups, with only one exception, perform year-round - the one exception maintaining a 6-month 'summer season'.

Apart from the groups that perform year-round (and there are examples of these among all Types except mumming and calendar customs) all others seem to adhere, as already noted, to the traditional season for each Type - with the possible exception of the Rapper groups.

There is no discernable difference between the performance seasons of male, female and mixed-sex teams, nor correlations with the age of the group. Throughout the Folk Revival, there appears to be a conscious effort for material that is not a group's 'norm' to be performed at its proper (historical or traditional) season. Thus a movement which is demonstrably contemporary and, at least in part, responsive to the contemporary social milieu, nevertheless also has a retrospective tendency and maintains what is perceived as an older way in the performance of specifically seasonal material.

Sources of finance: Q8 of Initial Questionnaire

The whole issue of group finances is a potentially sensitive area. The Initial Questionnaire sought only to determine the sources of income for the groups, and did not enquire into amounts of income, areas or amounts of expenditure, etc. Several groups did indicate the ultimate destination of their disbursements however, and the subject was also raised in interviews when the opportunity arose and is reported in Part IV.

The questionnaire enquired about both current and 'previous' sources of income, but information on 'previous' sources was fragmentary and ill-defined. It has therefore been decided not to examine this information except where specific explanations have contextualised any changes in income sources.

A small number of groups stated that they had no expenses and made no collections. A total of 23 groups who responded to Q8 did not tick the 'collections at performances' box. There were six who made a point of explaining that although they made collections, all this income was donated to charity. For example:

> 'For the last 40 years, monies collected at performances have been donated to local charities. Our 'reward' is local 'hospitality' and the knowledge that the tradition is kept up.' (IQ:296)
>
> 'Collection also made, but redonated to local nominated charities.' (IQ:283)
>
> 'Each member provides his own costume, props, transport etc. The side as such has 'no' finances. We do collect at performances, but all of this goes to charity.' (IQ:096)

Four of these six groups were Christmas mumming teams, one was the Bodmin Wassailers. The remaining team was a Cotswold morris side. The mumming groups and the wassailers are small groups but the morris team has over thirty members. Among the 23 respondents who indicated that their group did not make collections, group sizes ranged from 6 to over 40 although 78% of them had 12 or less members. The ability of groups to operate with no collection income is not necessarily correlated to group size. Nor is the ability to operate with 'no finances' at all. The last quotation above also illustrates another aspect which was reported by seven groups - that members bore the costs themselves, as in:

> 'All costs and expenses are split by performers - this can run into thousands but usually would be a maximum of £12.30 each to pay for travel (53-seat coach)... ' (IQ:015)

'Random collection amongst members to support costs of equipment, stationery, etc.' (IQ:197)

'We pay our own expenses, buy our own costumes.' (IQ:253)

The groups who share costs in this way vary widely in their main Type of performance and in group size. The number of groups and percentage of sample reporting the various current sources of income are summarised in Table 3.18.

Source of income	**No.**	**%**
Collections at performances	277	91
Performance fees from voluntary organisations/fetes/etc.	209	69
Regular subscriptions from members (annual,monthly or weekly)	182	60
Performance fees from businesses	90	30
Performance fees from Local Authorities	70	23
Sale of merchandise	65	21
By running fund-raising events (dances, jumble sales, etc.)	48	16
Membership subscription for special events	34	11
Local Authority grants or subsidies	9	3
Sponsorship from business/industry	8	3
Sample	**305**	

Table 3.18: Number & percentage of groups reporting various sources of income

Collections at performances are a primary source of income for the vast majority of groups of all Types although a significant majority of groups also perform for fees (232 groups or 76% take bookings from voluntary organisations, business or the Local Authority) or finance themselves through weekly, monthly or annual subscriptions. Taking a collection was a 'traditional' part of the performance for many of these Types of activity when they were first recorded and, as already noted, the maintenance of tradition is seen by many modern groups as important. This may account for the fact that collections are taken even when the group does not need to do so for the sake of income[22]. A total of 25 groups reported that collections were their only source of income. Typically, it is the small seasonal (calendar custom) groups like the Hoodeners, Christmas mummers, Wassailers, Pace-eggers and the gang that keep the Mari Lwyd tradition who exist with only collection income and, as indicated above, many of these give their collection to charity - for their necessary expenditure, if there is any, is small. A further seven groups (six various morris and one Rapper) reported that

regular subscriptions were their only source of income and just two groups (one Northwest and one Rapper) reported that their only income was fees from bookings.

The amount of income that a group needs is dependant on the activities that it chooses to undertake for itself - or perhaps the activities it wishes to organise are constrained by the level of income - but whichever is the case there is sometimes a need for the 'fundraising' activites as quoted by 48 groups (see Table 3.17). Annual Feasts or 'days of dance', attendance at major folk gatherings (e.g. morris gatherings) and in a few cases hosting, or going on, international exchanges are all examples of activities which require major expenditure. The small calender custom groups tend not to engage in this kind of activity but, as becomes evident later in this study, several dance groups do undertake these additional 'social' activities and many of them have developed several different income strands. The number of different sources of income (Table 3.18) that some groups (Rank1 Type) reported is shown in Table 3.19.

	Sample	Collection as only income	Number of different sources of income						
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Cotswold	105	7	9	19	31	28	14	3	1
Northwest	52	0	2	4	20	14	6	5	1
Border	22	0	1	7	5	7	1	0	1
Rapper	10	3	5	1	1	2	1		
Longsword	6	3	3	1	0	2			
Mumming repertoire	5	1	1	2	2				
Christmas Hero	11	7	7	4					
Pace-egging	2	2	2						
Hoodening	1	1	1						
Mari Lwyd	1	1	1						
Wassailing	1	1	1						

Table 3.19: Number of groups reporting various number of income sources

A general picture emerges of small, short-season, local groups operating with a maximum of one or two sources of income, and larger (often morris) groups operating over a longer season or even year-round with a larger performance area and several different sources of income. The data does however demonstrate that these are only broad generalisations, with exceptions in every case. A cross-comparison between size of group and number of different sources of income has been made and the results are shown in Table 3.20. There is, overall, a tendency for larger groups to have more sources

than smaller groups but it is no more than a tendency. For example, a group of 12 or 20 members is as likely to have only one strand of income as it is to have five - and so on.

No. of sources of income >	none	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Size of group									
6	4	4		2					
8	3	13	6	5	4			1	
10	7	5	5	6	2	1			
12	4	2	9	7	13	2			
14		3	6	14	6	6	2	1	1
16		1	7	12	7	3	1	1	
18			3	5	5	2	1		
20	1	7	5	9	13	6	2		
22			5	6	3	4	3		
24	1	1	3	7	6	2	2	1	
26				2	4	3	1		
28				1	2		1		
30	2	1		1	4	3	1		
32			1	2		1			
34		1	1		1			1	
36						1			
40+	1		4	3	1				

Table 3.20: Number of groups - number of income sources against group size

Collections at performances, running fundraising events and fees from engagements (from the voluntary sector, business, and local authorities) may all be described as self-generated income. Information on grant aid from business is sparse, although an example occurs in C/S:7 on the Royal Lancashire Morris Dancers. As noted in Table 3.18, groups occasionally receive support or sponsorship from commercial sources other than on a fee basis. Pick and Anderton (1990) investigated 'the history and present state of arts markets in Britain, with particular emphasis upon the interaction of the arts (in all their manifestations) and industry, in all its forms', and arrived at twenty-four models by which industry has supported the arts. Few of their models are apparent in the history of the groups which are the subject of this study. The Pick and Anderton (1990) models include assistance from Local Government on the grounds of welfare or as investment through tourism or via festivals and exhibitions. These models are occasionally observable among the survey groups. Certainly the investment models provide bookings and fees, on occasion, for some groups, but the welfare model is less apparent. Only nine groups indicated that they had ever received grant-in-aid including, in one instance, from the local education authority:

'One-off grant for workshops in school.' (IQ:076)

Other grants were noted as:

' LA grant a one-off.' (IQ:248)

'The side was awarded a local authority grant on a once only basis just after it was set up. This was used to cover costs of collectively owned instruments such as bass drum, etc.' (IQ:065)

'We have also in the past received grants for new swords from the City Council, but cut-backs have ended these (IQ:148)

'Local authority grants for special projects i.e. new costumes.' (IQ:086)

What is noticeable in all these examples is that they are 'one-offs'. Only three groups indicated that they had had repeat grants:

'We have had funding in the past for specific visits abroad - town twinning.' (IQ:153)

'Very occasional local authority subsidy for special occasions - overseas visits. More subsidy might be available - but we don't apply.' (IQ:003)

From casual conversation with several informants it has been apparent that they regard applying for grants and form-filling as generally not worth the effort required. This attitude is, in some instances, informed by previous experience, but it may also by symptomatic of the general attitude, identified throughout this study, of keeping all administration and management to a minimum and only undertaking what is necessary for the group to perform at all. In one case, a grant was awarded by the local authority-funded local Arts Council:

'One local Arts Council grant some years ago for the purchase of equipment.' (IQ:028)

The sale of merchandise, as an income generator, is a recent and increasing trend but it is apparent throughout the survey that income generation for its own sake is never a priority for any team. If a group wishes to undertake some special activity (e.g. a tour abroad or organising a day of dance) it may seek to fundraise, levy additional monies from members or even make a grant application but as long as there is enough money, the group seeks to do no more. Further examples of this attitude can be found in the Case Studies in Part IV.

Social groupings in the membership of groups: Q9 of Initial Questionnaire

This question asked whether the members of the group had anything in common other than that membership and gave examples of: 'same employer, all live in same village, all same trade, etc.' Historically, it has often been assumed (and less often demonstrated) that members of a performing group frequently had a range of social factors in common such as occupation, geographic location or social position. Chandler (1993a & 1993b) demonstrates such commonality among South Midlands morris teams before the 20th Century, but with increased mobility in the later 20th Century, the decline of the agricultural work-force and the break-up of communities it might be expected that such no longer applies.

Of the groups in the present survey 42 gave no reply to the question giving a base sample of 291 responses. Of these, 182 groups simply replied that their members had nothing in common. A further six groups (four male and two female) gave the sex of group members as the only common factor and four gave only responses which may be ignored for present purposes - i.e. 'All mad' (IQ:125), 'Extroverts' (IQ:023), 'Drinking' (IQ:218), 'Like beer' (IQ:234). These may, at most, indicate a commonality of *attitude* amongst group members but not of any other kind. (There were another three groups which reported that some members drink at the same pub - in one case only when the group started - but also gave other more substantial common factors). One group replied that their members were all 'folk dancers of some standing' (IQ:307) - a response more relevant to Q14 on recruitment and, again, not indicating any commonality of the kind being sought. When these 11 groups are added to the 182 who actually reported no common factor amongst the membership they together represent 66% of the base sample.

Of the remaining 98 groups some indicated that there had been greater commonality between members when the group started (e.g. all from the same University year, all wives/girlfriends of another male morris team) than there was at the time of completing the questionnaire. Some of the respondents also indicated that 'some' of the group had things in common rather than all, or most, sharing some social aspect. In total 66 groups gave some indication of current commonality, but only 50 suggested that it applied to all or most of the group. Of these, the only common factor for 23 groups was that all or most members lived close together. This leaves only 9% of the groups who responded to the question suggesting that there were social factors in common among all or most members. The numbers of different common factors which were reported are shown in Table 3.21 and from those figures it may further be observed that, in 16 of the groups, the common factor related to some other

aspect of the Folk Revival. The results bear out Stone's observation (quoted earlier in 'Culturally Embedded Groups') that:

> 'Many teams now are 'artificial' groupings. Dedicated folkies [who] often travel substantial distances to get together with like-minded people. Apart from their interest in folk they often have very little in common.' (Stone.1987)

Common factors amongst group members	**ALL/MOST**	**SOME**
Live in same Village/Town	13	1
Live in local area	10	
Members of other organisation (folk song)	6	2
Members of other organisation (folk dance)	7	2
Members of other organisation (dance band)	1	1
Members of other organisation (not folk)	1	
Spouses of other folk group members	2	
Same trade/profession		5
Same University	6	
Family	1	4
Friends	3	2

Table 3.21: Number of groups reporting various common factors amongst their membership

Notwithstanding the impression given by the data above, many of the old continuing calender customs which were not respondents in this survey do still demonstrate some of the historic commonalities but evidently, for the vast majority of modern groups performing the vernacular arts, their only common bond is their interest in the activity itself forming, as Boyes (1993a) has suggested, a discrete 'Revival sub-culture'.

Repertoire size: data from the SQs

Before reporting the responses to Section 2 of the IQs, it is appropriate here to include some further information (which derives from the SQs) which concerns the repertoires of the groups. Q2 of the IQs, examined above, was concerned with the various Types of performance maintained by each group but did not enquire into the scale of the repertoire. It cannot be assumed that just because a group performs dances from a certain village tradition, that it dances *all* the dances from that tradition.

Similarly a Christmas mumming group is not bound to only perform the one play. The SQ asked, where appropriate, how many performance items (i.e. dances, plays) there were in the group's current repertoire. These results were tabulated against Rank1 Type of group and against the size of the group. The results are shown in Tables 3.22 and 3.23 respectively.

Group type >	MORRIS			SWORD		MIXED	
	Cotswold	Northwest	Border	Longsword	Rapper	Morris & Mumming	Morris & Sword
Repertoire size							
1				1			
2-5				1	3		
6-10		6	3				
11-15	5	6	1				1
16-20	13	1	2			1	
21-25						1	
26-30	2						3
31-35	4						
36-40	2						
41-50	1					1	
51-60	4						
61-70							
>70	1					1	
SAMPLE **76**							

Table 3.22: Number of groups ~ performance Type (Rank-1) against repertoire size

Group size >	6	8	10	12	14	16	18	20	22	24	26	28	30	32	34	40 -
Repertoire size																
1		1														
2-5		2			1	1										
6-10		1		3			1		2	2	1					
11-15			3			1		2	4	2				1	1	
16-20	1	2	1	5	2	2		3		2			1			
21-25					1	2										
26-30						3	1		1		1					
31-35						1	1			1						1
36-40						1					1					
41-50							1	1		1						
51-60						1	2					1				
61-70																
>70					1										1	
SAMPLE **76**																

Table 3.23: Number of groups ~ size of group against repertoire size

The sword teams have small repertoires. The Northwest and Border teams have smaller repertoires than the Cotswold teams - although ten or more of the somewhat more complex Northwest dances is not a small achievement. The Cotswold teams vary most and, although 13 of the 32 sides had repertoires of between 16 and 20 dances, the remainder varied considerably. Repertoire size does appear to be related to the Type of team. The mixed discipline teams largely fall into the Cotswold spread of repertoire sizes. A distribution pattern is less discernable in Table 3.23 which compares group size with repertoire size. It is possible to observe that no group of less than 13 performers had a repertoire of more than 20 items and that of the two groups with over 70 items in the repertoire, one was large with 34 members but the other had only 14 members. Repertoire size does not appear to have a significant correlation to group size (certainly in this sample) in groups with over a dozen members.

The extent to which groups are ecletic in building their repertoires has already been discussed under Q2. Even within the repertoires of, say a group who only perform Cotswold morris, there can be dances from several different village traditions and the same is often true of Northwest sides. With Border sides it is almost inevitable due to the paucity of source material. It should however be noted that certain teams keep closely to their 'own' tradition. This is certainly true of many continuing traditions (e.g. Bampton, Abingdon, Britannia Coconut Dancers) although new specifically created items can be, and occasionally are, added to these particular repertoires. The same can be said of many revived village traditions (e.g. Kirtlington, Eynsham) and it is also true of some new teams within the Folk Revival who have written their own new repertoires (e.g. Shropshire Bedlams (C/S:8), Paddington Pandemonium Express (Sue Evans-Turner - personal communication), Seven Champions Molly Dancers (Chris Pitt - personal communication)). This tendency has also been dicussed in part under Q6. There it was suggested that the acceptability of newly written material has increased as the present century has progressed. This development would allow for the fact that there has been a move in the last two decades for an increasing number of morris sides to build new 'local' repertoires of dances specific to the team. But, as shown under Q2, the majority of sides are still eclectic. There is some further relevant commentary under Q22 on Tradition, Revival and Contemporary repertoires and further research could yield valuable insights into how localised repertoires are built and maintained. At present, it remains to be shown whether a distinction between teams performing a mixed historical repertoire and teams performing their own new repertoires is at all relevant.

Chapter 8: Management in the Groups

Section Two of the questionnaire was titled *Managing the Group* and investigated a number of aspects including: constitutions, rules, meetings, committees, jobs and job titles, membership, motives and objectives. As indicated earlier, some groups returned two questionnaires at different stages of the progress of the research and the few discrepancies that were identified between duplicated questionnaires occurred in this section. Nearly all the discrepancies are attributable to development or changes that occurred in the group in the interval between completion of the two questionnaires. Some such changes are detailed later in this chapter, but together they emphasise that structural changes can and do happen and that each organisation can develop and change the way it is run without detriment to the continuity of performance. On the other hand, in apparently similar circumstances, such changes may cause breaks or even the complete collapse of a group. Some groups have reported no 'management' changes throughout their existence. The evidence from individual questionnaires must be seen as a 'snap-shot' of the organisation of that group at a particular point in time: a few years earlier, or later, and the situation may have changed. As one informant said:

> 'Should somebody come along in the team who had more of an autocratic nature, and people would follow, then I daresay at that point the questionnaire would have been filled out differently.' (Jackson. Int:017)

Individually, the results demonstrate a range of structures and motivations present at the time of the research. Collectively, they offer a series of models any one of which may, at some point in time, be used by a group to facilitate its continuity. General conclusions can be drawn from the sum of current 'snap-shots' and from the transitions that groups make from one model to another. Evolution and change are examined later in the study.

Rules and Regulations: Q10 of the Initial Questionnaire

Q10 asked whether the group had 'a written constitution' and whether it had 'rules'. It also asked about any general business meetings that took place in addition to actual rehearsals. Some constituted groups sent a copy of their constitution, but there was some inconsistency amongst the answers provided as to whether there were constitution or rules. As demonstrated in Table 3.24, a few groups answered one question but not the other, resulting in different sample sizes for the different questions: 321 groups replied in respect of constitutions, 301 in respect of rules. A total of 297 groups provided

an answer to both questions. Of this sample those with rules were equally divided between those with and without a constitution. Among those who reported that they had no rules, however, the greater number (81%) had no constitution either. Of the sample, 39% reported having a constitution, 42% reported having rules. Only 21% had both constitution and rules and 49% had neither.

	Written constitution?			
Rules?	NO REPLY	NO	YES	
NO REPLY	7	3	21	31
NO		139	32	171
YES	4	63	63	130
	11	205	116	332

Table 3.24: Number of groups reporting constitution and rules

The presence of constitutions and rules among the groups is not evenly distributed. Table 3.25 shows their distribution against selected Form/Type, and in every case it is noticeable that not only do the groups reporting neither constitution nor rules form the largest category but also that within the minority, in every case except for Rapper and social dance, those with only rules outnumber those with only a constitution. For most Types the sample number is small and it is not possible to read too much significance into the variations, but it may be noted that both constitutions and rules are signally absent from the mumming groups: only one of the 17 mumming groups who replied to either question had rules - and none had constitutions.

Although the general trend within each Type of group is similar - more than twice as many have neither constitution nor rules than do; those that have either are twice as likely to have rules rather than a constitution - both the mumming groups and the Rapper sword groups may be seen to vary from the more usual pattern, and it is necessary to compare the occurrence of rules and constitutions against other aspects of the groups before any conclusions can be drawn.

	Constitution and Rules	Constitution only	Rules only	Neither	TOTAL
MORRIS					
Cotswold	22	9	23	47	101
Northwest	15	5	10	20	50
Border	2	3	6	7	18
Molly	0	0	1	0	1
SWORD					
Longsword	1	0	1	2	4
Rapper	2	3	0	7	12
MUMMING					
Christmas hero	0	0	1	11	12
Pace-egg	0	0	0	2	2
Other	0	0	0	1	1
Repertory	0	0	0	2	2
SOCIAL DANCE (TOTAL)	2	0	3	6	11
STEP DANCE (TOTAL)	0	1	1	4	6

Table 3.25: Groups with one primary Form/Type reporting constitution/rules

It may be expected that the presence or absence of constitutions and rules could be a function of the size of the group: Table 3.26 shows the number of single and one main-Type groups reporting constitution or rules, comparing the frequency of reporting against size of group (sample = 212).

SIZE OF GROUP	Constitution and Rules	Constitution only	Rules only	Neither	TOTAL
8	0	0	0	1	1
10	1	1	1	16	19
12	5	5	3	15	28
14	1	3	6	14	24
16	5	4	3	11	23
18	2	1	4	6	13
20	4	3	8	11	26
22	6	0	4	4	14
24	7	2	3	2	14
26	3	1	4	0	8
28	2	0	0	1	3
30	1	1	2	3	7
32	1	0	2	1	4
34	0	0	0	2	2
36	0	0	0	0	0
40+	1	0	1	2	4

Table 3.26: Presence of constitutions and rules compared to group size

Taking the figures in Table 3.26 and, ignoring those size bands with a sample less than seven, converting the number of groups reporting constitutions and rules to a percentage of the total number of reporting groups of that size, it is possible to see that there is a tendency towards correlation between group size and the presence of constitutions and rules. These figures are shown in Table 3.27.

SIZE OF GROUP	Constitution and Rules	Constitution only	Rules only	Neither	TOTAL (100%)
	%	%	%	%	no.
10	5.3	5.3	5.3	84.2	19
12	17.9	17.9	10.7	53.6	28
14	4.2	12.5	25.0	58.3	24
16	21.7	17.4	13.0	47.8	23
18	15.4	7.7	30.8	46.2	13
20	15.4	11.5	30.8	42.3	26
22	42.9	0.0	28.57	28.6	14
24	50.0	14.3	21.4	14.3	14
26	37.5	12.5	50	0.0	8
30	14.3	14.3	28.6	42.9	7

Table 3.27: Percentage of groups reporting constitution/rules by group size

The percentage of groups reporting neither constitution nor rules tends to decrease as the size of the group increases. Conversely, the percentage of groups reporting both constitution and rules and those reporting only rules tends to increase with the size of group. The percentage of groups reporting only a constitution is relatively evenly spread across groups of all sizes. It appears that, while any group is as likely to have or not to have a constitution, the presence of rules (with or without a constitution) is more likely as the complexity of managing the group increases, inevitably, with the number of people involved.

The third part of Q10 asked: '*Apart from rehearsals, do you have any general 'business' meetings of the whole group? If YES, how often and what for?*' 37 groups failed to give any response to this part of the question leaving a sample of 296 responses. Of these, 40 (14%) indicated that they had no general meetings of the group at all. The question otherwise elicitied a wide range of responses. For example:

> 'AGM to elect officers and transact business of interest to members. Our constitution is defined as the minimum necessary to keep a bank account.' (IQ:006)
> 'After practise - approx 20 mins. each week.' (IQ:023)

'AGM. Otherwise, decisions requiring collective agreement are taken at ordinary practise or dancing evenings.' (IQ:060)
'Post mortem meeting week following the event.' (IQ:138)
'Rules - very limited and unwritten! AGM. Only known copy of constitution in bank!' (IQ:148)
'Once a year to placate our senior member!' (IQ:203)
'AGM to appoint side officers for the coming year, presentation of accounts, discussion of any relevant matters.' (IQ:240)

It is evident from the general tenor of the replies that even when there are meetings, even 'formal' ones such as an AGM, they tend to be casual affairs. A total of 178 (60%) respondents reported that their group had some form of annual meeting - usually styled 'AGM'. When the response indicating an annual meeting was expanded upon it was invariably that the AGM (or whatever it was called) was to elect officers and to discuss general business. In some instances accounts were also presented and/or officer reports received.

Meetings other than the AGMs were relatively few and far between. Fifteen of the groups who held AGMs mentioned that they also had EGMs as necessary, but 'as necessary' (or a similar phrase) or 'for specific events' was also the response from a further 29 groups who did not hold AGMs. A further method of dealing with business as it arose was to allocate some time at (usually after) regular practices or rehearsals. 24 groups reported this as their means of conducting general business. Taken together, these three methods - EGMs, as necessary and at practices - account for some 68 groups or 27% of those who gave any indication of how business was conducted. It is apparent that the week to week management in many groups is not covered by the above. A few groups stated that they had two (or three, or four) business meetings of the team each year and many groups who reported an AGM to elect officers gave no further explanation. In the case of those groups who only maintain a short seasonal annual performance, business is usually a case of one get-together beforehand to plan the performance (although there may be subsequent practices) and possibly a review meeting afterwards, e.g. see C/S:8 on Bury Pace-eggers. Some 'groups', like the Good Easter Molly Dancers (whose performance was described in the introduction to Q1 in Ch.7) have neither pre nor post meetings, but such situations appear to be very rare and invariably dependant on the nature of the performance. Even allowing for these once-a-year activities, there are a number of groups where either the respondent has not expanded on his or her brief reply, or some other method is employed. The question had asked about meetings of *the whole group* and it is reasonable to suppose that those groups not accounted for above manage themselves without the involvement of the whole group. Evidence from subsequent questions in the Initial Questionnaire suggests in greater detail how groups actually function, and further discussion of this aspect is therefore deferred at this point.

Committees and Meetings: Q11 of Initial Questionnaire

This area of questioning was concerned with the presence or absence of committees, meetings, and how the respondents described the management of the group. The responses show that some groups have formal committees, some informal ones and some no committee at all. Some groups operate with ad hoc or occasional committees - although not necessarily called so. Charles Handy (1988), in discussing how voluntary organisations work, has remarked on a distinction between teams and committees that is pertinent:

> 'Teams are groups of people who are there with a shared and common purpose... Committees are largely composed of people who are there as representatives of different constituencies, interests or sections.' (Handy. 1988 p.50)

All the surveyed groups *are* teams under Handy's definition and without 'different constituencies, interests or sections', although it has been necessary to clarify the issue in Case Studies 1 and 4. It may be surprising to find that, in all, 174 groups reported that they had a formal committee and 127 that they did not. Six groups did not reply to the question. In some instances, although a formal committee is reported, the activities of the group are conducted almost without reference to it - either by informal committees or by the action of individuals. Trevor Stone has also noted this happening:

> 'I did interviews with about eight or nine [Longsword] teams. One of the factors I went into there, with all of them, was the structure of the team: who ran the team, who made the joint decisions. In most of the teams they had got individuals that were actually called, in sword terms, a Captain, Secretary, a Treasurer (usually the equivalent of a Bagman), and they might have a scrapbook keeper. And nearly all of those would be officials. If you asked them, in theory, who made the decisions amongst the team they would always say "The team officers". If you actually found out who made the decisions by doing things ...[then] the person who actually went away and organised it made the decisions: decided where they were going to dance, who they were going to invite, they did all the development work, they created the whole ethos of the event for other people... They were not usually members of this ruling cadre: they were not team officials.' (Stone. Int.003)

Individual control of this kind is prevalent - whether or not there is a formal committee and whether or not there is an informal committee. Actual jobs and job titles are the subject of Qs 12 and 13 and are explored below, but Table 3.28 shows that 100% of responding groups (5 nil responses) with a formal committee had elected officers and that in only one instance was this committee not elected by the whole group. This was the calendar custom The Hunting of the Earl of Rone which is the subject of C/S:3, and this issue is explored there. It may also be noted in the table that, even amongst

those saying they did not have a formal committee, 78% of those who gave information did, nevertheless, have appointed officers. It is clear from the context that officers are not necessarily members of a committee but, equally in other groups, that the elected officers are collectively regarded as the committee and there are no members of this committee other than the officers..

	PRESENCE OF FORMAL COMMITTEE			
	No reply	Yes	No	Sample
APPOINTED OFFICERS?				
No reply	3	5	87	92
Yes	3	169	31	200
No	0	0	9	9
ELECTED BY WHOLE GROUP?				
No reply	6	5	119	124
Yes	0	168	3	171
No	0	1	5	6
No. of groups reporting	6	174	127	

Table 3.28: Groups with formal committees and appointed officers

Of the 174 groups that reported having a formal committee, 126 (72%) said they *also* had an informal committee (or committees). Red Stags Morris, for example, reported that they have:

> '2 committees. One on paper for the University, [and] the real one anyone who wants to be on it. Anyone who will take responsibility for anything at all. A written constitution and an AGM are necessary for all university clubs. We use the university as a practice hall.' (IQ:077)

The implication here is that the formal committee only exists because the host institution (to which the group is theoretically related) requires it. The requirement of an external body is also noticeable when one considers the Morris Ring and the rules it imposes on its members and, if a group is to have a bank account, a bank will usually require evidence of some form of constitution and officers who will act as signatories. This may explain the data from Q10 where it was noted that while the likelihood of rules increased with the size of the group, groups were as likely to have or not have a constitution irrespective of size (see Table 3.27): constitutions exist because someone else requires them. This conclusion tends to be borne out by responses such as:

'Constitution lost, rules unwritten, annual meeting to elect officers, weekly briefing sessions at practice.' (IQ:115)

'AGM. Constitution, but we pay no attention to it.' (IQ:177)

Several groups reported that their informal committees (sometimes styled 'sub-committees') existed to deal with activities that were not routine - for example:

'Special committees set up to deal with specific events, e.g. Spring and Autumn tours (2-3 visiting teams).' (IQ:013)
'Volunteers for specific events.' (IQ:135)

The majority of two-committee groups did not offer additional information as to how or why the informal committee was selected. The evidence that was given shows that the informal committee is usually made up of volunteers and established on an irregular basis to deal with specific arrangements for particular events or projects that were not everyday operations of the group. This parallels the evidence from Trevor Stone quoted above, and similar evidence is forthcoming from groups that have only an informal committee, of which there were 43. Again, in many instances, these convene only when the need arises:

'According to the needs of the moment and the expertise of the members.' (IQ:037)
'Volunteers when required.' (IQ:268)
'According to interest in event/activity.' (IQ:194)
'Committee of volunteers for special events only.' (IQ:084)

In one case (Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers - C/S:9) the creation of sub-groups for specific purposes is actually enshrined in the constitution, thus:

'COMMITTEES:- Ad Hoc committees may be constituted as and when necessary.' (Supp. 331 - constitution of the side)

but as the informant explained, the ad hoc committees only form for:

'...events such as this 300th anniversary of the horns. It's only for major things... Also Mayor's Day tends to be run by a little bit of a committee - there'll be two or three people get together to do that.' (Int:008)

It is possible that respondents differed in their reading of the question concerning formal and informal committees - some judging by whether there was an election process and others by the formality or

informality with which the elected group conducted itself. Notwithstanding, the evidence is clear that whether appointed, convened or ad hoc, peoples' actions are confined to the essentials. Taking a more usual management model, the informal committees may be described as task-orientated groups (see Handy.1988) and, where there is also a formal committee, two possibilities exist: a) that the task groups act as sub-committees with delegated powers or, b) that they operate without supervision or reference to the elected committee. They are created and given (or assume) the power to do the required job. In many instances this is also shown to be true of formal committees.

No Committee

A total of 68 respondents indicated that their group had no committee at all - either formal or informal. 28 of them are organised by a single individual, and a further 12 by two individuals. Of these 68 groups, 10 gave no information as to how the group was organised and therefore, from a sample of 58 groups, 69% were organised by only one or two individuals. Among these individuals, several were actually elected officers (e.g. Squire, Bagman, Foreman). A further 14 groups reported that elected or appointed individuals (not necessarily called officers) did the work although there may be more than two, or an unspecified number, involved. For example:

> 'One person takes the members' subs & keeps the books, one person teaches the steps, another will keep the scrapbook when ready, another person teaches choreography. We all chew our decisions over but there's one person who has overall authority and is the final decision maker.' (IQ:007).
>
> 'Life Squire and 2 deputies elected at AGM - OR any member at the request of Squire.' (IQ:062).
>
> 'Various members of group who are designated at AGM.' (IQ:267)

Thus such groups, often in general meeting, elect officers not to a committee but solely to undertake the specific jobs of organising and managing the group's activities. Both the rôle of the individual and the minimal 'management' noted repeatedly in this study is also demonstrated in the groups where unelected individuals organise everything themselves. In some instances it was reported that these individuals may consult with other group members (as in the IQ:007 response above - 'we chew our decisions over'), but action was noted specifically as theirs alone. This method of decision-making is known and used by the SAS (De la Billière. 199*), who describe it as a *Chinese Parliament* - 'a pow-wow in which everyone has his say about a problem before the commander takes a decision'. Within the text replies examples of this include:

'The leader organises the group with suggestions etc. from members.' (IQ:019)
'Instructor - but most will make suggestions.' (IQ:092)

The one remaining group is the Chelmsford Folk Club Mummers who replied that the mumming was 'organised within [the] folk club' (IQ:011) - i.e. by an agency other than the performing group itself, although all the mummers are also members of the folk club.

Only five (8%) of the committee-less respondents indicated that the group as a whole were involved in organising - it is individuals who do the work. It is also worth noting the distribution of committees among the different Forms and Types of group. This is shown in Table 3.29.

	Formal Committee Only	Informal Committee Only	Formal and Informal Committee	No Committee at all	Sample
MORRIS (TOTAL)	98	30	29	40	197
Cotswold	59	14	18	30	111
Northwest	31	4	7	3	45
Border	8	11	4	4	27
Molly	0	0	0	2	2
SWORD (TOTAL)	6	1	2	7	16
Longsword	4	0	1	2	7
Repertory					
MUMMING (TOTAL)	0	2	1	11	14
Christmas hero	0	2	1	10	13
Pace-egg	0	0	0	1	1
Repertory	0	0	0	3	3
SOCIAL DANCE (TOTAL)	5	3	0	1	9
Welsh	4	2	0	1	7
STEP-DANCING (TOTAL)	2	1	0	4	7
Appalachian	1	0	0	1	2
Clog	1	1	0	2	4

Table 3.29: Formal and informal committees according to Form/Type

Among morris sides overall, and Cotswold and Northwest sides in particular, 50% or more of sides have only a formal committee. While there are roughly equal numbers of 'informal' and 'two-committee' sides, there are in each case more sides with 'no committee' at all. Border teams are dominated by 'informal' committees although there are still a considerable number of 'formal' committees. Molly and mumming teams are predominantly without committees of either kind and, not suprisingly, groups that have no committee of any type tend to be those that are run by an

individual or a small number of individuals. As shown in the previous chapter, the mumming groups also tend to be small. Further evidence correlating these two facts becomes apparent in the responses to Q13. Significantly, perhaps, the social dance groups tend to be dominated by one or other kind of committee although even here there is an example of a 'no committee' group.

Methods of reaching decisions and taking actions seem to transcend the presence or absence of committees, officers and rules and in some cases size, the technical level of formality and Type of performance. Some tendencies however are apparent and the responses to the subsequent questions illuminate these further.

Official and unofficial titles: Q12 of Initial Questionnaire

Irrespective of any reported management structures, each of the groups use a range of titles for people engaged in management and performance. Many of these titles relate primarily to the performance itself and the title holders may, or may not, have other functions, e.g. 'Garland Lady', 'Fool', 'Chief Musician', 'Bottler', 'Waggoner', 'Announcer'. Some recurrent titles are closely correlated with the Form or Type of performance but without necessarily indicating particular jobs, e.g. Squire, Foreman and Bagman in Cotswold morris sides; Captain or Leader with sword teams; etc. Some titles relate only to responsibilities connected to managing or servicing the administration of the group, e.g. Secretary, Chairman, Publicity Officer, Social Co-ordinator, Dressmaker.

In Q12 groups were asked to list the management and performance titles used in their group, whether or not the title-holders had specific jobs to do. These were all entered on the database as given. In a few instances the title was listed in inverted commas (e.g. 'Number One', 'Voice', The Badger') or in brackets, e.g. (collector), (Archivist), (a wife). These have been taken to indicate that the title given is not an official title, but indicative of the job or rôle that is undertaken by that individual (i.e. an unofficial title). Titles given in inverted commas or brackets were entered into the database in brackets. A further number of 'titles' was sometimes given in response to Q13 (which identified jobs undertaken within the group and linked those jobs to the titles given in Q12), and these were also often indicative of a job. As they were used as a 'title' under Q13, but not given as such under Q12, they too were entered into the database in brackets. Thus, the list of responses on the returned questionnaires (and included in Appx.8A), includes both official titles given under Q12 and unofficial titles listed under both Q12 and Q13.

Qs 12 and 13 are closely linked and although the results from each are reported in their own right, it is the further analysis across the responses to the two questions which illuminates the mechanics of group organisation. This correlation, which is considered after the results of both questions are presented individually, necessitated some means of codifying the resposes. A total of 308 groups reported official titles and whilst some are reported more frequently than others (e.g. Squire, Leader, etc.), many titles prove to be variations on a theme. For example, 'Chief Musician', 'Captain of Music', 'Music Master' & 'Bandleader' all denote 'I/C MUSIC'. The common title 'Bagman' occurs in variants such as 'Baglady', 'Bagwoman', 'Bagperson' and even 'Bag' (not necessarily just in female teams); 'Foreman' and 'Chairman' have similar variants. For the purposes of analysis such variations have been grouped under one title-type (e.g., in the three latter examples, under 'BAG', 'FORE' or 'CHAIR'). Titles which denote a specific performance character only have been designated 'CHARACTER' and among these are animals (e.g. Boris the Bull, Horse, Baby Beast) and performance names such as Betty, Toms, T'Owd Man, Waggoner, etc. One character title, however, recurs frequently (i.e. 'Fool') and this has been included as a title-type in its own right for that reason. A catch-all category of 'MISCELLANEOUS' has also been used.

Unofficial titles (as described above) were all allocated to a limited number of title-types: 'INDIVIDUAL' (or 'INDIVIDUALS' if plural), or 'NON-MEMBER(S)' if this was indicated. The title-type 'CHARACTER' was used for unofficial titles where the given was a performance character, and one other title-type was also used - 'SUB-GROUP' - where the response indicated a small, ad hoc or specific sub-group of the membership.

In order to avoid errors of assumption in allocating official titles to a particular title-type, a few had to be checked against the job undertaken as reported in the group's answers to Q13. For example: it was not immediately apparent if 'Bagpuss' is a performance title only or a variation of 'Bagperson', in the Britannia Coconut Dancers' tradition 'Whiffler' (or 'Whipper In') is the official title (and function) of the 'LEADER' (see C/S:2). A full list of the official and unofficial titles reported, together with their title-type allocation is given in Appx.8A. A list of the more frequent title-types, together with the frequency of each against selected Forms/Types, is shown in Table 3.30. Commentary on the rôles of these office-holders is deferred to after Q13, but some observations on the frequency of the titles themselves is appropriate here.

TITLE-TYPES	SAMPLE	Squire	Chair	Leader	No.1	Boss	Bag	Fore	Teacher	Treasurer	Secretary	Captain	Fool	Archivist	Scrapbook	Historian	Log	Costume	TOT 'records'	Wardrobe	Kit	I/C costume	TOT 'clothes'	I/C music	Musician
Number of reports		**218**	**18**	**40**	**7**	**2**	**188**	**191**	**16**	**194**	**108**	**22**	**69**	**42**	**36**	**3**	**9**	**(90)**	**6**	**14**	**22**	**2**	**(44)**	**19**	**26**
Cotswold	**112**	105	1	1	3	1	101	90	1	57	24	0	46	19	15	2	8	(44)	1	3	13	0	(17)	6	3
Northwest	**53**	42	1	13	0	0	19	32	6	42	36	8	0	7	7	0	0	(14)	1	9	6	0	(16)	2	13
Border	**22**	16	0	4	0	0	16	12	3	17	8	0	1	2	3	0	0	(5)	1	1	0	0	(2)	0	4
Morris & Mumming	**17**	17	0	2	1	0	17	17	1	10	2	2	7	1	3	0	0	(4)	0	0	0	0	(0)	0	0
Xmas Hero	**13**	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	(0)	0	0	0	0	(0)	0	0
Mumming Repertoire	**5**	2	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	(1)	0	0	0	0	(0)	0	0
Morris & Sword	**12**	10	1	1	0	0	10	9	1	7	1	3	3	3	1	0	0	(4)	0	0	0	0	(0)	0	0
Rapper	**12**	3	0	3	2	0	3	2	0	4	2	4	0	1	0	0	0	(1)	0	0	0	0	(0)	0	0
Longsword	**8**	1	3	1	1	0	2	3	0	5	4	4	1	0	0	0	0	(0)	0	0	0	0	(0)	0	0
Custom Unique	**4**	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	(1)	0	0	0	0	(0)	0	0
Morris & Custom	**4**	3	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	(0)	0	0	0	0	(0)	0	0
Social dance (non-Welsh)	**5**	1	2	4	0	0	1	0	0	5	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	(0)	0	0	0	0	(0)	0	0
Social dance (Welsh)	**9**	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	4	7	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	(2)	1	0	0	2	(3)	0	0

Table 3.30: Frequency of title-types by selected title-type and Form/Type

As shown in Table 3.30, the most frequently reported title-types are SQUIRE (218), TREASURER (194), FORE (191) and BAG (188). Whilst TREASURER is fairly evenly distributed across different Forms/Types, the other three title-types are strongly connected to Cotswold morris. The title-type LEADER is reported 40 times (seventh most reported) and in only one case is this from a Cotswold side. In his detailed examination of South Midlands (Cotswold style) morris dancing prior to 1900, Chandler incidentally suggests that the terms Squire and Fool were largely interchangable and that:

> 'The man who acted in the character of fool was generally the leader of the team.' (Chandler.1993a)

Among the Cotswold (only Rank 1) sides in the present survey, of which 112 responded to Q12, 105 (94%) had a SQUIRE title-type and 46 (41%) had a FOOL. Of the sample however, 81 (72%) had both a SQUIRE and a FOOL. Evidently the old interchangeability no longer pertains. Chandler makes no reference to the terms Bagman or Foreman from his researches and, certainly in the case of Bagman, the term appears to be specific to the Folk Revival. One interviewee told me that:

> 'I know that the term Bagman was invented by... Kenworthy Schofield - he just thought it was a nice name - in the early days of the Morris Ring.' (Kirkpatrick. Int:014)

This is corroborated by the claim from the side that Mr. Schofield danced with that they had invented the term.

In Cecil Sharp's books on sword dancing in the North of England (Sharp.1977) the author frequently refers to the 'leader' (or 'Leader') of a group and to the 'No.1', although it is not clear whether these are formal titles or a convenience for the author (No.1 being a particular position in the dance set used in both morris and sword dances). As a title-type, LEADER is most frequently reported from teams performing Northwest or Rapper (25% in each case). Other titles also appear to be linked to the particular Type of performance: 'Captain' is reported by 15% of Northwest sides, by 33% of Rapper teams and by 50% of Longsword teams but not at all by Cotswold or Border sides. In general, it does seem that certain titles tend, presently, to be associated with certain Types of performance although it has been shown that these are not necessarily the same titles as in the historical record.

Within the responses to Q12 there is also variation around particular themes. Titles falling into the title-types 'ARCHIVIST', 'SCRAPBOOK', HISTORIAN', 'LOG' and 'RECORDS' may all be concerned with the same area of job. Similarly those titles codified under 'COSTUME', 'WARDROBE', 'KIT'

and 'I/C COSTUME'. The suggestion that these variations are concerned with similar jobs is discussed after Q13 but, for present purposes, totals across these themes are included in the Table 3.30.

Most groups use fairly standard titles for their officers (or variations on the standard) but a few use idiosynchratic titles, e.g. Chief Growler (IQ:019), Voice (IQ:060), Minder (IQ:067), Baldrick (IQ:045). Only one group appears to have created a unique set of titles for itself including: Dragon, Gorgon, Twiddler, Nogard and Bagpuss (IQ:049). A total of 25 teams style their titles 'Keeper of ...' and these titles range from Keepers of Kit, Sticks, Scrapbooks or Animals to 'Keeper of Orange Juice'.

Amongst the mumming groups who reported titles it is the low frequency of title-types (and titles) that is noticable. In all Form/Type classifications there is a greater sample than there is frequency of any title - with two exceptions: all the non-Welsh social dance groups have a Treasurer and all the morris and mumming groups have a Squire, Bag(man) and Forc(man). Otherwise it is again apparent that, as shown under Q11, some groups operate without titled individuals altogether and this is investigated further after the data from the Q13 responses.

Size of group	**06**	**08**	**10**	**12**	**14**	**16**	**18**	**20**	**22**	**24**	**26**	**28**	**30**	**32**	**34**	**36**	**40+**
Number of official titles																	
0	3	5	5	3	2	1		1		1							
1	4	6	2	3	1			1									1
2	2	4	5	4	1	2		2									
3	1	6	3	3	3	1		4	2	1	1		1				1
4		8	2	11	9	9	6	8	4	5		1	1		1		1
5		3	8	1	6	13	3	10	6	3	3		2	1			2
6				4	8	4	5	7	2	8	3		1		2		3
7			1	5	5	2	1	5	1		1	2	4	3			
8				2	3	1	1	2	2	3	2		3		1	1	1
9				1				3		1		1					

Table 3.31: Number of groups - size of group against number of official titles

A comparison of the number of official titles used in the groups against the size of the groups is shown in Table 3.31. There is a general tendency for the number of official titles used to increase as the groups' sizes increase but, as has been shown to be common amongst the sample, it is only a

slight tendency. Comparison of number of titles against the sex of the team shows no significant variance between male, female and mixed teams. The comparison against Form/Type, which is summarised in Table 3.32, however, does demonstrate some interesting links between Type and number of titles.

Number of titles	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**
Customs	1	1	2		3					
Morris: Cotswold	4	2	6	11	19	29	20	15	5	2
Morris: Northwest				8	13	8	6	8	8	2
Morris: Border	1		4	1	6	2	3	3	1	1
Mumming: Xmas Hero	7	4	2							
Mumming: Pace-egging	1	1								
Mumming Repertoire	2			1	1			1		
Social (non-Welsh)				1	2	1			1	
Social (Welsh)	2		1		2	1	2	1		
Crossform: Repertoire				1			2		8	
Longsword	1			2	3		2			
Rapper	1	5	2		3	1				
Sword Repertoire						1				
Step: Appalachian	1				1	1				
Step: Clog		3				1				

Table 3.32: Number of groups - number of titles against selected Form/Type

Rapper tends to have fewer titled officers than Longsword; Northwest morris tends to have a larger number of titled officers than Cotswold or Border; the mumming groups have few (or even no) titled officers except for some of the repertoire groups and this is also true of the sword repertoire group; a significant number of the Crossform Repertoire groups also have a large number of titled officers. This may be indicative of a larger number of things to do in repertoire groups generally, but this will be considered in due course. The number of official titles or offices that exist in the group may be, to some extent, a reflection of the size of the performing unit or of the Type of performance, but it is not necessarily a reflection of the number of tasks that the group identifies as needing to be undertaken.

Tasks and Jobs: Q13 of Initial Questionnaire

Q13 sought to identify the various tasks that were carried out in the management of the groups. The questionnaire offered a series of common administrative, management and leadership tasks, asked which of these were undertaken, and also asked what further tasks were identified in the group. It also asked who undertook these tasks (see Appx.8). The list of 'pre-identified' tasks printed on the IQ asked who:

13.1 selects items to add to the group's repertoire
13.2 decides what items to perform when in public
13.3 introduces or announces during performance
13.4 collects money during performances
13.5 is 'in charge' overall during performances
13.6 teaches new members the current repertoire
13.7 teaches the group new items for performance
13.8 arranges rehearsals
13.9 assesses the standard that people have achieved
13.10 deals with any disciplinary matters
13.11 decides what performances and/or tours to do
13.12 calls decision-making meetings
13.13 arranges transport
13.14 decides how money is spent/allocated
13.15 banks or draws money
13.16 are signatories to the bank account
13.17 relates to officialdom (permissions/licenses)
13.18 makes costume
13.19 looks after/maintains costume
13.20 keeps a group archive or scrapbook.

The tasks identified as being undertaken in the groups vary from one to another. In some cases this was for obvious reasons: groups without a bank account do not need signatories; groups without a committee do not need a chairman or minute secretary, those with a single musician are not likely to appoint a musical director or band leader. Conversely, groups which deliberately market themselves may appoint a publicity officer. Those with a particular pride in appearance may appoint a wardrobe mistress or a kitman, while those for whom the social aspects are important may have a social co-ordinator.

However, it can also be noted that the presence of an 'obvious' title does not necessarily carry that 'obvious' job with it. For example, the Kitman of the New Forest Meddlars (IQ:103) has little to do. The post is enshrined in the constitution (Supp:103, para 16) but no tasks are allocated according to the questionnaire return, and the constitution itself actually states that:

'Members are totally responsible for the Kit in their possession.' (para 17).

As with titles and title-types, the jobs which a group reports as needing to be done fall into a limited number of areas: tasks focused within certain task-types. The full list of the tasks reported, together with the task-type to which each was allocated is given in Appx.8B, but the main classifications of tasks reported can be summarised thus:

Administrative matters: Meetings, Correspondence, Records, Merchandise, Insurance, etc.
Personnel matters: Discipline, Training, Assessment, Attendance, etc.
Finance: Internal, Collecting, Disbursement, Banking.
Kit & properties: Organising, Making and maintaining.
Music: Choosing, Teaching, Organising.
Performance matters: When, Where, What, Bookings, Events, Rehearsal, Transport, etc.
External relations: Adverising, PR and Liaison.
Social aspects: Organising, Catering, Looking after members, etc.
Venues: Selecting, Booking and Rehearsals.
Other: General and Specific.

Analysis of these task-types on their own (distinct from titles), however, presents certain difficulties. Whilst, on average, 13.5 of the 20 pre-identified tasks were reported as being undertaken by each group, other tasks identified from the responses averaged only 3.5 per group. This indicates that either all the common tasks *had* been pre-identified on the questionnaires (and there were very few to report in addition) or that correspondents (or groups) had not fully considered what other tasks were undertaken when responding to the question. On the face of it, the former may seem unlikely - suggesting that the latter was the actual case - but many of the 'additional' tasks reported were idiosynchratic and one would not expect them to be generalised amongst other groups - for example:

'Organising the annual boat-trip.' (IQ:077)
'Sending birthday cards to members.' (IQ:317)
'Composing music for new dances.' (IQ:208)
'Leading the procession, signalling with garland, arranging stops & changes.' (IQ:012)
'Completing questionnaires.' (IQ:123)
'College matters: roll-call, fire drill, practise dates, fees.' (IQ:267)

The evidence is therefore inconclusive. Other additional tasks proved to be variations on the pre-identified tasks: 'keeps a group archive or scrapbook' was one of the pre-identified tasks (Q13.20), but several groups left this tick-box blank and instead reported - variously - 'maintains photorecord', 'official photographer', 'records [dance] notations'. Similarly, the pre-identified task of 'looks after/maintains costume' (Q13.19) appeared as additional and more specific tasks such as: 'looks after

kit', 'in charge of tatters/material/instruments', 'equipment storage and transport', 'keeping clogs in good order', etc. In one case, there was an 'additional' reported task of looking after 'all monetary matters'. Among the pre-identified tasks, Q13.4, Q13.14, Q13.15 and Q13.16 were all concerned with 'monetary matters' but it was not clear whether this particular group had a bank account and therefore it was not possible to fully allocate this reported 'additional' task. Similar problems occured with other groups and tasks.

A few 'additional' tasks were reported with a higher frequency, although not nearly as high as any pre-identified tasks. These were (as task-types):

Responsibility for producing advertising or promotional material - (22 occurrences).
Organising social aspects of the groups activities - (11 occurrences).
Dealing with bookings enquiries - (11 occurrences).

No other 'additional' task-types were reported at a total frequency of five or more, although grouping tasks such as those concerned with music together does produce a significant number of reports. It is possible that, had these additional tasks been pre-identified on the questionnaire, they might have elicited a higher response rate. Overall, 'additional' tasks were few in number and because of this, the concerns over tendencies in reporting, and the fact that, of those that were reported, so many were peculiar to particular groups, it is not possible to reach any conclusions about them here. The frequency of pre-identified tasks, together with the three 'additional' tasks listed above, is shown, for completeness, against group Type in Table 3.33. Further analysis of the tasks reported as undertaken against size of group, sex of group, area of performance, etc. gives no further insights.

Both titles (and title-types) and tasks (and task-types) have been considered above independently. The analysis of titles has demonstrated some tendencies, such as close association of the titles Fool, Bagman and Squire with Cotswold morris, but it is the cross-combination of the titles and tasks that may reveal, in those groups who have titles, more about the management of the groups. It is this cross-combination that is considered in the next part of this chapter.

Question 13 - sub-number	20	12	9	10	7	6	15	4	14	16	19	18	3	PO	2	5	11	1	13	8		17	SC/SM	SAMPLE
Task-type code letters	AA	AD	BA	BD	BN	BT	FB	FC	FD	FS	KL	KM	PA	PB	PD	PI	PP	PR	PT	PX	RA	RS	SO	
Group type																								
Hoodening	1		1			1	1	1	1		1	1	1			1	1		1	1		1		1
Mari Lwyd		1				1	1	1		1	1		1		1		1	1	1					1
Wassailing																								1
Custom: unique	4	4	2	2	1	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	2		2	4	2	1	3	2		4		4
Crossform repertoire	2	4	4	3	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	1	4	4	4	4	3	4	1	4		4
Border	16	17	17	13	20	19	20	18	20	18	12	19	20	3	20	18	20	19	16	19		18	1	20
Cotswold	90	95	86	73	105	102	106	101	104	98	80	98	110	3	110	109	113	109	98	103	11	103	7	113
Northwest	52	46	48	43	51	52	53	50	53	51	51	50	51	2	52	53	53	51	52	51	5	54	3	53
Morris: other	5	6	2	3	5	5	6	6	6	6	4	6	6		6	6	6	5	6	6		6		6
Pace-egg	1	2		1		1		2	2		2	2				1	1		2		1	1		2
Xmas hero	6	7	6	3	4	10	6	12	10	4	7	12	6		7	10	11	6	8	10	1	7		12
Mumming: other	1	2	3	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	3	3		3	2	3	3	2	3		2		3
Social dance (not Welsh)	3	3	2	1	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4		4	4	4	4	4	4	1	4		4
Social Dance (Welsh)	6	5	5	4	6	6	6	5	6	6	5	6	6		6	6	6	6	6	6		6		6
Appalachian	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	3		3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3		3
Clog	2	1	3	2	4	4	4	4	4	2	2	4	4	1	4	4	4	4	4	4		3		4
Longsword	6	3	6	5	4	8	7	7	7	7	7	5	6		6	7	7	5	5	6	1	6		8
Rapper	9	4	7	6	8	10	9	10	8	8	7	9	12		10	10	11	8	6	10		8		12
TOTAL	207	204	196	165	222	234	235	232	240	217	194	229	240	11	239	244	252	230	221	233	22	232	11	258

KEY:

AA Admin/archives	AD Admin decisions	BA Personnel/assessment	BD Personnel/discipline	BN Personnel/new repertoire
BT Personnel/training	FB Finance/banking	FC Finance/collecting	FD Finance/disbursements	FS Finance/signatories
KL Kit - look after	KM Kit - makes	PA Perfomance - talks	PB Perf. - bookings	PO Perf. - one-offs
PD Perf. - deciding	PI Perf. - in charge of	PP Perf. - programme	PR Perf. - repertoire	PT Perf. - transport
PX Perf. - rehearsals	RA Relations - advertising	RS Relations - specific	SC/SM/SO - Social: catering, members welfare/organising.	

for further details of codings, see Appendix 8b.

Table 3.33: Tasks in the management of the group against group Type

Correlation of titles and tasks - Questions 12 & 13

While some tasks are allocated to specific individuals (irrespective of whether they have a title or not), others are regarded as the responsibility of the whole group or a section of it. In groups which perform irregularly and which are driven by one individual, that individual frequently 'does everything'. Larger regularly functioning groups tend to operate with a decision making process which is either collective (by the whole group) or by committee (elected or appointed for the purpose), although this is only a tendency and by no means absolute. Groups had been asked in Q13 to indicate not only what tasks were undertaken, but also to state who undertook them by reference to the titles they had listed in Q12 and other titles. It was also requested that, where appropriate, the question should be answered by replying:

'OWN' if each member did the job for themselves.
'ALL' if the whole group were involved together.
'COMMITTEE' if the formal or informal committee were collectively involved.
'AD HOC' for tasks that were undertaken by an ad hoc group of the membership.

Each of the pre-identified tasks listed in Q13, together with each of the more frequently reported tasks which had not been printed on the questionnaire, was cross-analysed against a list of the main title-types together with the OWN, ALL, COMMITTEE, and AD HOC responses. The results, as they relate to each task, are presented below - the data is given in Appx.8C. The sample throughout the following, unless otherwise stated, is drawn from those groups with a repertoire including one primary (Rank-1) Type (i.e. a 1:x repertoire, which includes repertoire groups of Type: mumming, sword and crossform). A summary of the salient statistics for each task is given in the relevant section below and an overall summary appears, after discussion of who does what, in Table 3.34. For simplicity, the terms Foreman and Bagman are used throughout, rather than the sex-neutral title-types Fore and Bag.

The sample of groups giving responses to Q13 was 259. In a few cases the number of reports of somebody undertaking a task exceeds the number of groups reporting, e.g. among Cotswold morris sides there were 114 groups reporting, but 123 and 122 responses respectively for Q13.2 and Q13.3. This is due to more than one individual undertaking a particular task in some groups, e.g. one group has a different Foreman for each localised tradition that they perform within their otherwise single-Type repertoire; the one reporting group which performs both Longsword and Rapper at Rank-1 importance (i.e. the Sword:Repertoire group) has a different Foreman for each Type. The percentages

given in the following sections are, in each case, the number of instances reported as a percentage of the number of reports, not a percentage of the number of groups reporting.

The results from earlier questions suggested that the management of groups is often left to individuals - either volunteers or officers elected for the purpose - the corollory being that the majority of members do not undertake these management tasks. It has also been suggested that the number of tasks undertaken (or at least identified) tends to be as few as necessary for the activity to take place. Some tasks are, however, unavoidable.

Who selects items to be added to the group's repertoire (Q13.1)

Selecting the repertoire was reported in 235 instances:
Foreman:87, Squire:53, ALL:50, COMMITTEE:16, Leader:10, AD HOC:9.

Among many mumming groups the question of selecting a repertoire simply does not arise: they tend to be single-play groups. The same is true of the unique customs. In other mummng and custom groups, where there was an element of repertoire choice, selection of repertoire was undertaken in all but a few cases by ALL the group. Like the mumming and custom groups, several sword teams are single-item groups and the question of repertoire selection does not arise - but, again, some have a wider repertoire. Half of the Longsword groups of this type selected by ALL discussing, and in the other half it was the Foreman who decided. Amongst the wider repertoire Rapper teams, the decision was made by ALL in 71% of cases.

The selection of repertoire amongst Cotswold morris sides is left to officers in over 95% of reports. In 63% it is done by the Foreman, in 34% by the Squire and in the remainder by some other titled officer. In none of the sample is it a collective decision (i.e. ALL, AD HOC or COMMITTEE). Amongst Northwest sides, however, 35% of teams reported ALL and in a further 14% it was done by the COMMITTEE. In 5% it was an AD HOC decision and in the remainder of the sample, repertoire was selected by Foreman - 19%, Squire - 17%, or Leader - 5%. Among the Border teams, 63% reported ALL, AD HOC or COMMITTEE as selecting repertoire with the Foreman or Squire selecting in all but one of the remaining groups (where it happened to be the Secretary).

In social dance groups, selection is almost invariably down to the Leader, although in two of the Welsh groups it was a COMMITTEE decision. Amongst step-dance groups, half the Clog teams reported selection by ALL and half by the Leader (untitled in one case), but in 100% of the Appalachian teams selection of repertoire was by ALL the membership.

The task of selecting the repertoire, then, does not arise amongst single-item groups, be they custom, mummers or sword Types. Among other groups, where a wider repertoire is selected by an officer, it is typically by the Foreman or Squire (or Leader amongst social dance groups and those morris sides who have not adopted the title 'Squire'). There are, however, a significant number of wider repertoire groups where all the members are involved - the notable exception being Cotswold morris.

Who decides what items to perform when in public? (Q13.2)

Deciding what to perform in public was reported in 250 instances:
Squire:104, Foreman:68, ALL:28, Leader:25, AD HOC:10, COMMITTEE:8.

Even with the repertoire established, there is a separate decision to be made as to which items from the repertoire will be performed at a public performance. Again, the single-item groups can be discounted as there is no decision to be made.

Among Cotswold sides, the decision rests with the Squire in 54% of instances and with the Foreman in 33%. In less than 8% were ALL involved and in 4% the decision was AD HOC. Northwest and Border were similar in this aspect with the Squire (or Leader in some Northwest teams) deciding in 62% of Northwest and 56% of Border teams, and the Foreman deciding in just under 20% of Northwest and 28% of Border teams. The COMMITTEE made the decision in 10% of Northwest groups.

In all the non-Welsh social dance groups, the leader decided, but among the Welsh groups only half responded that this decision was made in their group at all and these were, in one instance each, by ALL, COMMITTEE and Leader. Similar non-significant spreads occurred amongst step-dance sides (both Clog and Appalachian) but in 75% of reporting Longsword teams the decision was made by ALL. In Rapper teams, by contrast, only 33% used ALL members to decide and the decision was most likely to be made by the Squire or Leader (56%).

In those mumming groups with a repertoire greater than a single play, the decision was made in 57% of instances by ALL, in 29% in an AD HOC fashion and by an INDIVIDUAL in one instance.

More so than in selecting repertoire, decisions on which items to perform in public are the responsibility of officers - usually the Squire/Leader but also of the Foreman. In a number of instances, however, it is still done by ALL the membership.

Who introduces, or announces, during performance? (Q13.3)

Announcing was reported in 229 instances:
Squire:80, AD HOC:47, INDIVIDUAL:25, Fool:18, Foreman:17, Leader:16, Bagman:11.

Most dance groups, in public performance, will announce to the audience the item(s) they are about to perform (or even who they are if this has not already been done by some other person in the rôle of M.C.). Customs and mummers usually have no need of announcing: the custom just happens and the mummers just arrive and perform[23], however, no responses (nils) were only recorded for Hoodening, Wassailing (sample=1 in each case) and Pace-egging (sample=2) - all other Types yielded some responses.

In Cotswold teams, the Squire announced in 42% of the sample and the Fool in 14%. The Foreman announced in 9% but announcing was AD HOC in just over 17%, the remainder being insignificantly spread out between other titled officers and individuals. In Northwest teams, the Squire or Leader announced in 54% of instances but no Fools make an appearance - the Fool character belonging to Cotswold morris and not to Northwest or Border. Together, AD HOC and INDIVIDUALS accounted for 30%. Border teams appear to be much more casual, with AD HOC and INDIVIDUALS accounting for 47% of instances, and 42% being shared between all titled officers (primarily the Squire, at 26%).

Amongst non-Welsh social dance groups, all reported announcing was done by the Leader, but apart from this, no particular clustering was discernable amongst other Types - although an overall low level of announcing was present, as might be expected, among mummers and customs

Who collects money during performance? (Q13.4)

Collecting was reported in 230 instances:
ALL:98, AD HOC:77, Bagman:21, INDIVIDUAL:17, Fool:6, Treasurer:5.

The results show distinctive clustering. The Bagman is responsible for collecting in only 11% of instances among morris side of all Types (primarily Cotswold) but is not reported as collecting under any other Types. Once again, the title 'Bagman' is characteristic of Cotswold morris teams and although the collection, and even at times the cash-at-bank, is referred to as 'the Bag', the Bagman most usually has some secretarial rôle (which may be in addition to a financial one).

AD HOC, ALL and INDIVIDUALS accounted for 71% of instances reported among Cotswold sides and in 94% of both Northwest and Border sides. Among other other Cotswold sides, Fools and Treasurers were each reported as collecting in 6% or less of instances. All other reports of collecting, in all other Types of group, were also attributable to AD HOC, ALL and INDIVIDUALS except: 1 Rapper Leader, 2 Secretaries and 2 Squires.

Collecting is, it seems, largely a job shared out among the members. It could be argued that this reflects the suggestion that money tends, generally, not to be of primary importance but, equally, it could be argued that it is of importance because most members take the responsibility for collecting at some time. On balance, considering the results overall from Q13 and the indications from previous data, it is likely that the former is the case: important aspects tend to have specific individuals allocated to them.

Who is 'in charge' overall during performances? (Q13.5)

A person 'in charge' of public performance was reported in 226 instances:
Squire:125, Foreman:34, Leader:28, INDIVIDUAL:12, Secretary:6, COMMITTEE (a member of):6.

Among the Cotswold morris sides 69% of reports indicated that the Squire was in overall charge during performances and in one case the Leader. In Northwest teams, the Squire or Leader was reported in 75% of cases, in Border it was 65%, in Rapper, 86% and in Longsword 100%. These are significant levels. Among non-Welsh social dance sides there was also 100% but among the Welsh

teams the Leader was only reported in 25% of the four cases with Secretary at 25% and other INDIVIDUALS at 50%. The only other officer to feature in these results is the Foreman, with a maximum of 17% (in Cotswold) in any Type of group with a sample more than seven. Overall, an officer was responsible in 90% of reports.

With this task, as with some others, a few groups share the responsibility around - one group even reporting that they have a different 'Squire' in charge each time they go out (IQ:044 - see Q15), but this task remains predominantly a job for the Leader (which is the Squire in most morris sides which use the term). Once again there was a low response among mumming teams of all descriptions, but where there were reports, officers accounted for 44% of reports. There were no reports for Hoodening, Mari Lwyd or Wassailing, but both unique customs who reported allocated the task to the Leader.

Who teaches new members the current repertoire? (Q13.6)

Teaching existing repertoire to new members was reported in 247 instances:
Foreman:131, ALL:39, Squire:21, Leader:16, INDIVIDUAL:16, AD HOC:10.

This question is distinct from the next. In this instance the concern is teaching existing items to new members - in the next it is teaching new material to all members. Teaching new members is often a job for the Foreman among morris (63%) and sword (33%) groups and invariably for the Leader in non-Welsh social dance groups (100%). As in Q13.5, among Welsh social dance groups, the Leader accounts for only 25% of reports with an INDIVIDUAL undertaking the task in 50%. The other officer to feature is the Squire/Leader in 11% of Cotswold teams and 26% of Northwest teams (where only 60% of teams have a Foreman compared to 80% in Cotswold (see Table 3.30).

INDIVIDUALS, ALL and AD HOC teaching accounted for 27% of reports overall, and for all (100%) the reported teaching in the mummers groups, 75% of it in the Welsh social dance and step-dance groups, and for approximately half in both Longsword and Rapper teams.

Who teaches the group new items for performance? (Q13.7)

Teaching new items to the group was reported in 234 instances:
Foreman:134, Squire:24, Leader:18, AD HOC:16, INDIVIDUAL:14, COMMITTEE:7.

It has already been shown that, excepting groups with a single performance item, a group's repertoire does not remain static and that new items tend to be added to the repertoire. Someone has to do the teaching and this question sought to disclose whose responsibility this task was. The distribution pattern and frequency of answers to this question are remarkably similar to those for the previous question (see Appx.8C), and the task itself is reported as frequently. The Foremen, Leaders and Squires all maintain or strengthen their positions marginally (by +2%, 0% and +1% respectively), while the frequency of ALL drops from 16% of reports to 5%. What is intriguing is that ALL features in responses to this question at all. It might be expected, as with ALL, that AD HOC would also drop - but the reported frequency actually rises from 4% to 7%. This may be explained by the fact that, in some of the 'democratic' groups (see Q15), the teaching of new material is, as one group put it, by whoever introduces the item to the group. In Q6 it was demonstrated that incoming members from other sides could bring dances with them to add to their new side's repertoire, and it has also been noted that members attending and learning at workshops do similarly. This undoubtedly contributes to the fact that ALL still appears at 5% of reports and that OWN rises from less than half a percent to 3%. Evidently the acquisition of new material is not the prerogative only of appointed officers or leaders.

Who arranges rehearsals? (Q13.8)

Arranging rehearsals was reported in 237 instances:
Bagman:49, Foreman:47, Squire:40, ALL:24, Secretary:22, COMMITTEE:20, Leader:16.

Most regular teams have regular rehearsals even during their 'out-of-season' periods and with regular weekly, fortnightly or monthly rehearsals in the diary, there is little need for anyone to especially arrange them, so the frequency with which arranging rehearsals is reported is suprising. It may be correct to read the responses as indicating whose responsibility the task would be rather than indicating that there is on-going work to be done. It is perhaps among the single-item, short-season

groups that one would expect to find rehearsals being arranged, rather than among the regular long-season groups.

Although they are single-item, short-season groups, no calling of rehearsals was reported from the Hoodening, Mari Lwyd, Wassailing or Other Mumming groups. Only half the Christmas/Hero mumming groups reported arranging rehearsal and in five of those six instances it was done by an INDIVIDUAL - the de facto, but untitled, leader. In the remaining case ALL was reported. Lack of rehearsals among mummers is the subject of some commentary in later chapters.

Among those morris and sword sides who did report, the task tends to be spread out fairly evenly among the main officers - predominantly the Bagman (24%), Squire/Leader (22%) and Foreman (22%). The Secretary also features in these responses with 10% of all reported morris rehearsals being convened by this officer. As discussed under Q13.4 (above), the Bagman (particularly in Cotswold sides) has a secretarial rôle and if officers titled Bagman or Secretary are added together, they then account for 35% of reports among morris sides. ALL was reported in 13% of instances and COMMITTEE in 8%.

Among the social dance groups (both Welsh and non-Welsh) it is the COMMITTEE or Leader, equally, who arrange rehearsals. In stepdance and sword teams, in half the teams who reported, arrangements are made by ALL. Otherwise it is the Squire/Leader or, in one case, the Foreman.

Who assesses the standard people have reached? (Q13.9)

Assessing people's standards was reported in 224 instances:
Foreman:77, Squire:53, ALL:40, COMMITTEE:20, Leader:20, AD HOC:5.

Among all but the morris groups, the assessment of an individual member's standard is, where reported, undertaken by ALL the group in 40% of cases. Otherwise it is as likely to be the Squire/Leader (28%) or Foreman (25%).

In Cotswold sides the Foreman assesses in 43% of reports and the Squire (leader) in 28%, but in Northwest teams these figures are reversed with the Squire/Leader reported in 44% of cases and the Foreman in 26%. Among Border sides each is reported in 32% of cases. The COMMITTEE (bearing

in mind that the term, variously when it is used, denotes either the group of elected officers or, in non-electing groups, the individuals who lead the team) is reported in 16% of Northwest teams and 7% of Cotswold and these figures are again reversed in respect of ALL - 7% in Northwest and 16% in Cotswold. In Border teams, as with titled officers, there is again an equal split between COMMITTEE and ALL with each reported in 16% of cases.

Whole-group assessment represents a significant number of the reports of who assesses standards but, where it is by officers, the Leader/Squire and Foreman are the responsible officers. They dominate the reports from all Types of morris, being more than five times as likely to be assessing as the whole group. If one includes COMMITTEE as being officers then it is over six times as likely.

Who deals with any disciplinary matters? (Q13.10)

Dealing with disciplinary matters was reported in 169 instances:
Squire:63, COMMITTEE:39, ALL:29, Leader:11, Foreman:10, AD HOC:6.

Reports of who deals with disciplinary matters are less frequent than reports for most other sub-questions under Q13. Later in the study (see Ch.12) it is suggested that problems which could arise in the groups are often avoided by alternative personal action. It is also noted in Ch.12 that all the examples of discipline being exercised which have been discovered in the research relate *only* to performance standards. In view of this, as it has been shown that the Foreman is often in charge of performance, it might be expected that his/hers would be a significant rôle in discipline. This does not appear to be the case. Among Cotswold sides it is the Squire's job in just over half the reports (53%), the COMMITTEE's or ALL in approximately 15% each and the Foreman's in only 6%. In Northwest sides the frequency of reports, as a percentage of teams, was slightly higher than among Cotswold sides (81% compared to 70%), and here the Squire/Leader was responsible for discipline in only 42% of reports with the COMMITTEE responsible in 40%. The Foreman and ALL accounted for approximately 6% each. Other officers feature rarely in either Type. Among Border teams it is, again, primarily the Squire/Leader (42%) who is twice as likely to be dispensing discipline as the COMMITTEE or ALL (21% each).

Reports are again low among mumming groups - the Squire in one Mumming:Other group, the Bagman in one Christmas Hero group. Otherwise there was one report of ALL and two of AD HOC.

In Welsh social dance groups there were two reports of ALL and two of COMMITTEE and among the non-Welsh groups one report of COMMITTEE. Similarly among step-dance groups and sword teams, ALL and COMMITTEE featured occasionally but reporting frequency overall was low. There were no reports from the Hoodening, Mari Lwyd and Wassailing gangs.

Who decides what performances and/or tours to do? (Q13.11)

Decisions on what performance or tours to do was reported in 266 instances:
ALL:170, Bagman:29, Squire:20, COMMITTEE:12, Foreman:9, Leader:7, AD HOC:7.

Under all Types except social dance, the reports of who decides which bookings to undertake are dominated by ALL: 52% of Cotswold sides, 59% of Border, 84% of Northwest, 86% of step-dance teams and 100% of sword teams. In a few of the Border and Northwest sides other officers sometimes make the decision but among Cotswold sides the Bagman is responsible in 20% of reports, the Squire in 14% and the COMMITTEE in 6%.

In three of the five reporting Welsh social dance groups, ALL decide. In the other two it is the COMMITTEE but among non-Welsh groups it is the Leader in half the groups, with ALL, COMMITTEE and INDIVIDUAL in the other three. For a few groups, such as two of the calendar customs, the Pace-eggers and the Wassailing gang, there is no decision to be made - the itinerary itself is pre-determined by tradition.

Like collecting at performances (Q13.4 above), deciding on bookings is largely a decision for the group as a whole (64% of reports overall). Other evidence in the study indicates that the typical method among morris sides is for an officer to receive booking enquiries - these may or may not be discussed (or 'filtered') among officers - but they are then put to the group as a whole and if enough performers are willing and able to fulfill the engagement then it will be accepted. In the Q13 text above (and Table 3.33) it was noted that dealing with performance enquiries was identified as a distinct job in some groups, and a task separate from taking decisions on which bookings to accept. The level of fee may also be a consideration and more detail of how bookings are decided in some groups is given in the Case Studies in Part IV.

Who calls decision-making meetings? (Q13.12)

Calling decision-making meetings was reported in 230 instances:
Squire:53, Bagman:46, Secretary:31, ALL:25, COMMITTEE:23, OWN:12, AD HOC:12

The convening of decision-making meetings is a job for officers in 75% of reports. The question did not differentiate between AGMs, EGMs, whole-group or committee meetings and it is assumed that all these are included in the responses. There were 25 reports of 'ALL', 12 reports of 'OWN' and 12 of 'AD HOC' and it is reasonable to assume that, in response to this question, these reports can be more properly read as 'ANY'. Overall, on this basis, it is reported that decision-making meetings can be convened by any member in 22% of groups.

Among Border and Cotswold sides, meetings are most likely to be convened by an officer (in over 82% of reports) but among Northwest teams this figure drops to 67% and to 44% among mumming groups. Excluding Types with a sample number lower than three, no Type was exclusively officer or non-officer except for the unique customs and crossform groups where officers were always (100%) reported as convening decision-making meetings.

Who arranges transport? (Q13.13)

Arranging transport was reported in 245 instances:
ALL:70, Bagman:56, OWN:43, AD HOC:29, Secretary:17, Squire:9.

Once performances are decided on, there remains the question of how performers are to get there. In C/S:12, Hartley Morris's arrangements for touring by bus are noted, but this is a rare phenomenon. In 60% of reports transport was aranged by ALL, OWN or AD HOC. When the task does fall to an officer it is usually the Bagman or Secretary, who together account for a further 30% of reports. The remainder of the reports are randomly spread among other officers, and COMMITTEE.

There are, again, some groups where there is no need for transport arrangements - such as the customs and mummers who only perambulate a small area and it is noticable that, excepting these and the morris teams (of all Types), among the remainder of the sample, the ALL/OWN/AD HOC proportion rises to 82%. It is among the morris sides that officer organisation of transport is most prevalent.

Who decides how the money is spent/allocated? (Q13.14)

Decisions on disbursement of money was reported in 275 instances:
ALL:165, COMMITTEE:30, Bagman:29, Squire:18, Treasurer:14.

This question elicited the highest level of responses of all the sub-questions under Q13[24]. ALL was reported in 60% of these responses. Decisions on the disbursement of monies is left to the COMMITTEE in 11% of reports and otherwise the decisions are the responsibility of an officer - primarily the Bagman (9%), Treasurer (5%) or Squire (7%).

There is no particular variation between Types of group. The level of whole-group decisions in this area (60%) is lower than might be expected and could be taken as a further indication (corroborated from other results) that memberships in an unexpectedly high number of groups are not particularly concerned with financial aspects of the group's management.

Who banks or draws money? (Q13.15)

Banking or drawing money was reported in 183 instances:
Bagman:90, Treasurer:50, Secretary:14, COMMITTEE:11, INDIVIDUAL:9

Banking and drawing money is reported at a lower level than most of the sub-questions under Q13. Several groups are known to operate without a bank account of their own and a further number have no account at all, either of their own or 'borrowed' from an individual or organisation. The IQ did not ask whether the group had a bank account and it is not possible to be certain of numbers in this area.

From the responses provided it is noticeable that in 94% of reports an officer is responsible for banking/drawing money. The pattern among officers is not dissimilar in different Types of group. Among morris sides the Bagman is the most reported officer, particularly among Cotswold teams (with which the title is most frequently associated). Otherwise, and in the remainder of the groups, banking is the job of the Treasurer. These two officers account for 77% of the reports. The Secretary is reported in 8%, and the COMMITTEE in 6%, of cases. The Squire is reported in only two (1%)

cases. Although it has been suggested that the role of Bagman is that of a secretary rather than a treasurer, the evidence from these results casts some doubt on how true that may be.

Who are signatories to the bank account? (Q13.16)

Signatories to the bank account were reported in 346 instances:
Bagman:95, Squire:71, Treasurer:57, Secretary:37, COMMITTEE:33, Foreman:26, INDIVIDUAL:19.

As with the previous question, officers are cited in 94% of reports. As an indicative figure only (not used in subsequent calculations), most club/association bank accounts require either two or three signatories and, given that 33 reports indicated that the COMMITTEE were signatories to an account, the 346 responses to this question could represent only 134 groups having bank accounts. It has already been suggested (see Q10 & Q11) that some groups only have a constitution because they are necessary to have things such as bank accounts and the same may well be true of titles.

Among those that do have accounts, the Bagman is, as with the previous question, the most frequently reported officer at 27%, with Treasurers and Secretaries at 16% and 11% respectively. Whereas the Squire was cited in only 1% of reports on banking/drawing money, he/she is reported as a signatory in 21% of responses to the present question. Again, as with the previous question, there is no discernable variation according to Type of group.

Who relates to officialdom (permissions, licences)? (Q13.17)

Relating to officialdom was reported in 254 instances:
Bagman:115, Secretary:56, Squire:29, AD HOC:16, Leader:9, INDIVIDUAL:8, COMMITTEE:7.

There have been several indications in the responses to the IQs, and from other sources, that the groups tend to focus on performance rather than management and the question of motivation is discussed under Q16. However, if a group is to go out and perform, either of its own volition or as paid entertainment, then it must have a means of relating to and communicating with outside bodies. This is equally true of calendar customs such as those described in the Case Studies in Part IV, although it may be possible for smaller short-season groups like the Mummers, Wassialers or Mari gangs to operate without any contact with outside bodies.

Q13.17 had asked who, in the group, related to *officialdom* and gave as examples, for permissions or licenses. Of the 254 reports from the present sample, the Bagman (45%) and Secretary (22%) were the most commonly cited. The Squire was reported in 11% of cases, the only other significant heading being AD HOC at 6%. Overall, officers are responsible in 88% of reports

Under Q13 (see Table 3.33) it was shown that there were a number of officers reported (titled or otherwise) whose specific responsibility was external relations. Some of these are included in the present sample but there are a further 14 who bear a 'relations' title and were reported as having Q13.17 as part of their responsibilities.

Who makes costume? (Q13.18)

Making costume was reported in 219 instances:
ALL:86, OWN:82, AD HOC:18, Bagman:13, INDIVIDUAL:11

The making of costume, across all Types, is reported as a job for ALL, OWN, AD HOC or INDIVIDUALS in 90% of cases. Excepting the Cotswold and Northwest sides, there is only one report of an officer being responsible (the Leader of a Rapper team) in the remaining 76 reports.

Even among the Cotswold and Northwest sides, making costume is predominantly a personal responsibility - 90% in Northwest and 83% in Cotswold. The COMMITTEE was cited in two Cotswold and one Northwest side but, apart from 12 reports of Cotswold Bagmen being responsible, the other reports are distributed amongst officers at random. Allocation of this task is evidently not to do with title or area of responsibility and is more likely to be coincidental with an individual's particular skills.

Who looks after/ maintains costume? (Q13.19)

Looking after/maintaining costume was reported in 176 instances:
ALL:44, AD HOC:38, Bagman:17, OWN:16, INDIVIDUAL:13, Squire:11, COMMITTEE:10.

This question elicited the third lowest response rate among all the sub-questions to Q13. Again, excepting Cotswold and Northwest morris, it is a personal responsibility - reported in 79% of cases.

As under Q13.18, when maintaining costume is the responsibility of officers, it is fairly evenly distributed at random although the Cotswold Bagman is again cited, this time in 17% of Cotswold reports. Under Q12 (see Table 3.30) it was shown that among at least a further 22 groups there was an officer with a title that related to costume or wardrobe. (The number could be higher as 'kit' can include both properties and costume). These costume officers are all in addition to the selected titles used in the Q13 analysis and, if added, would change the officer/not officer balance to 45% /55%.

Who keeps a group archive or scrapbook? (Q13.20)

Keeping an archive or scrapbook was reported in 150 instances:
'Records' officer:51, INDIVIDUAL:35, AD HOC:16, Secretary:10, Leader:8, Squire:8, COMMITTEE:8

Officers whose title indicates that they maintain the group's archives or records do, indeed, do so. In fact, officers thus titled do little else: in five Cotswold, one Northwest and one Crossform group officers with a 'Records' title-type also look after or maintain costume (Q13.19) but apart from that, no Records officers are reported as doing any other jobs.

This question elicited the least responses of any sub-question under Q13 and the reports show that in 58% of cases an archive is kept and that in 34% of cases this is done by an officer who bears some sort of Records title. Apart from those groups where a Records officer is dedicated to the task, where archives are maintained, it is done by (untitled) INDIVIDUALS or on an AD HOC basis. In a few cases some other titled officer (Squire, Leader or Secretary) keeps the archive, but there are no reports of Bagman, Fool or Foreman.

Summary of who does what

Some tasks and titles other than those included in the base sample of the above have already been mentioned: titles connected to costume or kit and those officers dedicated to external relations. Other titles/tasks under Q12 & Q13 included: arranging bookings and one-off performances, organising

member social matters and arranging, organising or being in charge of music. These tasks tend to be specific to individual groups and contingent on the way the group as a whole styles itself and operates within the Folk Revival or wider social context. The analysis of Q12 & Q13 has sought to unravel the actual work undertaken by those who hold the most frequently reported titles and to identify differences between the way groups operate which may be contingent on the Type of material they perform or some other common parameter. The latter is discussed in detail in Ch.10 which reviews the IQ responses overall, but a summary of the titles and tasks data (summarised in Table 3.34) is appropriate here. Most of the pre-identified tasks were reported at a similar frequency (13.16 - signatories to the bank account - is excluded for the reasons discussed), but four stand out as less frequently reported:

3.10 Discipline
3.15 Banking money
3.19 Costume maintenance
3.20 Keeping an archive

The possible reasons for each being at lower frequencies have already been discussed. It was noted that Records officers do little other than keep records - a few, perhaps coincidentally, are also involved with costume, but that is all. Fools also only have a limited rôle. The title is that of a performance character and most reports of the Fool involve introducing and announcing during performance. The Fool also collects during performance, but this task is generally spread around the entire membership of the group. All other reports of the Fool are single occurrences except for two associations with looking after costume, which may, like the Records officers above, be coincidental. Apart from two unique customs, the Fool only appears in association with Cotswold morris.

Squire is the most frequently reported title among all the officers (some 18% more frequently than the next officer, which is Foreman). Although the title is most strongly associated with Cotswold morris, it is also reported among sword teams (both Types), crossform groups and one mumming group, but in no other Types in this sample. The Squires' most frequently reported tasks are being in overall charge of performances and deciding what to perform, but the title occurs frequently among most tasks except: collecting money, arranging transport, banking (although frequently a signatory to the account) and making costume. The Squire is the most wide-ranging of the job-holders, and the pattern of involvement is not dissimilar to that of the Leader in other groups, confirming that where the title 'Squire' is used, he/she is, to all intents and purposes, the leader of the group. To list the main areas of involvement with the title 'Leader' would be to replicate observations made about the Squire. The title 'Leader' appears under every Type of group in the sample except Mumming:Other (where

there is a Squire) and the Hoodening, Mari Lwyd and Wassailing gangs (where there are no reports of titles at all).

The other officers in the sample - Foreman, Bagman, Treasurer and Secretary - each has a distinct range of tasks with which they are associated. The title 'Foreman' appears only among morris and sword sides (all Types of each), and in one crossform group and one custom only. The primary areas of responsibility are in teaching both new members and new repertoire. The Foreman is occasionally reported under all other tasks (<2% of reports) except collecting, but rarely has any responsibility for costumes, transport, external relations, announcing, finance (except as signatory), deciding on tours or other issues or dealing with disciplinary matters. The Foreman rôle is essentially narrow and specific - to teach the repertoire.

The title 'Bagman', like 'Squire' and 'Foreman', is closely linked with Cotswold morris, but also appears among other morris Types, sword teams, a few mumming groups and even an English social dance team. The title also occurs in one crossform group and one custom. The results from Q13 suggest that the Bagman can have both a secretarial and a financial rôle, and the summary information bears this out. The most frequently reported task is relating to officaldom, but only slightly less frequently reported are banking and acting as signatory. Any other tasks are reported only approximately half as often, but these include arranging transport and rehearsals, and convening decision-making meetings. All other tasks are reported in less than 4% of total reports and there are no reports of a Bagman deciding what to perform or teaching the group new repertoire.

The Treasurer's rôle is focussed on banking and being a signatory to the account. Deciding on how money is spent represents 10% of reports and all other tasks less than 4%. The Treasurer is not reported as having a rôle at all in nearly a third of pre-identified tasks under Q13, although the title appears in every Type of group that uses titles except Pace-egging (which only reports 'Leader 'as a title).

The remaining officer in the Q13 sample is the Secretary. The title is present among all the Types of group that use titles except the step-dance groups (which only report Leader and Treasurer), the Pace-eggers (see above) and the Christmas Hero mumming groups (who do report Leader, Bagman and Treasurer). The most frequently reported task for the Secretary is relating to officialdom although being a signatory, calling decision-making meetings and arranging rehearsals feature in the rôle, as, to a lesser extent, do arranging transport and banking. The Secretary is the only officer apart from

Squire and Leader to have been reported under all of the pre-determined tasks in Q13 but, apart from those mentioned above and the 22% of archive reports that cite the Secretary, the frequency is all at less than 3% of reports

The Hoodening, Mari Lwyd and Wassail gangs report no titles. The Pace-eggers report only a Leader, and the step-dance Forms report only Leader and Treasurer. All but one Christmas Hero group report only Leader and Treasurer (the remaining group also report a Bagman). There are no committees among these groups either - it is evident that in these groups the work is undertaken by individuals or, at most, two individuals. This is also the case in those groups who report no officers.

Certain tasks listed under Q13 are the reponsibility of the members, rather than officers. Deciding on which bookings to accept and how monies are spent are particularly the responsibility of ALL (over 60% in each case), but otherwise ALL, AD HOC, INDIVIDUAL and OWN all show very similar distribution or report frequency across the sub-questions with costumes, transport, collecting and announcing in particular joining the list of member responsibilities. Archive keeping tends to be an INDIVIDUAL matter where it is not done by a Records officer or the Secretary.

Further comment on titles and tasks appear in Ch.10.

TASK DONE BY (%age of sample per question):			ALL	OWN					Leader			Treasurer		Records			
				AD HOC			COMM.			Fore			Secretary					
				INDIV.			Squire			Bag			Fool				
WHO?	Number of reports	As %age of groups														BY OFFICERS (inc. COMM) (% of reports)	NOT BY OFFICERS (% of reports)
selects items to add to group's repertoire	235	71	50	9	4	1	16	53	10	87	2	0	3	0	0	73	27
decides what items to perform in public	250	75	28	10	5	1	8	104	25	68	0	0	1	0	0	82	18
introduces or announces during performances	229	69	6	47	25	3	3	80	16	17	11	0	3	18	0	65	35
collects money during performance	230	69	98	77	17	1	0	2	1	0	21	5	2	6	0	16	84
is 'in charge' overall during performances	226	68	2	5	12	3	6	125	28	34	4	1	6	0	0	90	10
teaches new members the current repertoire	247	74	39	10	16	1	7	21	16	131	2	1	3	0	0	73	27
teaches the group new items for performance	243	70	13	16	14	6	7	24	18	134	0	0	2	0	0	79	21
arranges rehearsals	237	71	24	4	10	2	20	40	16	47	49	3	22	0	0	83	17
assesses the standard people have achieved	224	67	40	6	2	1	20	53	20	77	3	1	1	0	0	78	22
deals with disciplinary matters	169	51	29	6	3	1	39	63	11	10	5	0	2	0	0	77	23
decides what performances and/or tours to do	266	80	170	7	4	1	12	20	7	9	29	1	6	0	0	32	68
calls decision-making meetings	230	69	25	12	8	12	23	53	9	7	46	3	31	1	0	75	25
arranges transport	245	74	70	29	6	43	4	9	2	5	56	4	17	0	0	40	60
decides how money is spent/allocated	275	83	165	6	1	0	30	18	4	3	29	14	5	0	0	37	63
banks or draws money	183	55	0	1	9	1	11	2	4	1	90	50	14	0	0	94	6
are signatories to the bank account	346	104	0	2	19	1	33	71	8	26	92	57	37	0	0	94	6
relates to officialdom (permissions/licenses)	254	77	2	13	8	4	7	29	9	3	115	4	56	1	0	88	12
makes costume	219	66	86	18	11	82	3	1	1	1	13	0	2	1	0	10	90
looks after maintains costume	176	53	44	38	13	16	10	11	4	7	17	1	6	2	7	37	63
keeps a group archive or scrapbook	150	45	7	16	35	5	8	8	8	0	0	2	10	0	51	58	42

NB: The first two number columns can only be used for comparison within the table - it is not an indication of the actual number or percentage of groups reporting.

Table 3.34: Percentages of members carrying out certain tasks

Selection of new members: Q14 of Initial Questionnaire

This question asked *'How are new members for the group selected?'*. In answering the question several groups went further than simply replying to the immediate question, and offered the selection process whereby a performer already in rehearsal (i.e. a 'novice' or already a member of the group) was then 'allowed' to perform with the group in public - in some cases also indicating who undertook the selection process. Thus the question was perceived by some to be a variation of Q13a - *'Who assesses the standard people have achieved?'* Variously, the questions actually *answered* in the responses to Q14 were:

a) Where do you recruit new performers from? (Source)
b) How are they recruited? (Method)
c) How do you select from among would-be members? (Criteria)
d) Who does the choosing? (By whom selected)

When the text responses are analysed and grouped according to the various aspects covered in the answers then groups are shown to use only a small number of recruitment sources and methods, although several may be used in combination. Thus the Men of Sweny's Ey say that:

> 'Anyone is free to join practises; capability for public performance assessed by Squire.' (IQ:228).

Implicit in this reply is; the source of people from whom recruits are drawn - *anyone*, the criteria - *standards* and the further information that the criteria are applied by the Squire (i.e. an *officer*). In contrast, the Middleton Pace-egg Play selects:

> 'By invitation, often by the retiring player, sometimes after discussion.' (IQ:215).

Here the source is, implicitly, previously known acquaintances, the method is invitation, and the selection may be by the membership. A few groups did report a process for electing new members but did not usually indicate any particular proportion of vote to carry the decision (although it sometimes appears in the constitution when there is one). Those that did, range from Coventry Mummers (IQ:005) where a 'blackball' operates and a single objection can rule out a particular new individual, to the New Forest Meddlars (IQ:103) where 'membership is open to all unless at least two thirds of the membership vote that person is unsuitable'. One group reported that their method of selection was by standard at audition which, inevitably, took place in advance of joining the group.

This was used by London Folk[25] (IQ:043). No other surveyed groups reported prior audition. In addition to standards, or as an alternative, some groups use what may be described as a social compatability criterion - 'if they fit'. In contrast, Chip off the Old (IQ:217) have 'No selection criteria' because they are 'Too short of members'. A total of seven groups stated only that they had no selection criteria.

The sources from which new members are drawn are also few in number. Some groups will (at least initially) accept anyone, whilst others draw only from their acquaintances (with or without additional criteria which in some cases are exceedingly narrowing). A few groups draw only from a specific restricted source such as: the Chelmsford Folk Club Mummers who recruited only from 'Members of [the] folk club expressing an interest' (IQ:011), Kings Penny - 'By invitation to local dancers who show aptitude' (IQ:037) or The Hunting of the Earl of Rone (C/S:3) where only villagers over 14 years of age may join the senior party unless specifically invited by the Earl of Rone Council - 'Our supporters [i.e. from outside the village] have to come for years before being invited in.' (IQ:012).

Several of the answers were lighthearted, for example,

> 'If they can breathe!' (IQ:203)
> 'As long as they're warm and breathing (bipeds preferred).' (IQ:090)
> 'Anyone we can get!' (IQ:153)
> 'Anyone who wants to join gratefully accepted.' (IQ:268)
> 'Press-gang methods!' (IQ:008)
> 'Occasionally coerced.' (IQ:085)
> 'Grabbed off the street.' (IQ:261)

A further number of groups indicated, more explicitly, that they were desperate for new members, such as - 'They are not - we're desperate' (IQ:039). Replies such as 'Press-gang' and 'We're desperate' are not necessarily dissimilar and may be taken to indicate a desire for new members, or even difficulty in recruiting, but they are separated out dependant on the language used in replying to the question and whether they are actually recruitment methods or only a comment. Several groups reported that potential members just 'turn up' (usually to a practice night) and although several qualified the phrase with additional information on source, method or criterion, 15 of the responses gave this as their only answer. 'Turn up' is regarded, like 'We're desperate', as a comment rather than a source or method: replies such as 'Anyone who turns up' or 'Anyone from adverts' gives no more information than the source or method also included in the reply. Comments are consequently excluded from the following analysis.

There were 13 groups who did not give a reply to the question at all and two whose reply was irrelevant and unclassifiable. There were therefore 309 groups who provided some form of classifiable reply. Variously, as noted above, the answers provided covered: the *sources* from which new members are drawn, the *methods* used to recruit, *criteria* which may be used in any selection process, information on who did the selecting and *comments*. As the matter of assessing standards has already been covered in Q13.9, responses indicating who selected or assessed standard are, like comments, excluded from the analysis (no conflicts of information between responses to Q13.9 and Q14 have been found). Q13.9 was concerned with the group's internal assessment (if any) but the present question is concerned with the recruitment of new members and selection criteria are therefore included in the following text and analysis. For completeness, all the categories of answer are listed in Table 3.35 together with the total frequency with which they occur, either as a complete answer or as part of a more complex response. Table 3.36 then shows the frequency with which the various sources, methods and criteria were reported as a complete answer without further information.

SOURCES		METHODS		CRITERIA		COMMENT	
Anyone	185	Advertise	18	Standards	64	Desperate	16
Acquaintances	75	Invitation	42	'If they fit'	21	Turn up	41
Restricted	9	Press-gang	16	Audition	1		
				None	7		

Table 3.35: Categories in recruitment process and frequency of reports

SOURCES		METHODS		CRITERIA	
Anyone	98	Advertise	0	Standards	17
Acquaintances	18	Invitation	0	'If they fit'	5
Restricted	2	Press-gang	7	Audition	0
				None	7

Table 3.36: Frequency of Sources, Methods and Criteria reported on their own

Just under half the replies, like those quoted earlier, incorporated a combination of sources, methods and/or criteria and, as logic would suggest, certain combinations are more frequent than others. For example, Invitation tends to be of Acquaintances, the application of Standards as a criterion is more

prevalent where the source is Anyone than when the source is Acquaintances. Some combinations are potentially misleading - in reports indicating both Anyone and Restricted, the Anyone is superfluous as they must first meet the restriction. Similarly, when both Restricted and Acquaintances are reported. In Anyone and Acquaintances, the Acquaintances are superfluous. However, combinations of methods or criteria, such as Advertise and Invite or Standards and If They Fit, are perfectly valid. In the report from London Folk (IQ:043), that potential members were selected according to Standard at Audition, the criterion Standards is superfluous as standards are implicit in selection by audition.

Taking account of these superfluous elements in the responses, the frequency of cross-combinations of sources/methods and sources/criteria are shown in Table 3.37.

SOURCES	METHODS Advertisement	Invitation	Press-gang	Invitation + Press-gang	(Only)
(Only)	0	0	7	1	
Anyone	18	8	4	0	98
Acquaintances	0	31	4	1	18
Restricted	0	1	0	0	6
	CRITERIA Standards	If They Fit	Audition	Standards + If They Fit	
(Only)	8	5	1	4	
Anyone	29	6	0	3	
Acquaintances	4	2	0	0	
Restricted	2	0	0	0	

Table 3.37: Frequency of combinations of Source/Method and Source/Criteria.

No absolute conclusions can be drawn from this data but one particular feature should be noted. Although a total of 185 groups' reports indicated that, for them, a source was Anyone, only 18 reported advertising for members as a method of recruiting. Taking that with the fact that 41 groups responded only that potential members just Turn Up, it is apparent that either the groups feel no need to actually recruit or that recruitment is under-developed amongst them. In view of the number of

reports indicating Press-gang, Desperate and similar, it is probably true to say that while some groups do not perceive a need to recruit, others recognise a need but have not developed the methods for doing so. The only method that is reported on its own is Press-gang.

The responses to Q14 which included sources, motives or criteria were also checked against the Type of group (using 1:x ranking) and the results are shown in Table 3.38.

	SOURCES			METHODS			CRITERIA			GROUPS
	Anyone	Acquaintances	Restricted	Advertisement	Invitation	Press-gang	If they fit	Standards	None	(Sample)
Mari Lwyd	1									1
Crossform:Repertoire	2			1			1	2		2
Custom:Unique		2	1		2					2
Border morris	4						1	1		4
Cotswold morris	48	14	2	3	6	4	5	2	18	70
Northwest morris	16	7	2	4	4	2	2	1	8	22
Pace-egging		1			1					1
Mumming:Repertoire		1			1					1
Christmas Hero		5			3					5
Social dance (non-Welsh)	2									2
Social dance - Welsh	2	2			2	1		1		6
Appalachian step	2									2
Clog step							1	1		1
Longsword	1						1	1		1
Rapper	2	2								3
REPORTS	80	34	5	8	19	7	11	3	32	124

Table 3.38: Number of groups, selected by Type (Rank 1:x), reporting various recruitment aspects

Overall, the samples (number of groups reporting) are low in this analysis but, in view of other data concerning the Types, it may be significant that the mummers and customs (sample = 9) all draw from Acquaintances and that all but two of them also reported Invitation. As suggested above, the source Acquaintances is naturally linked to the method Invitation and, although not reported, it is difficult to see how aquaintances would join unless, implicitly or explicitly, invited. For the same reason, it may also be noted that all the Border sides, Appalachian teams and English social dance groups and Crossform:Repertoire groups (sample = 10) are open to Anyone, although the Crossform groups also both require Standards to be met. Any further notes by way of conclusion from this data would be extremely tenuous.

The data was also checked against the sex of the groups where this had been identified. The sample of groups of known sex make-up whose responses included sources, methods or criteria was 159. The results are shown in Table 3.39, but there is little more information to be gleaned from the analysis. Mixed teams report the sources Anyone and Acquaintances equally, and invite potential members more than the male, female and joint teams who recruit from Anyone considerably more than Acquaintances. Otherwise the distribution of reported sources, methods and criteria are remarkably similar and other conclusions would be unreliable.

	Male	Female	Mixed	Joint	REPORTS
SOURCES					
Anyone	68	20	13	5	106
Acquaintances	25	4	11	1	41
Restricted	2	2	1		5
METHODS					
Advertisement	4	2	2		8
Invitation	10	3	9	1	23
Press-gang	4	2	1		7
CRITERIA					
If they fit	7	2	3	1	13
Standards	23	8	8	1	40
None	1	2			3
GROUPS (Sample)	100	27	27	5	

Table 3.39: Number of groups, by sex, reporting various recruitment aspects

Apart from the few tentative observations above, there appear to be no reliable conclusions to be drawn from the analysis of responses to this question.

Other comments on Organisation and Management: Q15 of Initial Questionnaire

In Q15 the IQ invited correspondents to make any further comments they might wish about the organising of the group or how their group was managed or run. In total, 127 groups responded on the form. A few more included relevant comments or information in a covering letter or text which was returned with the questionnaire. This relatively low response rate (38%) should not be taken as lack of interest however. Part II of the IQ had dealt fairly comprehensively with various aspects of management and several correspondents indicated that they simply had nothing further to add. Interest in the study and the results was high, as demonstrated by responses to Q24a, where 234 respondents said they were willing to give more information 'over a pint or so' and Q28, where 235 indicated that they wished to be informed of the results.

Amongst those who did respond to the question, 18 (14%) emphasised that their management was 'informal', e.g.

> 'We like to be informal - organisation is kept to a minimum.' (IQ:057)
> 'As informally as possible.' (IQ:117)
> 'Very informally.' (IQs:148, 283, 297)
> 'In general, relaxed, lax and informal.' (IQ:228)
> 'Luckily, we've managed this informal style for 10 years without dispute.' (IQ:310)

and 16 (13%) used the word 'democracy' or 'democratic' to describe how the group was run, e.g.:

> 'Very democratic.' (IQ:013)
> 'We are VERY democratic - everything voted on informally. The Squire changes for each dance out so we all have a turn.' (IQ:044)
> 'As democratic as possible.' (IQ:124)
> 'Democratic!' (IQ:188)
> 'Mostly democratic, everything jointly discussed.' (IQ:209)
> 'This is a very disciplined group but very democratic with a minimum of rules.' (IQ:098)

Not infrequently however, the casual or concensual approach was within a more autocratic decision-making framework, e.g.:

> 'Considerable informal discussion consultation, but the organisers maintain control by direct relationships with each performer rather than democratic meetings (c/f Bismark). However at rehearsals the organisers are often over-ruled on individual points.' (IQ:008)

'We have a democratic committee & an autocratic leader. The group was started in 1975 by 'leader' who still very much runs the group - aided and abetted by others.' (IQ:023)

'We like to think we are a democracy and most decisions are made by the whole group - the Squire has the final say though.' (IQ:030)

'Most officers, once elected, are 'in' until they decide to give up. It's supposed to be democratic but works best as a benevolent dictatorship/oligarchy!' (IQ:032)

'Squire is nominally the 'supreme being', but as the group is small, democracy is possible, with due deference made to expertise/knowledge of officers & members.' (IQ:201)

'Benevolent dictatorship with minimal hints of elected people - but largely governed by the people. After all if they don't like it they won't come.' (IQ:062)

As discussed previously, the officers and individuals who do the things that need to be done do so, often of their own volition, within the consensus of the group - which may have been consulted first. The remainder of the group are happy to have things done for them. People who are supposed to do things or be in charge are expected to do them and be in charge.

In the early 1980s Bishop and Hoggett conducted a study of community leisure groups and their operation in two urban areas, one of which was the St. Matthews area of Leicester. Amongst the groups they interviewed in Leicester were the Matthews Morris Men. Bishop and Hoggett suggested that there is a continuum of degree of organisation amongst the 'mutual aid' groups they studied, and that:

'After a while we began to realize that what separates a mutual aid organisation from other kinds of organisation is the perception by members that even where the club's organisation lies in the hands of 'the same old few, year after year', they are perceived as being a part of 'us'. Thus, subjectively speaking, within mutual aid the organization of the group is nearly always performed 'by some of us, for all of us' and not 'by them, for us'. Here it is useful to think in terms of a continuum, rather than discrete categories. At one end of the continuum the task of organisation is an integral part of the enthusiasm itself.' (Bishop & Hoggett.1986 p.99)

It is at this end of the continuum that Bishop & Hoggett placed the Matthews Morris Men.

'Everyone in the club helps out with its organisation... There may well be discrete organisational roles - bagman, squire - but *there is no obvious group of participants who are not also organisers*.' (Bishop & Hoggett.1986 p.99)(my italics)

If this is true of 'mutual aid' groups - and certainly the groups in this study fall within the Bishop & Hoggett parameters - it can be noted that the latter is not universally true. In some groups officers are elected annually to do certain jobs and then left to get on with it. In others, individuals take tasks for themselves and, certainly in some groups, there are 'participants' who are happy not to do anything but may still feel they are part of the organisation and the organising.

The loose, flexible and changeable ways of organising displayed by different groups do fall into Bishop & Hoggett's 'continuum', but the loose end of their continuum should, perhaps, be extended, for amongst the responses were sometimes indications of chaos and anarchy. For example,

> 'The whole thing is a bit of a shambles. It is a lottery whether men will turn out or not. Can be embarrasing and annoying.' (IQ:017)
>
> 'How the hell do you MANAGE a mummers gang?' (IQ:027)
>
> 'Generally, it is run haphazardly, with the jobs being done by those who are keen, or who are reliable.' (IQ:003)
>
> 'Friendly anarchy.' (IQ:055)
>
> 'The nearest thing to working anarchy I've ever met.' (IQ:215)
>
> 'We delight in avoiding being lumbered with formal titles. The Treasurer is de facto since his signature is on record. The Foreman is de facto because he's the best dancer. Otherwise we resemble an anarcho-syndicalist collective.' (IQ:074)

Further consideration of these point appears in the summary of Part III in Ch.10.

Why groups exist: Q16 of Initial Questionnaire

To enquire how a thing is done without questioning why is to ignore motivation altogether, and yet this is frequently the case in investigations into many 'normal' human behaviours: why do we support the 'arts' with public funds? Why do we watch horse-racing or organise athletics meetings? Why do people form 'clubs' for bird-watching, motor cycle riding, model making, or amateur dramatics? There are invariably a number of different aspects to motivation and the strongest reported reason may not be the strongest in reality. Q16, an open and broadly phrased question related to motivation, enquired into two aspects of what are essentially the same area, asking: *What are the objectives of the group? Why does it exist?*

For a group to have 'objectives', it can be assumed that the reasons for the group's existence have been considered - at least at some stage. One might expect groups with a constitution or rules to have a ready answer to the 'objectives' element of the question while, in contrast, a group which has not considered its raison d'être is unlikely to readily verbalise an objective but will, in most instances, still be able to say why it exists. It was therefore necessary to include both aspects in the question. Further, a constituted group would, logically, seem more likely to have a focus *outside* the narrow limits of the performing group itself - to proselytise or educate perhaps. On the contrary, the group without a constitution might be expected, when it does think about it, to be more focused on issues *central* to the group - enjoying themselves, perhaps, or organising socially. However, it has already been shown that constitutions are often absent from the study groups and, when they do exist, may be present for reasons other than that of having objectives for the group to follow (see Q10). The replies to Q16 do fall into two distinct types: those which offer true objectives and those which simply list reasons for doing what they do. Some of the groups with a formal constitution quoted from it verbatim or supplied a copy and then said, 'See constitution'. The replies varied considerably in length, ranging from Chelmsford Morris' expansive:

> 'The purpose of Chelmsford Morris shall be to learn, perform and teach Morris dancing, Chelmsford Morris Men specialising in Cotswold Morris and The Chelmsford Ladies in North West Morris. In addition, the Side will pursue any other 'folk' activity agreed upon by the informal decision of the membership. The purpose of the Side shall include the encouragement of friendly relations with other organisations of similar purpose.' (IQ:010)

to Thames Valley Royal's brief but incisive:

'To dance well. For enjoyment.' (IQ:009)

18 respondents failed to provide a specific response. Two said 'see constitution': one replying with what was probably a totally honest answer - 'GOD KNOWS!' (IQ:157), and the other failing to enclose one. One group, in a letter accompanying the returned questionnaire, commented:

> 'We hadn't really thought about it - it's good to have to think about it sometimes.' (Supp:033)

Many respondents reported the maintenance, continuation, preservation or re-creation of tradition as a raison d'être for the group:

> 'On a wet Thursday in December, we often wonder! Seriously, a poll of all active members revealed that everyone "thinks we should keep up the tradition". It's almost as if the world would end if we didn't do the May tour.' (IQ:077)

This response comes close to 'GOD KNOWS', but in addition to the 'maintenance of tradition' objective, in the final sentence, it conveys an inexpressible feeling about the activity: of a *necessity* to do it. The 'end of the world' sentiment recurs in due course, but 'maintenance of tradition' is expressed in a number of ways:

> 'Preservation of tradition' (IQ:001)
> '..to maintain a particular tradition.' (IQ:003)
> 'To perpetuate the performance of seasonal rituals' (IQ:008)
> '..to maintain the custom and tradition as it has been passed on to US' (IQ:012)
> 'To revive and continue the tradition of our Border Morris.' (IQ:013)
> 'To keep the play alive...' (IQ:016)
> 'To keep tradition going.' (IQ:026)
> 'To keep the tradition of Hoodening alive.' (IQ:035)
> 'To preserve the Heritage...' (IQ:073)
> 'I think we all have a sense of keeping an old team preserved. Enjoying ourselves is more important than a meticulous execution of [the] dancing. However, we strive for, and achieve, an entertaining standard! (IQ:078)

In the last response above (IQ:078), in addition to the familiar 'maintenance of tradition' (on this occasion 'preservation'), is added both self-enjoyment and a desire to entertain. These two latter motives are frequently reported together, e.g.:

> 'To have fun and give pleasure to others...' (IQ:018)
> '...for the pleasure of both performers and their various audiences.' (IQ:003)
> 'Fun and enjoyment. Provide enjoyment for others.' (IQ:023)
> 'To provide entertainment for ourselves and for the general public.' (IQ:026)

'...for the entertainment of the general public and the personal satisfaction of the members.' (IQ:001)

and individually, e.g.:

'Primarily for the enjoyment of its members.' (IQ:020)
'For the members pleasure.' (IQ:025)
'To have fun.' (IQ:081)
'To enjoy ourselves.' (IQs: 021, 054, 058, 070).
'To entertain in desolate places.' (IQ:015)
'Provide entertainment for others.' (IQ:032)
'..to be as entertaining as possible..' (IQ:033)
'..to make sure the audience enjoy it too.' (IQ:044).

Another raison d'être was concern with the standard of performance:

'...accurate and lively presentation.' (IQ:008)
'To dance well.' (IQ:009)
'To improve dance standards.' (IQ:026)
'...quality representation of our national heritage.' (IQ:067)
'To dance as well as possible.' (IQ:070)
'...to achieve good standards of appearance and performance.' (IQ:084)

and another was the social intercourse offered by the activity - as distinct from the execution itself:

'Social enjoyment involving interaction with like-minded enthusiasts.' (IQ:008)
'For the social contacts we all enjoy.' (IQ:014)
'We enjoy all that goes with the dancing - the camping, the entertaining & ever new friendships.' (IQ:029)
'...and the associated social gatherings.' (IQ:050)
'...the social side is very important to us.' (IQ:096).

Collecting money (usually for charity) and education of the public were additional reasons given for the existence, or objectives, of the group. A few respondents offered reasons which were of a more spiritual nature (like the 'end of the world' quoted above) but unrelated to any mythological origins such as those of the Survivalists. Examples here include:

'The world would be a poorer place without it.' (IQ:082)
'We seem to have some unidentified belief that the continuation of such... behaviours is important.' (IQ:027)
'I think we all have different reasons, but Christmas wouldn't be the same without the Guizers.' (IQ:096)

These and similar stated reasons have been grouped together as reasons concerned with quality of life - 'richness'. Nearly all the responses to Q16 can be grouped in this way by the using key words or phrases from the responses - as being connected to a certain 'area of focus' - and these are summarised in Table 3.40. The full listing of areas of focus reported by each group is given in Appx.9. When

the groups' responses were distilled into areas of focus, there were an average of approximately two motives per group, although they ranged from one (87 groups) to six (4 groups). There were also a few motives which were reported rarely or were unique: '...a worthwhile hobby' (IQ:205), 'Catharsis by performing morris' (IQ:224), 'to survive' (IQ:282), 'If only I knew. To see the world, I think' (IQ:300), 'being a women's morris side - upsetting the Morris Ring' (IQ:318), 'run barn dances' (IQ:326), and so on. Such responses, classified for analysis as 'other', numbered 15, and are hereafter ignored.

It must be emphasised, however, that in 76% of cases (see Q25) the questionnaire returns were completed by an individual rather than by a number of the group or the whole group, and that in these instances the responses may be reflect the motives of that individual rather than a collectively agreed value.

Reasons connected to collective self enjoyment. **(enjoyment)**
Reasons connected to the maintenance, continuation or preservation of tradition. **(continuity)**
Reasons connected to the social aspects offered by the activity. **(social)**
Reasons connected to achieving a particular standard of performance. **(standards)**
Reasons connected to entertaining the public. **(entertainment)**
Reasons connected to educating the public & promoting these arts. **(education)**
Reasons connected to the benefits of physical exercise. **(exercise)**
Reasons connected to the richness or variety of society or living. **(richness)**
Reasons specifying development of the tradition. **(development)**
For the sake of the dancing itself - comments exclude reference to standards. **(to dance)**
To learn/study - education of self/selves rather than public. **(to learn)**
To collect money - whether for charity or otherwise. **(to collect)**
To demonstrate the dance - comments exclude reference to entertaining or education. **(to demonstrate)**
In order to perform - comments exclude reference to demonstrating. **(to perform)**

Table 3:40: Reasons for existence and objectives of the groups

Table 3.41 compares the frequency of reporting different motivations against those groups which maintain only a single Type of performance (sample =164), those that have only one main Type of performance (whether the *only* Type or not, sample =244) and those that have more than one main Type of performance (sample =70). The total sample of all groups who responded to the question was 314. The percentage of groups reporting certain motivations is fairly consistent irrespective of whether the group is a single main performance Type or wider repertoire group - this is true of the opportunity to socialise that participation affords, the wish to learn about the material and the wish to demonstrate the material performed. The frequency of other motivations varied according to the Type of group. Exercise, quality of life (richness) and developing the tradition were not mentioned at all amongst

groups with wider repertoires, but these groups more frequently reported: education/promotion, standards of performance, the simple desire to perform and (marginally) concern with continuity and the maintenance of tradition. They also reported both the wish simply to entertain, enjoyment and to collect money slightly less frequently than groups with a single main performance Type, and dancing for its own sake considerably less often.

	All groups	% of sample	Groups with only 1 Type	% of sample	Groups with 1 main Type	% of sample	Groups with more than 1 main Type	% of sample
Enjoyment	165	52.5	92	56.1	132	54.1	33	47.1
Continuity	136	43.3	71	43.3	104	42.6	32	45.7
To perform	72	22.9	38	23.2	54	22.1	18	25.7
Social	50	15.9	26	15.9	39	16.0	11	15.7
Standards	49	15.6	28	17.1	36	14.8	13	18.6
To entertain	48	15.3	27	16.5	39	16.0	9	12.9
To educate/promote	45	14.3	16	9.8	26	10.7	19	27.1
To dance	33	10.5	16	9.8	29	11.9	4	5.7
To collect	20	6.4	11	6.7	16	6.6	4	5.7
To demonstrate	18	5.7	9	5.5	14	5.7	4	5.7
To learn/study	9	2.9	3.7	7	2.9	2	2.9	
Exercise	7	2.2	7	4.3	7	2.9	0	0.0
Development	7	2.2	5	3.0	7	2.9	0	0.0
Richness	4	1.3	2	1.2	4	1.6	0	0.0
Tot.groups (sample)	314		164		244		70	
Tot. no. of responses	663		354		514		149	

NOTE: 'Groups with one main Type' includes groups with only one Type.

Table: 3.41: Motivations in single Type, single main Type and other groups.

In summary, groups with a wider repertoire may be characterised as tending to feel they have a mission - to perform to a high standard and educate the audience. In line with this, they are less concerned with enjoying themselves, entertaining the audience or collecting money. This profile is in contrast to the groups with a single main Type of performance which may be characterised as tending to be motivated more to entertain, to collect and to enjoy themselves, and are less concerned about standards, educating the public, or the actual act of performance. However, as already shown, breadth of repertoire is, to an extent, a function of other aspects of group make-up and closer examination of the data is necessary.

The Hoodening and Wassail groups reported *only* continuity as a motive and the Mari Lwyd gang reported only continuity and collecting money. The only other Types to be dominated by the reported motive of continuity were the Christmas mumming groups where nine (70%) included it as a motive - three times more frequent than any other (richness of life, the locality and enjoyment were each reported three times) - and the unique customs groups where continuity reports were 100%. Among Morris & Custom, Morris & Sword and the Longsword groups, 50% of each Type reported continuity as a motive. The importance (or otherwise) of continuity - of keeping the tradition going - will be returned to shortly.

Analysis of motivation by age of group shows some particular trends. As noted previously, caution is necessary in interpreting the results because the groups have answered the questionnaires in terms of their current situation and aspects may have changed over the years since a group was created. The number of groups which came into being in different decades also varies considerably as shown in Ch.6. The number of studied groups which started in each decade of the present century, together with the percentage reporting each type of motivation, is given in Table 3.42.

Decades	1900s	1910s	1920s	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
No. of groups formed	10	1	7	6	6	14	28	110	99	38
Motive focus										
collect	10					7	4	5	9	3
continuity	80	100	57	67	83	43	39	48	38	26
development							4	1	2	
education	10				33	7	32	13	18	16
enjoyment	40		14	50		36	50	58	60	66
exercise								4	3	
locality	40	100	14		33	14	7	8	7	5
other	10					7	4	3	3	11
richness							4	2	1	
social	20		14	17	17	14	7	16	20	8
standards				33	33	7	4	21	20	18
to dance			29	17	33	14	4	10	12	8
to demonstrate			14	17			4	5	5	
entertainment	10		14	17	17	7	11	18	16	21
to learn			14					5	3	5
to perform	10			17	17	64	29	25	26	21

Table 3.42: Percentage of groups, by start decade, reporting different motives for performing

Many motive reports shown in Table 3.42 are too variable, of low frequency or intermittent across the decades to be certain of trends, but continuity and locality become progressively less important (i.e. a lower percentage of groups reporting) among younger groups while enjoyment becomes more important. More tentatively, it can also be suggested that the desire 'to perform' may have increased while the pleasure of dancing for its own sake ('to dance') has decreased.

Further analysis of the distribution of responses reveals both some clustering and some apparent anomalies. There were 26 groups which mention the locality among their motives (no groups cite *only* locality) and all but three of them also cited some aspect of continuity of a previous (usually lapsed and revived) tradition. Those three who did not also mention continuity referred to supporting 'local events' (IQ:255), 'local organisations' (IQ:220) or providing a 'local public service' (IQ:233). None of these three performed a revived, locale specific, tradition. The other 30 groups all laid claim to a previous local tradition, either specific, e.g. High Spen Blue Diamonds, Hinckley Bullockers, Middleton Pace-eggers, Britannia Coconut Dancers, Chipping Campden Morris Men, Adderbury Village Morris Men, Fidler's Fancy Northwest morris, or more general, e.g. Royal Lancashire Morris Dancers - 'dances of the Lancashire plain' (IQ:158), Tattered Swan - 'to perform local plays' (IQ:130), Gloucestershire Morris Men - 'emphasis on Gloucestershire dances' (IQ:182).

In addition to the groups who cited both locality and continuity as motives, there were a further 110 who cited continuity (i.e. total reports of 'continuity' = 136). Among the 17 who cited *only* continuity, some of the groups have no claim to a previous local tradition although some (e.g. Goathland Plough Stotts, Whitstable Hoodeners, Bodmin Wassailers, The World Famous Ashdown Mummers) undoubtedly do. It is evident that the concept of continuity of performance means different things to different people as must, by implication, the word tradition (as it is the continuity of tradition that is the subject here). This potential problem is discussed in detail under Q22.

Analysis of the occurrence of different motives was also analysed against the groups where the sex of the members could be identified. For this analysis, the motives which were reported least were not used. These were: richness of life - mentioned four times (three of these by Christmas Hero groups), developing the tradition - mentioned seven times (in three cases by Border morris groups, perhaps reflecting the recent re-invention of the Border Type - see C/S:8), dancing for exercise - mentioned seven times (in three cases by Northwest morris groups). Collecting money and to learn or study were mentioned in 16 and 9 cases respectively (with no particular distribution pattern among differrent Types of group) and demonstrating the dances was mentioned 18 times. Among the groups who

reported this motive were 50% of the clog dance teams and 50% of the social dance teams. All other reports of these lower frequency motivations were distributed randomly among the Types of groups.

Analysis using the entire sample of sexed groups would not take account of the trends tentatively identified from the data in Table 2.5 and would therefore tend to be biased by the increase in the number of women's sides in recent years. It was therefore decided to sample only from groups which have come into being since 1970, when female groups first appear. The results are shown in Table 3.43.

Sex of team	Female	Male	Mixed
Focus of motive (%)			
continuity	52	56	46
educate	9	12	21
enjoyment	74	50	71
locality	4	12	0
socialisation	30	12	13
standards	26	20	13
to dance	17	11	4
to entertain	22	20	21
to perform	30	38	4
Number of groups	23	64	24

Table 3.43: Percentage of groups, by sex, reporting different motives

The desire to be entertaining is consistent across all groups. Continuity of the tradition and enjoyment are the most frequently reported motives although continuity appears less often among mixed teams and enjoyment less often among male teams. Social aspects are reported more than twice as often from women's teams than from either male or mixed. The desires to perform and to dance are similar in male and female teams but considerably lower in mixed teams. Female teams most often report the motive of standards of dance and are least concerned with educating the public - the reverse of mixed teams. Male teams fall between female and mixed teams in both cases. The importance of locality is reported significantly more often from male teams.

These apparent tendencies among female, male and mixed teams should be considered against the apparent trends across the decades, as reported above. The trend across time is evidently not caused

by the increasing percentage of women's and mixed teams. Rather, it is possible to suggest that there have been attitudinal shifts across time irrespective of sex. These run parallel to other shifts in attitude across time, such as the acceptability of newly created material. They may, in fact, be linked - for example, the increase in acceptability and volume of newly written material would lead to a decrease in the importance of continuity from previous tradition.

The frequencies of various motivations were also compared with each other in order to determine whether there was any significant clustering of different motivations together. This comparison used the same motives as the analysis by sex. The occurrence of each of the motives was mapped against each other and the results are shown in Table 3.44.

	locality								
locality	**0**	to entertain							
to entertain	4	**0**	standards						
standards	3	9	**4**	social					
social	3	6	7	**4**	educate				
educate	3	8	4	12	**8**	to dance			
to dance	0	5	6	9	2	**14**	to perform		
to perform	9	5	12	10	7	0	**18**	continuity	
continuity	23	25	19	16	20	5	19	**25**	enjoyment
enjoyment	12	35	27	29	18	8	33	65	**32**
No. of reports	26	48	49	50	45	33	72	136	165
single motive reports									
as % of reports	0%	0%	8%	8%	18%	42%	25%	18%	19%
As percentage of number of reports									
to entertain	15								
standards	12	19							
social	12	13	8						
educate	11	17	8	24					
to dance	0	10	12	18	4				
to perform	35	10	25	20	16	0			
continuity	88	52	39	32	44	15	26		
enjoyment	46	73	55	58	40	24	46	48	

NB: Figures in bold type are where there is a single (only) motive reported.

Table 3.44: Coincidence of reports of two motive types

Some figures may be highlighted from the table. There were no groups who reported locality or entertainment as their only motives. For 42% of the groups who mentioned dancing for its own sake, and for 25% of the groups who mentioned 'to perform', it was their only motive. Of the groups who mentioned the specific locality in their replies, 88% also mentioned continuity as a motive and none mentioned dancing for its own sake. Other majority coincidences of motive were: 73% of the groups who set out to entertain, 58% of those for whom socialisation within the group is a motive and 55% of those concerned with standards are all also concerned with simply enjoying themselves. Also, 52% of the groups who set out to entertain are also concerned with continuity of the tradition. None of the groups who dance for its own sake also mentioned 'to perform' for an audience. All other coincidences occured in less than half the groups reporting.

Some further insight can be gleaned from the frequencies of conincidence of three or more motives, although the sample of groups to draw from drops to only 92. Among those groups who reported continuity, this was twice as likely to be linked to enjoyment/entertaining the audience (18 occurrences) as it is to any other combination of three motives (continuity/enjoyment/standards and continuity/enjoyment/locality were each mentioned nine times). With groups who report the locality as being important, combination with continuity/enjoyment occurred nine times and with continuity/to perform seven times - other occurences were reported three or less times.

Among groups reporting enjoyment, no three-motive combinations were particularly more prevalant than others and there were no reports of enjoy/to dance/locality, but among groups who mentioned 'to perform', combination with continuity/enjoyment was most prevalant, occurring ten times, with continuity/locality occurring seven times. In the groups who set out to entertain, combination with continuity/enjoyment occurred 20 times while all other three-motive combination occurred six times or less. All other three-motive combinations, whichever motive is started from, fall into a continuum from one occurrence upwards, to a maximun which varies with the number of groups reporting the initial motive - i.e. there are no other remarkable combinations. Analysis of motive combinations has therefore proved less illuminating than analysis by sex or across time.

There is one other aspect to motivation which does appear significant. Amongst the groups named in the Welsh language, the 'Welshness' of their activities was consistently important. Examples from the replies on motivation were:

'To enjoy friendship [and] sociability through the medium of traditional dance. To maintain the dance, music and folk costume of Wales and achieve good standards of appearance and performance.' (IQ:084)

'To promote Welsh folk dancing as a living tradition.' (IQ:086)

'To promote Welsh folk dancing and also enjoyment.' (IQ:087)

'To perpetuate and further Welsh Dance. For members to enjoy themselves.' (IQ:088)

'Mainly to keep alive the tradition of Welsh Folk Dancing and to entertain mostly in our locality.' (IQ:089)

'Reviving the dance traditional in the Rhondda and Taff Valleys.' (IQ:091)

'Own enjoyment of Welsh Folk Dance by group. Give further knowledge to the public about Welsh Folk Dance, Song and Welsh Folk Culture.' (IQ:093)

'To perform and educate the public about Welsh dancing, both in its traditional forms and in its modern social applications.' (IQ:094)

The remaining group was more expansive in its answer to this question, offering a different gloss to their objective:

'To participate at festivals, enjoying other forms of dancing and music and promoting Welsh Folk Dance and music. Members are usually dancers or musicians who want to go further afield than their own 'base team' goes. At festivals/events we try to 'give' as well as receive pleasure and are willing to call ceilidhs, workshops and generally support other team's events.' (IQ:079)

This particular team is firmly placed within the Folk Revival sub-culture rather than in any local community but, interestingly, by drawing membership from other more culturally embedded groups may serve both performance arenas well.

Although from this evidence it is possible to argue that, for these groups, Welsh dance is a necessary part of Welsh identity, the situation is actually more complex. All teams seek to promote Welsh dance, but a third of them seek to promote other aspects of Welsh tradition as well. The continuity of tradition was mentioned by four of the nine groups (44%, compared to the 40% of groups overall who mentioned continuity) and seven groups refer to interaction with the wider public (78%, which may be comparable to the approximately 15% of the overall sample who mentioned entertaining or the 15% who mentioned educating). For further comparison, among non-Welsh groups performing social dance: 50% mentioned continuity, 13% entertaining and 25% educating.

Chapter 9: The Respondents, and some additional information

Sections Three and Four of the Initial Questionnaire (Q17 - Q28, see Appx.3) sought personal details about the respondent and other information (opinions, permissions, possibility of follow-up information, etc.) not necessarily related to the organisation and management of the groups. For completeness, the responses to Q17 - Q28 are reported in this chapter but only Q22 has a direct relevance to the data reported from Parts I & II (Chs. 7 & 8) of the IQ. Additional information, from the SQs, on affiliation of some groups to umbrella organistions is also included in this chapter.

Names of respondents: Q17 of Initial Questionnaire

The names of respondents, where permission was given (see Q26) to cite them as informants, appear in Acknowledgements at the beginning of the study. If permission was given to link the name of the respondent to the name of the group on whose behalf the IQ was completed, the name appears in Appx.1 at the end of the study.

Occupation of respondents: Q18 of Initial Questionnaire

Respondents were asked to state their occupation. There were 21 who gave no response, giving a base sample of 311 responses. Among these were 166 different occupations, mainly professional, but ranging from self-employed (e.g. Silversmith, Farmer, Solicitor) to non-employed (e.g. Mother, Carer) together with a spread of employments in government (e.g. Civil Servant, Local Government Officer), the service industries, the arts, technology, medical professions, utilities, marketing, education, labouring and business. There was also information from respondents who were unemployed or retired. Those occupations (or occupation types) that were reported more than twice are shown in Table 3.45.

Teaching	39	Accountant	6	Secretary	3
Computer services	17	Radiographer	6	Librarian	3
Lecturer	10	Research fellow	5	Community Warden	3
Research	10	Electronics engineer	5		
Housewife	9	Engineer	4	Retired	20
Civil Servant	7	Local Gov. Officer	4	Unemployed	6

Table 3.45: Occupations reported more than twice by respondents

There are no significant correlations with any other aspects of the groups but the list stands in contrast to, for example, the analysis of occupations given by Chandler (1993b) for South Midlands (Cotswold-type) morris dancers prior to 1900. With the huge reduction in land labour and other associated rural occupations, and the large increases in urbanisation, particularly in the Southern half of England, and the growth of the middle classes and professions during the 20th Century, this is not surprising. However, research into the diversity of occupations among the memberships of present groups would be necessary before true comparisons could be made.

Ages of respondents: Q19 of Initial Questionnaire

The age of respondents was the subject of Q19 and each was invited to either give their actual age or to indicate which age-band they belonged to by ticking one of a series of boxes. The age-bands used were the same as those used for Q3 on the age and make-up of the group. The results are shown in Table 3.46, and follow the same pattern as shown for Q3 except to note that younger members (under 25) have never been given the task of completing the Initial Questionnaire.

Age-band	<10	11-18	19-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-65	>65
No. of respondents	0	0	0	26	138	122	31	4

Table 3.46: Number of respondents by age-bands

Position of respondents in the group: Q20 of Initial Questionnaire

In Ch.3 it was shown that the reliability of information gathered from various different sources was likely to vary. It was suggested in Table 1.6 that factual information from individuals involved in the organisation of a group, and opinion from officers of a group, would be more reliable than information on the same subject from other members of the group. Q20 was intended to give the researcher some indication of the likely reliability of the responses to the questions in each IQ and in the sample overall. 14 respondents failed to give a reply to the question. From the remaining sample of 318 respondents, 186 (59%) were identifiable as officers or former officers of the group (or de facto leader in groups without officers), but only 31 respondents identified themselves as ordinary members of their

group. It is therefore possible that anything up to 90% of respondents were central to the organisation of the group. Some of those who failed to respond to the question did so because the IQ had been completed by a number of people rather than just one individual. This theme is continued under Q25.

How long the respondent had performed with the group: Q21 of Initial Questionnaire

Like Q20, this question had originally been designed to give an indication of how familiar the respondent might be with the operation of the group on whose behalf he/she was completing the questionnaire. The information was in fact combined with the data from the responses to Q23 to provide details on how long the individual had been performing.

Tradition and Revival : Q22 of Initial Questionnaire

Under Q16, it was noted that there are different perceptions of what constitutes continuity and, by implication, tradition. Much of Boyes' (1993a) 'Folk Revival sub-culture' uses the terms, and 'Tradition' and 'Revival' have been used liberally, and perhaps inconsistently, in much that has been written about the progress of the vernacular arts over the years. Cawte, Helm & Peacock (1967) differentiated between *types of continuity* amongst mumming groups they examined and they also addressed:

> '... the vexed question of the use of the word 'Revival'. It has been used and misused in a variety of ways and we have distinguished the following meanings which we have found may be attributed to the word:
> *(a)* A team stops for a period and then starts again, with all or most of the original team.
> *(b)* As with *(a)*, but all, or nearly all of the performers are new, taught by an old performer, but still in the same village. This may be (i) spontaneous, (ii) as a result of outside influence.
> *(c)* As with *(b)*, but in a different village. Again, this may be subdivided (i) and (ii) as in *(b)*.
> *(d)* Team starts in the original village, the ceremony taught from book or MS, but with no personal connection with the original team.
> *(e)* As with *(d)* but in a different place.
> *(f)* Completely new ceremonies with no traditional basis in the proceedings, e.g. some May Queens, Rose Queens.
> We only accept *(a)*, *(b)*(i), and *(c)*(i) as proper uses of the word 'Revival', and have included them in the list without comment.' (Cawte, Helm & Peacock.1967 p.15)

This analysis may be better understood if reconstructed as follows: Cawte, Helm & Peacock only regard a revival as having taken place if:

a) A team stops for a period and then starts again, with all or most of the original team, OR

b) A team stops for a period and then starts again, spontaneously and in the same location, with (up to) all new members but taught by an old performer, OR

c) A team stops for a period and then starts again, spontaneously but in a different location, with (up to) all new members but taught by an old performer of the original location.

This application of the word 'spontaneous' (meaning with no-one from outside the group having had an influence in re-starting the performances) has already been discussed in Ch.5 and, in the light of evidence quoted throughout this study concerning 'outside' influence, appears almost untenable. The Marshfield Mummers recommenced performances in Marshfield (Glos.) in 1932 with virtually the same cast that had last performed in the late 1880s. Although this re-start simply meets the Cawte, Helm & Peacock criteria to be called a 'Revival' (a: same cast, same location), they restarted as a direct result of the input of Violet Alford - an outsider. She not only encouraged the men to revive the play but she also persuaded them to change several aspects of the ritual (see Lichman.1981). Notwithstanding, Cawte, Helm & Peacock include Marshfield in their index without comment. Thus, although they differentiate in their other two definitions of what constitutes 'Revival' around whether there is outside influence (i.e. the 'spontaneous' aspect), they ignore it in this case and also ignore the changes made in the performance as a result of that outside influence.

The Shrewton Mummers are the subject of C/S:11 and the background to several re-starts of the play is described - it would be very difficult to dismiss any of these as not being revivals. Given the evidence previously discussed (Ch.5) on the frequent dis-continuity of groups, the Cawte, Helm & Peacock analysis still presents problems. Another aspect of their analysis can also present a problem: each of their definitions of what constitutes 'Revival' assumes that performance has stopped 'for a period'. Is it possible to say that a group cannot be revived if it is still performing?

In summarising the contributions to a pan-European conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists, Boissevain highlights a number of 'modes of renewal' identified in what he terms the 'ritual revitalisation' of both extant and defunct traditions:

> 'It includes, first of all, the notion of invention, in Hobsbawm's sense, as 'both "traditions" actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period' (1983:1)...

> Related to inventions are *innovations*, often borrowed...' (Boissevain.1992 p7 - the internal reference is to Hobsbawm.1983)

A feast 'which had never died out, was *revitalised* in the sense of having new energy injected into it.' One Carnival 'dormant for two decades, was *revived* or *reanimated*', whilst another, 'abandoned since World War One was *restored* or *resurrected*.' In a further example, Winter festivals 'which had not completely died out, were resurrected and made more authentic: they were *retraditionalised*.' The holders of another tradition were asked to perform it 'out of context at an international conference of folklorists and anthropologists: they were *folklorizing* it.' (quotes from Boissevain.1992)

It was argued in Ch.4 that every tradition has a point of origin in time and, as has been shown, may throughout its life be subject to development and change. These changes may be the result of a variety of different stimuli, both internal and external, all of them, to a greater or lesser degree, deliberate. Further, it has been shown that dis-continuity in performance is not at all unusual and makes no difference to the emic perception of continual existence. All Boissevain's scenarios which are pre-fixed by 're-' (i.e. re-vitalised, re- animated, re-vived, re-stored, re-surrected, re-traditionalised) are ones in which a change has occurred *in situ* to a continuing (even if lapsed) tradition, and all could be called 'revival'. Only the translocation of a performance *to a foreign location* is a distinctive situation amongst Boissevain's 'modes'. As shown in Ch.5, several English groups have translocated without that change being perceived within the Folk Revival as a break in continuity. Boissevain refers to 'one-off' translocated performances and yet these too are not unusual amongst the survey groups - indeed, as shown under Q5 above, they are the norm for many groups. It may also be noted that all of Boissevain's "re-" modes are, arguably, examples of folklorismus rather than simple evolution of tradition as all involve an external influence on the "re-" whatever of the 'ritual' (see Boissevain.1992).

Further examples of inconsistent or debatable use of 'revival' can be found amongst other students and academics, but what of the performers themselves? Q22 sought to assess whether there is consistency in the emic view of participants as to how the terms are applied. It asked *'How would YOU classify your group?'*. A note explained that *'The question relates to your, or the group's, personal view'* and invited respondents to tick as many categories as applied from, 'TRADITIONAL', 'REVIVAL', 'MIXTURE OF BOTH', 'CONTEMPORARY' and 'OTHER' with a request to explain further if 'OTHER' had been ticked. For the purposes of analysis, those groups who ticked 'MIXTURE OF BOTH' were coded as both Traditional and Revival, resulting in a set of four initial letter codes : T,R,C & O. A total of eight groups did not respond to the question at all, giving a sample of 324.

A total of 194 respondents classed the group as 'T', 178 as 'R', 33 as 'C' and 13 as 'O', but these figures hide the way in which classifications were combined amongst the groups. The combination totals are shown in Table 3.47.

T	R	C	O	TR	TC	TO	RC	RO	TRC	TRO	TRCO
100	81	11	9	78	6	1	8	2	7	1	1

Table 3.47: Groups' categorisation of themselves re Tradition/Revival, etc.

Further analysis of these figures against a) the Form/Type of performance, b) the number of years the present group has been in continuous performance or c) whether a former group existed in the locality provides no further illumination or indication of tendencies. The term 'revival' has been found applied to *all* of the Cawte, Helm & Peacock scenarios except *(f)* - 'completely new ceremonies'.

Further examples occur in the Case Studies in Part IV, all save two of which are, by some observers, regarded as revivals. The exceptions are the Britannia Coconut Dancers (C/S:2) whose Easter performances have not lapsed since the team was formed in the 1920s and the Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers who are regarded as one of the Cotswold traditions whose performances go back for centuries (but see C/S:9 for evidence that this tradition too has periodically lapsed). No sources, internal or external to the groups, refer to the "Nutters" or ATMD performances as a revival. The "Nutters" performances do, however, appear to be a translocation of the tradition, through a single activist to a new performance group (see C/S:2). The Kirtlington Morris Men (C/S:4) recreated a defunct local style of dance with no involvement from previous dancers, but also restored earlier performance elements to an extant, but diminished, Kirtlington Lamb Ale (C/S:5). The Hunting of the Earl of Rone (C/S:3) was effectively created anew, after a gap of nearly 150 years, from a minimal set of published accounts, ideas borrowed from other traditions and creativity to fill the gaps in the historical record. Shropshire Bedlams (C/S:8) created a new dance type and extended their performance well beyond the documented 'original' and in doing so profoundly influenced other groups which regard themselves as revivals. Whittlesea Straw Bear and the Whitstable Jack (C/S:1) were revived, from reasonably well documented sources and living knowledge, and after a relatively short break. Both subsequently developed beyond their original scope, but in very different directions. The

Shrewton Mummers (C/S:11) demonstrate the possibility for a series of revivals from distinct core group sources. Bampton Mummers were revived four times this century - but in this case by the same individual on each occasion:

> 'It is not possible to determine exactly when the last performance [prior to WW1] was given. The lapse was short-lived, however, and a revival was organised by Mr. Hunt in 1919.'
>
> 'The duration of the Second World War is a blank spot in the tradition's history; no further information becomes available until 1946 when the tradition was revived. The 1937 performance may or may not have been the last before the second world war. The play was dropped during the war but when precisely is not known.'
>
> 'We do know of a revival [instigated again by Ted Hunt] in 1946.'
>
> 'The performers were recruited from the village choir.'
>
> '... the players [of 1946 revival] were comparatively young men when they began playing, [and] they continued into adulthood.'
>
> 'What is known is that the last performance of the [1946] revival group occurred in 1958.'
>
> 'Late in 1966 a fourth revival occurred, again due to the determination of Ted Hunt.' (Harrop.1980a pp.127-139)

Although groups may be 'new' in terms of members there is, as demonstrated in the questionnaire responses, a perception that a revival is taking place. Certainly the *material* is seen as being revived but, if there is any evidence of a prior tradition of the same type in the locality, then the *group* may also regard itself as a revival even if there is no link between pre-lapse and post-lapse personnel. Many of the morris sides created in the 1970s in Oxfordfordshire villages with a recorded prior tradition - Eynsham, Ducklington, Kirtlington, etc. - certainly see themselves as revivals of the old tradition, but it is not necessary for the *group* to be 'new' for a revival to be reported as having taken place.

Inconsistent use - or rather global use - of the term remains. Where one can make a differentiaion in the use of 'revival' is in whether it is applied to the *group* or to the *material* and, as these both apply to individual group scenarios, between the individual case and the wider movement as exemplified in the concept of 'The Folk Revival'. The latter, as discussed in the introductory chapters, is an amorphous and indefinable entity so it is the aggregation of individual groups that is relevant here rather than the single umbrella concept. Only two instances have been identified during the

research in which groups have specifically avoided using 'revival' and neither are of help in reaching a consistent use of the term. The Saddleworth Morris Men insist that they are not a revival side: in interview, the Squire (Richard Hankinson) was clear that:

> [R.H.] 'There was never a Saddleworth Morris Men - we're not a revival side. There was a Greenfield Morris and a Delph Morris - Saddleworth's not a village, it's a place. It's a parish.
>
> [T.B.] 'But there was a Saddleworth rushcart?
>
> [R.H.] 'No. Every village built their own rushcart. So there would have been an Upper Mill, Greenfield, Delph, Heights, Lydgate - every village in the parish would build a rushcart and take it to the church. At Heights church one year there was thirteen rushcarts.
>
> [R.H.] 'In the last two or three years that I've been Squire, I'm keenly aware that we have got a bloody good reputation - because what we do is so different to everyone else. There's Northwest morris, and there's Saddleworth style - as I said before, we've got our *own* tradition...' (Int:016)

This insistence is based on the fact that no previous side *of that name* existed and that the dances are not revivals of earlier dances (although in fact some of the repertoire includes figures, but not style, from old dances of the area). Similarly there had not previously been a *Saddleworth* rushcart. In other words, what the group does was never previously owned by another group. Nevertheless, other informants to the research have referred to Saddleworth Morris Men and their Rushcart tradition as 'revival'. Quite distinctly, the emic perception is that Saddleworth Morris and Rushcart are not revivals, while within the wider Folk Revival, the etic perception is that they are. The other example is one in which the present writer has himself been involved, The Hunting of the Earl of Rone:

> 'In 1970 the [North Devon Folk] Troupe made a reconstruction (it was never intended as a revival) of how the Hunting may have looked at the time it was banned, and took the procession into the Ilfracombe and Barnstaple carnivals (winning first prizes - which was not the intention either).' (Brown.1987 p.12)

Those individuals who have been involved continuously from 1970, across the transition of the 'reconstruction' back into a village event, still tend to avoid the word 'revival' although others, including the local press, are less pedantic.

Ultimately, the argument is both semantic and a matter of personal taste and cannot be resolved here, but it is useful to be aware of whether the subject under discussion at any particular point is the *group*, the *material*, or the *movement*. The approach taken to the Tradition/Revival debate by any particular

individual will colour their attitude to the group, why it exists and, consequently, how it operates. Further light is shed on this by the interviews conducted for the study which are reported in Part IV.

Respondents' membership of other groups: Q23 of Initial Questionnaire

This question was in two parts and asked a) the names of any groups that the respondent had performed with, and b) the start and finish years of their performance with each of them. From the start and finish years a total of years performing was calculated. There were 38 respondents who gave no indication of the number of groups they had performed with and 39 who failed to give performance years. The base sample who responded to both questions was 294 (89% of groups).

Respondents reported performing with anything up to eight different groups although the largest number (43% of sample) reported performing with only one group, and 82% had performed with no more than three groups. One respondent reported having danced for 50 years and another for 57, but no others reported more than 45 years. Three of the respondents who have danced for over 40 years have done so with only one team. Nearly half the respondents have performed for less than 15 years. The cross tabulalation of the number of groups performed with and number of years performing is shown in Table 3.48.

	Number of groups belonged to (Q23a)								
Years performing in total (Q23b)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	tot
1-2	7								7
3-5	25	2	2						29
6-9	25	1	3	4					33
10-14	34	20	8	5	4	1			72
15-19	17	31	11	6	3	3	1		72
20-24	11	9	9	7	6	2		1	45
25-29	2	5	4	2	1	2			16
30-34	2	2	4	1	2				11
35-40	1	3		1					5
>40	3			1					4
tot	127	73	41	27	16	8	1	1	294

Table 3.48: Number of years performing and number of groups performed with by respondents

The specific groups listed in response to the first part of the question were noted and, if the respondent had indicated they were willing (see Q24c) to complete an IQ for any of those groups, a further form, was sent.

Further assistance in the research: Q24 of Initial Questionnaire

This question sought to identify those respondents who would be willing to provide information in addition to having completed and returned the IQ. The information was used to determine which respondents would be sent an SQ, which would be sent further copies of the IQ to pass on to, or complete on behalf of, additional groups. It also provided the contacts subsequently used to arrange the interviews listed in Appx.2, some of which are reported as case studies in Part IV. The responses are tabulated in Table 3.49.

Respondents willing to:		YES	NO	No Reply
a)	give further information in interview	234	52	42
b)	answer a more detailed questionnaire.	236	51	45
c)	complete an IQ on groups listed under Q23a.	94	106	132
d)	ask acquaintances to complete IQs on other groups.	124	111	97

Table 3.49: Number of respondents willing to assist the research further

Overall, 70% of respondents were willing to give further information in interview or to complete a more detailed questionnaire. As noted under Q23, there were 127 respondents who had only been members of one group. This in part accounts for the apparently low 'YES' figure under c) in the table. Of those in a position to do so, 46% of respondents were willing to complete IQs on other groups they had performed with, but only 37% of the total were prepared to pass on IQs to other groups.

Who completed the IQ: Q25 of Initial Questionnaire

This question asked whether the IQ had been completed by an individual or by more than one member of the group (i.e. a few others, the committee or the whole group). There were 14 nil responses leaving a sample of 318. In 77 (24%) of the replies, more than one person had been involved in

completing the IQ. The remaining 241 IQs had been completed by an individual but, as shown in Q20, at least 59% of respondents, and possibly as many as 90% were identifiable as being central to the organisation of the group. This indicates that the reliability of factual answers was likely to be high.

Permissions in the use of IQ responses: Q26 of Initial Questionnaire

The responses to this question were used in the construction of the Acknowledgements and Appx.1 of the study. A summary of the responses is shown in Table 3.50. (The numbers quoted in the Acknowledgements at the beginning of this study are lower than those shown in the Table. The Table includes duplications among the respondents, i.e. it shows number of responses: the Acknowledgements show number of individuals.)

	YES	NO	No Reply
May the name of the group and/or correspondent be linked to the actual replies?	283	35	14
May the name of the group be listed?	295	28	9
May the name of the respondent be acknowledged?	303	20	9

Table 3.50: Permissions on the use of IQ responses

Address, telephone and signature of respondents: Q27 of the Initial Questionnaire

This information was provided by 310 (93%) of the respondents.

Information on the results of the study: Q28 of the Initial Questionnaire

Respondents were invited to indicate whether they wished to know about the results of the study. A total of 235 (71%) indicated that they did wish to know about the results but some people had been respondents for more than one group and, consequently, had completed more than one IQ. Taking account of this, the results were requested on behalf of 271 (82%) of groups.

Affiliation to umbrella organisations: Supplementary Questionnaire

Q24b had asked if the respondent was willing to give more detailed information via a second questionnaire. Among those who completed an SQ were 70 who represented groups which had been identified as belonging to either or both of the umbrella organisations (i.e. Morris Federation or Morris Ring). The SQs to those individuals asked why the group was a member. The most frequently reported reason was because of the cheap public liability insurance which membership offered. There were 36 reports which mentioned this insurance. The opportunity afforded for contacting, meeting, getting information on and communicating with similar or like-minded groups was reported 29 times. A third reason reported was essentially concerned with politics: reasons for joining, or not joining, either organisation because of the sex-mix of the team, or supporting the stance taken by the organisation. Not all of the 70 respondents gave a reason, some merely reitterating the fact of membership, and some reported more than one reason. The distribution of those responses described above, is given, by organisation, in Table 3.51.

Reports be members/associates of:	Morris Federation	Morris Ring	Total
Insurance	23	13	36
Contact, etc.	16	13	29
Politics	3	5	8
Total	42	31	73

Table 3.51: Number of reasons given for affiliation/membership of umbrella organisations

Chapter 10: Review of questionnaire groups

General observations

Overall, the responses to the Initial Questionnaire indicate that some aspects of the composition, operations and management of this diverse set of groups can best be viewed as continuums: other aspects are better understood as sets of alternatives. Each of the following observations must, inevitably, be qualified by the rider that they apply to the study sample only. Although there is no reason to suppose that any style of group organisation has been missed during the course of the survey, it remains that the groups who responded represent in total no more than a third of the groups that have existed since 1900. As has been shown, there are few absolutes in the analysis of the groups that are studied here and variations in every parameter that has been examined.

Continuums

The age of the group, with starting dates ranging from pre-1900 to 1995, tends to correlate to aspects such as motivation and repertoire (Type of material performed) depending on what was fashionable at the time the group started. It also appears to have a bearing on the group's attitude to creating new material and even on what the group calls itself. All these aspects are part of the evolving Folk Revival itself and, just as a group will, at least in part, be shaped by contemporary mores at the time of its formation, so too it can change as these change - for example, in terms of repertoire or the sex-mix of the group.

There is a continuum of repertoire complexity. These range from single-Type groups, through groups who include more material of the same Type but from other traditions, to groups who include material of various other Forms. At the other end of the continuum are groups who set out to perform a wide cross-section of Forms and Types in displays similar to the staged presentation of continental Folk Ensembles. Running parallel to the continuum, but only partially correlated to it, is the continuum of geographical area of performance. This ranges from only local performance to international touring. Although single-Type groups tend to have restricted performance areas and crossform display teams tend to seek wide (if not always international) performance arenas, there are variations, such as the Goathland Plough Stotts (IQ:274) or the Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers (see C/S:9) who perform at international events, but each of whose existence is focused around a one-day calendar custom.

Morris groups of all Types and social dance groups have been shown to fit almost anywhere on the group size continuum, although other Types, such as step-dance, sword, mumming and custom groups, all tend to be small. Except for the morris and social dance groups, size is largely a function of Type of repertoire. There is also a tendency for more groups to have rules by which to conduct themselves as the groups increase in size, and, among those groups who have titled officers, for the number of titles to increase with size.

Another continuum exists in the number of sources of income which groups enjoy and, again, it is the small custom groups and the majority of mumming groups who have a single source - collecting. The number of sources varies, up to five, among sword and mumming repertoire groups, but some morris groups, of each Type, again fit any position on the continuum, from one to seven (although most have three or four). There is a correlation between single income source and some Types of repertoire, but only a weak tendency against the size of the group. Another continuum, the size of repertoire (number of items in performance), derived from the SQs, but the sample included only morris and sword groups. Only Cotswold morris teams can be found the length of the continuum and it was shown that the group size and repertoire size continuums had no positive correlation.

Overall, there were no strong correlations between different continuums although there were tendencies for certain other aspects of the groups to fall in certain parts of each continuum, and some clustering of tendencies may be seen among the smaller custom groups such as the Mari Lwyd, Hoodening, Wassailing and some mummers. Several aspects of the groups cannot be presented as continuums, but these too show some trends and tendencies.

Non-continuums

Analysis of the age ranges of the memberships showed that, in each group, there was a tendency for the bulk of the membership to fall within a relatively narrow age band, but no correlation was detected against Form/Type or size of group.

Although, historically, the lapses in group performance have frequently been noted, in the present study (and, therefore, in the latter part of the 20th Century) there have been very few, and both the development of the Folk Revival and the continuation of ongoing traditions (once revived, in some cases) have been almost uninterrupted. (The actual longevity and cessation of groups is considered in Ch.13.)

Although groups' perceptions of the history of the material they perform has been shown to vary, it is largely in line with the development of the Folk Revival: types of material collected in detail (e.g. Cotswold morris and some mumming plays) are viewed as having been passed on from previous traditions (even if revived out of their indigenous area); re-invented Types, e.g. Border morris, are recognised as being so; newly written material based on traditional figures, steps, etc. e.g. some sword dances and step-dance sequences, is similarly recognised as either entirely new or the creation of a new tradition. However, the development of repertoire in the Folk Revival overall has been shown to both generate and follow fashion, and with the increase in new writing across the decades, with newer groups has come a diminution in the importance of continuity of tradition. Running through these developments are a number of specific repertoire groups (i.e. the Wassailers, Mari Lwyd gang, Hoodeners, some mummers, some sword teams and some single (village/town) tradition Cotswold and Northwest morris teams and the unique customs) who consistently and single-mindedly maintain their own traditions and who, in due course, will have to be considered as a group of like teams in their own right.

Although the annual cycle of months may be viewed as a continuum, it has been shown that each group falls into one of three types in terms of its annual season of performance. They either perform for a very short season - a specific day or during a small number of consecutive days or they perform over an extended season. The extended season may range from five months to eleven months but is typically five or six. The third group are those teams that perform year-round (most social, step-dance and crossform repertoire groups, most sword and Border morris teams, and over half the Cotswold and Northwest sides). It was also noted that some short-season and extended-season groups will perform at other times at paid bookings, although generally money does not appear to be a major motivation for any group, except in particular circumstances, e.g. fund-raising for a particular event which the group wishes to organise or attend. The groups who perform for an extended season or year-round do, in most cases, have a 'special' event in their calender which is of particular importance to them and when performance comprises more than the usual activity during their 'season'.

Management

Management structures among the groups have been shown to be various. Indeed, in many cases, description of what happens as a 'management structure' may be to over-dignify the arrangements. None of the short-season groups have either constitution or rules and have few, or no, titled officers. A slight majority of the sword, step and social dance groups share these aspects. A slight majority

of morris sides have either constitution or rules, or both. Rules are more common than constitutions which, when they are extant, may be for reasons other than the group's own internal management.

It is tempting to describe the groups generally as unorganised, but this would be inaccurate. They *are* organised, but only to the minimal extent necessary for performance to take place. Repeatedly, the evidence confirms that their primary functional objective (irrespective of reported motivation) is to perform, and all other necessary matters are undertaken in the simplest way with no wasted effort. Delegation and the formation of small working parties may occur as management becomes more complex, or as specific (but still performance-centred) projects are undertaken, but the formation of formal committees, like the presence of constitutions, does not appear to be contingent upon the amount of management work - irrespective of the size of the group. It appears to be due to a point of principle or because something external to the group requires it.

All the groups that reported having a formal committee also reported that they have appointed officers, but many of the groups without a committee also appoint officers to deal with aspects of the groups' operation. No mumming groups have formal committees and step and social dance groups have either a formal or informal committee according to the reports. These should be more properly referred to simply as 'a committee' because it is not certain how the respondents differentiate between formal and informal. Among those groups who report both, a distinction has obviously been made, and in these cases, the informal committees tend to be occasional working parties set up to deal with non-usual activities, e.g. organising weekends of dance or one-off special events. Such tasks are dealt with by individuals in other groups.

Typically, day-to-day management (non-performance) is dealt with by individual action. These individuals may be either elected or appointed to the job or may assume jobs without election or appointment. In some small groups, a single individual, or two individuals, may do everything necessary for the groups to function. A significant number of the individuals who undertake day-to-day management (particularly among mummers and other short-season groups) do not have their work or office graced with a title. Where titles do occur, some tend to be associated with Type of performance (e.g. Bagman and Foreman in Cotswold morris, Captain in Rapper and Longsword teams). The Bagman in Cotswold morris can have either a secretarial or a financial function, or both. The titles Secretary and Treasurer are widespread across all Types of group, and this may be a reflection of the need for such titles in order to hold a bank account.

The tasks recognised among the groups vary considerably and several are concerned with the particular circumstances of the group, e.g. liaison with a host institution, or maintaining dance notations of new and experimental dances, or the particular way it is organised socially, e.g. an annual boat trip or sending birthday cards. There was no particular pattern of tasks associated with the Type, size or age of the group, but those groups which reported a 'socialising' motive (all of which were morris), more frequently reported associated tasks. A socialising motive was reported more frequently from women's teams than others.

The tasks of advertising and public relations were reported from only 3% of groups. This was not a pre-determined task on the questionnaire, but advertising was also reported infrequently as a recruiting method in Q14. The occasions when it was mentioned were spread across all Types. As with P.R. and promotion, the large majority of groups do not appear to have developed mechanisms for recruiting members, although there are indications that several are in need of new members in order to survive. In general, although mechanisms have been developed to enable performance to take place, mechanisms for other aspects that might be thought necessary for the long-term survival of the group (such as recruitment, promotion and advertising) are signally absent from the large majority of groups. This minimalist approach to management (if one can call it such) only allows for attention to be paid to performance, and there are indications from some respondents that even that can be somewhat chaotic or anarchic.

Although recognising that it is a generalisation and that there are exceptions, it can be said that, in the groups surveyed, it is keen individuals (appointed, titled or otherwise) who take on the work necessary for the group to perform, and no more. The remaining members of the group are content only to perform, and have the work done for them, yet view the organisation as being informal and democratic: they are there primarily (the most frequently reported motive) simply for enjoyment. Without mechanisms aimed at perpetuating the group, and as there is rarely any commonality amongst members other than an interest in the Folk Revival, it follows that the group can only survive as long as enough members find sufficient personal satisfaction in that group's operations - an individual can easily find, or even form, another group. If personal satisfaction is not present, then the group must lose members until it is no longer viable. This study has not examined the longevity of groups specifically, although from the outset it has been noted that some have survived for hundreds of years. Those that have, have all been culturally embedded. These factors are considered later in the study, after the Case Studies in Part IV.

Four group 'models'

Taking a different perspective on the survey results, it is possible to characterise some groups as being of a particular model within the sample overall. Four major group models can be identified among the data from the IQs. Groups in each model share a number of characteristics concerning, variously, their operational season and area, material performed, structure and management, attitudes, etc. Certain aspects tend to be found in concert giving rise to the particular model. Each model is described below.

Model 1. The Short-season Groups

These groups perform for a short season and prioritise performance in their own town or village, or the local area (although they may also take paid bookings, or perform at special events, outside of their normal seasons). They perform material indigenous to the area (if not the specific location) in which they perform. They exist almost entirely outside of the Folk Revival sub-culture, and operate primarily for their own satisfaction. They are usually 'expected' within the communities in the areas in which they perform. They view their material as having a strong continuity link with the past, *and* with the location - indeed, in some instances the material cannot be transferred out of time or place because it is located by physical environment or text. Their performances *and* the material they perform can be described as traditional within the local culture (even if not widely valued by that culture). None of them report socialisation as a motive. Their primary (and typically only) source of income is the collections they make at performances. There are two types of short-season group which may be differentiated by scale.

Firstly, there are the small touring groups which are driven by a single individual (or possibly two). They have no constitution or rules, no committee (unless one regards the whole group as the committee) or bank account. The number of participants is small and, when need arises, new members are recruited exclusively from acquaintances. The Mari Llwyd, Hoodening and Wassail gangs, the Pace-eggers and the single-play Mumming teams all conform to this model, as does one of the Rapper teams in the sample. Several Rapper and Longsword teams which did not return IQs also conform to this model.

Among the morris teams who responded to the survey, several have been noted as maintaining, in addition to their normal performances, a calendar custom. The evidence suggests that when this

happens, the custom is organised by a small number of individuals (sometimes called a sub-committee) without reference to any committee or officer structure that the parent organisation may have. The conduct of customs is organised in a very similar fashion to the small, short-season group model and, except for the presence of a 'parent' organisation (i.e. the Morris team) they conform in other respects to the model.

Secondly, there are the larger-scale calendar customs which include tens, if not hundreds, of participants and which take place on a single day each year. These are also driven by few individuals. They may have a so-called committee, even titled officers, but it is not run on formal, procedural lines and may be no more than a contact network of parties (with different interests) who cooperate only in realising the performance (see Case Studies). They are likely to have a bank account but, like the small short-season groups, these groups also recruit from aquaintances . Among the surveyed groups, this kind of organisation is represented by, for example, Whitstable Jack-in-the-Green and The Hunting of the Earl of Rone (both of which are Case Studies in Part IV). The sample of such groups is low in the overall survey, but more detail is examined in the Case Studies and compared with information from interviews and other sources thereafter.

Model 2. The Exhibitors of Culture

The second model is of groups that set out to be a public face of 'Folk' to a general public. They either include several Forms (usually only dance) of performance in their repertoire (e.g. social, morris, sword, step) or perform a series of sequences which are variations on a single Type (most usually social dance) with additional items of a different Form or Type. In either case, they design (even choreograph) the performances as staged displays. These groups have a (usually formal) committee, formal officers and a bank account. One of those officers (not necessarily the Leader) has an overall responsibility for the choreography of staged performances.

They are almost entirely dependant on other formal organisations (often outside of the Folk Revival) to provide opportunities for performance. They have a concern for educating the public, for standards of performance and for promoting the material as part of the (usually historic) culture of England or Wales. They see the material they perform as handed down from previous generations but fully recognise that they are developing and reworking it. Almost without exception they perform year-round. (The exceptions still perform for at least a six-month season around core months of May to September.) These groups have little or no integration into a local community culture, but several

have more or less formal, regular links with local administrative structures such as Tourist boards and their affiliated organisations. Those that do not have such links (and some of those that do) seek to perform nationally or even internationally. Socialisation is almost invariably reported as a motivating force for the group.

These groups are most like the typical common-interest, mutual aid groups that Bishop and Hoggett (1986) examined in their study *Organising Around Enthusiasms*. The common interest in this study, for these groups, is the practice and promotion of what is perceived to be an aspect of traditional culture. but the structures used to manage and organise the group are indistinguishable from those used by other sets of groups with a different common interest. Although this model includes all the Crossform:Repertoire groups, and all but one of the social dance groups, it also includes some teams with a wide repertoire (often with a range of importance rankings) which are primarily morris teams.

This study has only investigated groups which perform to an audience (see Ch.1) but it should be noted that nearly all of the social dance display groups derive from regular (weekly or monthly) social dance clubs. It is probable that the management of the regular social dance club simply extends to include public performance in those groups that aspire to display as well as enjoy in private (with the leader or teacher becoming choreographer), and this may account for these groups having a typical 'club' management structure.

Model 3. The Exhibitors of Type

A further set of groups are characterised by another combination of elements. These groups are small in membership, focused on a single Type of performance, will accept anyone as members (although criteria may be applied) and often advertise. Like many of the previous set of groups, these too derive from a regular evening class or workshop. They differ from the previous set of groups in that their reasons for public performance do not include an educative or proselytizing aspect - it is purely as entertainment and enjoyment. They perform at any time of year. The leader of the group, if there is one, is the tutor but all members contribute to devising the public displays. They see themselves as democratic or cooperative, only infrequently do they have constitution or rules, vary in whether they have any kind of committee but invariably have a small number of officers. They rarely aspire to perform outside of their local area (although some informants have pointed out that they will travel as a group to learn and develop their individual skills at workshops and tutorials or with other groups specialising in the same Type). Their material is reworked and developed from traditional roots into

routines or sequences for display and the element of tradition is confined to individual steps and/or figures within these. This kind of group includes the Appalachian and clog display teams and at least one Rapper team from the survey. Some morris teams also conform to this model.

Model 4. The Classic Ceremonial Group

The fourth model to be identified from the IQ responses is what I have termed the Classic Ceremonial Group[26]. These groups have, at least nominally, a committee. They have officers who fulfil the functions of Leader, Secretary and Treasurer (although they may be called Squire, Bagman, etc.) and another who is in charge of the dancing (as distinct from public performance). Depending partly on the size of the group and partly on the number of individuals willing to take on officer rôles, the officer functions may be consolidated into less than four officers. The officers operate through individual discussion and rarely meet as a committee. The material the group performs is, at Rank-1 importance, of a single Type but the repertoire may include a single item, or at most a few items, of a different Type or Form. The material is viewed as handed down tradition although it is usually not of a Type collected in the area in which they operate. Motivation is almost invariably reported as both continuity of tradition and enjoyment.

They perform in public on a more or less regular basis for an extended summer season and confine their out of season activities to regular practice nights and possibly a few additional paid bookings. They invariably belong to (at least) one of the morris umbrella organisations (i.e. The Morris Ring, The Morris Federation or Open Morris). Most performances are self-organised within the teams' home territory, but the team will travel to gatherings organised by other like teams or by the umbrella organisation(s) of which they are members. Socialising with like-minded groups is commonly reported. These groups vary considerably in size. Their operation is self-contained and relates to the wider local community only incidentally (although some may have particular links into local society). Many morris and sword teams (and some mumming:repertoire groups) conform to this model.

These four models do not embrace all the groups in the survey. Whilst the four models described above are relatively easy to distinguish, it will be noted that it is not always the same parameters by which they are described. The remainder of the groups - those that do not immediately conform to one of these models - present a range of variations in the combination of aspects that have been considered and it is not immediately possible to identify further discrete models. Most are minor variations on one of the four models, although a few combine different sets of elements altogether.

The variations which have been identified in each aspect of the operations investigated by the IQs could be combined in a huge number of combinations and it is perhaps more surprising that the four models reported above are consistently apparent at all.

Selected interviews

As well as those interviews reported in the Case Studies in Part IV, some were conducted with representatives of other groups and these shed additional light on the operation of some of the groups which fit the above models. Malcolm Doughty (Int:011) is the founder of the Folk Ensemble Deva (IQ:067) which is based in Chester. Within the group's repertoire are sword and morris dances, and the men who perform these also operate independently as Deva Sword and Morris. The group includes a large proportion of young people, initially drawn from Chester schools, and it was necessary to be satisfied that the group was self-governing, and not a children's team run by an adult, before including them in the study. This was achieved in the interview. The interviewee is the primary teacher of the group, but others are brought in to teach their own specialisations. The few adult members who attend meetings are present in order to address the legal concerns of the school authority which owns the venue in which the group meets, but otherwise the group members manage both the group and its performances. The group runs on a regular basis and its objects are explicit in its promotional literature, which states:

> 'The Group was formed in 1987 to create a new and youthful representation of the English Folk Dance and Song Society. Its repertoire includes examples of most facets of English Folk Dance... The Group's principle objective is to provide quality representation of our traditional heritage, both at home and abroad, with enjoyment as a paramount feature.' (Folk Ensemble Deva - publicity handout 1994)

Malcolm Doughty had been introduced to the Folk Revival at school in the middle of the century and, in founding Folk Ensemble Deva, tried to emulate the enthusiasm for the material that he had experienced at that time. He observed, of the group, that:

> 'In many ways it's a replica of what I was introduced to in 1949... On a revival basis, the typical group that was being encouraged then was doing the various forms of country dancing - social, traditional, Playford, Anglo-American, call it what you will - together with Cotswold morris... and of course, coming from the North-East [as I did], certainly the Rapper, and the Longsword... Encouraged by that, the Morris Ring was growing then and it was the opportunity for teams, on the revival basis rather then the traditional, [to be] able to travel around to Morris Ring meetings -

> broader groups going to festivals - you had this broadening of awareness and horizons and understanding, and I genuinely believe that all of that has helped to keep our traditions alive whereas the traditional teams didn't quite understand that their survival was in great threat at the time.' (Doughty. Int:011)

The preservationist attitude was prevalent. The various vernacular arts, or rather those selected by Cecil Sharp and the EFDS/EFDSS as of value, were viewed as part of the national heritage rather than as locally significant. Once lost they could not be recovered. This is still a widespread view, here expressed by Malcom Doughty:

> 'I hope to God that the Arts Council, and the Sports Council, and the Association of Local Authorities, this new Heritage Department and anybody else who wants to take an interest - I hope we will not find ourselves fifty years hence in a position where they will come along and say to us "Here's a million pounds. Can you get it [the tradition] back?" Because in reality if we've lost it, we cannot get it back. You see, if football dies out in this country, we can go to the Argentine, or New Zealand or... - but we can go to any corner of the globe and bring it back. But once our tradition has gone, then it's gone and all the millions in the world will not bring it back.' (Doughty. Int:011)

The grouping of various Forms and Types into the umbrella concept of The Tradition (as discussed in Ch.5) bears with it a contingent view of what constitutes continuity of tradition. Being from the North-East of England, Malcolm Doughty applied the idea to the Rapper sword dances of that area, saying:

> 'The Rapper again is a good example. The Rapper has now gone, and I know that High Spen was - through Fred Foster's family - it is a traditional team - but in reality there was a very long break of years and it isn't a continuing tradition. Once Joe Bennett was on his death-bed then Earsdon, I'm afraid, was totally dead; you cannot dance with two dancers and a memory. So the [Folk] Revival activity, I think, has done us a great service... It is trying to be respectful towards the traditionalists, but at the same time recognising that the world is moving at a fast pace.' (Doughty. Int:011)

Such a view is in contrast to that expressed to this interviewer, explicitly or implicitly, many times during the research, that revival of local tradition or custom *is* continuation of the tradition. It was explained in the introductory chapters that this study would take 'the material itself as a constant, irrespective of who was performing it' (Ch.1) as a means of avoiding potential problems of thresholds between Tradition and Revival (which were examined further under Q22 in Ch.9). That approach remains, and is concerned with the material itself (as individual items or collections of items) rather than performances in location, which are the subject of the present discussion. It is apparent that an

individual's perception of the threshold between the Tradition and Revival informs their attitude to the 'vocabulary of performance' (Thompson. 1991) overall. It may actually be another distinguishing feature between the different models of kind of group described above.

The umbrella idea of all the material being one genre (discussed in Ch.2), as expressed by Malcolm Doughty, is equally applicable to individual Forms, and even Types, as can be seen among the case study groups. The Coventry Mummers' constitution commits them to:

> 'Promote the performance, research, study and knowledge of *English Ritual Drama.*' (Coventry Mummers' constitution)(my italics)

This places all the different mumming plays into the umbrella term 'Ritual Drama'. The Royal Lancashire Morris Dancers are pan-Lancashire in the dances they perform[27]. Hartley Morris and Royal Borough Morris (Kent - see C/S:12) perform dances from various different (Cotswold) village traditions - as do all the Cotswold morris sides other than those that are of their own historic location e.g. Kirtlington, Abingdon, Bampton, etc. The same is true among many Rapper teams. For example, the Hoddesdon Crownsmen and East Saxon Sword (information from Dave Hislop and Mike Ruff) construct their performed dance sequences by selecting and combining figures from different local (North East) dances whereas the Earsdon and High Spen teams respectively perform their own local dance.

The Folk Revival early in the century, believing that The Tradition was all but dead (and there was no more material to be collected), went on to build its own tradition of continuity within the movement. I suggest that this has led to the observed introspection of some 'Classic Ceremonial Groups' in the Folk Revival, to their isolation from wider society, and to their tendency to find reinforcement of their own activity among like-minded groups rather than local communities. The 'Exhibitors of Culture' groups, while retaining a relationship with the public and occasionally sharing their enthusiasm with similar groups, nevertheless share the umbrella view of The Tradition. Since mid-century it has been demonstrated that there was more material to collect and that individual local traditions were not all dead. The umbrella concepts still remain however, and it is these that the multi-repertoire groups (of both models) use as justification, if pressed, to 'pick-and-mix' their repertoires from what were, at the time of collecting, believed to be more or less discrete local traditions[28]. It is also within the umbrella concept that examples of different Forms can be incorporated into a team's repertoire.

There is no intention here to promulgate these arguments as moral issues. As already noted, the evidence is that the majority of groups' members are content to do whatever is arranged for them and are never obliged to consider aspects such as those discussed here. But among the leaders, or leading figures, in many teams there are articulate, thinking individuals (as demonstrated in the interviews) who are fully aware of the history of their art, place contemporary performance in an historical context, and debate issues such as tradition, continuity and culture. Whichever premise they use in their arguments, it is not the intention of this study to suggest that any is right or wrong, but they are each identified as being present among the memberships of the groups studied here.

These considerations explain something about the group models styled 'Exhibitors of Culture' and 'Classic Ceremonial Dance Groups'. In contrast, the 'Short-season Groups' focus on individual traditions. Although they may recognise that their material is of a particular Type, it is what they view as *their* local tradition within the Type that concerns them. Operating not as a general part of the Folk Revival sub-culture, they see their performances as being part of an ongoing local culture. In some cases, e.g. the Bury Pace-eggers (see C/S:10), groups have sucessfully made their activities part of the local annual calendar: part of the local culture - as it used to be. In other cases, e.g. the Bodmin Wassailers (IQ:296), the activities remain a part of the local annual cycle, as they have been since before memory, or records. The overall attitude of these short-season groups is signally different to the other models discussed, but it is also shared by some groups who do not fit the precise model as described, and it will be necessary to return to this issue.

Sue Coe is a member of an Appalachian step-dance group which was, at the time of the interview, on a cusp between being just a regular evening class and being an 'Exhibitors of Type' group. She explained the background to the group, and her own involvement, as starting when she attended:

> '[The] Feet First festival in Chesterfield in April 1992. [I was] still at the stage where I couldn't find something to do in a session and Chrissie [Coe] had said step-dancing might be something that I would be interested in. We discovered that there were about six people who lived in this area who were at that festival. Four of us were complete beginners at this stage, [and there were] two people who'd recently moved to the area from Exeter - and they'd been in a side in Exeter. Following that festival we decided that we'd get together regularly. We made a couple of posters saying that we would meet in a pub where we knew that Sowerby Bridge Morris Men met on Thursday nights. So we started meeting in about May 1992 and one of the things that all the original six [felt, was that] there were too many crap amateur Appalachian teams - so there was no intention at that stage of dancing out... All we did for that summer was go through stuff that we'd learnt in workshops at Feet First.' (Coe. Int:006)

The group practised until, individually, the members were confident enough to improvise stepping for their own enjoyment during local social dance evenings. This attracted more members to the group, including one dancer who:

> '...joined in a little bit later - she wasn't part of the original six who said, "We don't want any more crap Appalachian teams". She actually belongs to two other dancing-out teams and her reason for being is as a dancing-out dancer... Her aim is to dance out and she is one of the people who agreed to dance out.' (Coe. Int:006)

As the group had started because of shared interest and for individual skill development, with no intention of dancing out, Sue was asked why they had decided to do so, and replied that it was:

> "Cause we were asked, basically... There was obviously a stamp about us doing things in a matching way... we were practising together and one of the girls from Briggate Morris is one of the organisers of the Kirkstall Open Air Festival in the summer.. and she asked us shortly after that if we would dance out at Kirkstall in July. In moments of pre-Christmas possible drunkenness we said, 'Yes.' So we worked towards having a set of dances that we could do for this Kirkstall festival more or less from about January/February, knowing that there was a limited repertoire of tunes that were available to us from Janet [i.e. their musician]... The dances at that stage were more or less ones that we'd picked up at workshops; so there was a dance we'd picked up at a Feet First workshop, there was a dance that I'd picked up at a Rough Shod workshop at Sidmouth [International Folklore Festival], and there was one that one of the group had written for us - it was a stepped ceilidh dance in a sense.
>
> 'We did it. There was a sort of curiosity, an urge to perform, amongst the rest of us as well. We did it and I think the uninitiated in the audience were impressed and we got made quite a fuss of afterwards. We hit two major problems in that we weren't rehearsed with our musicians and we weren't used to that floor. We definitely came back from that saying, 'We won't do it again until we've got our own musicians and our own floor, or a floor that we know we can rely on.' We learnt a lot from doing it and learnt that we genuinely were not ready, although possibly the punters might have thought it was O.K. - we knew it wasn't.' (Coe. Int:006)

This first experience has not deterred the group from considering dancing out again. There is an obvious concern for standards. Initiated as a mutual skill improvement workshop, and influenced by at least one member who wished to dance out, the group anticipates doing so again:

> 'When we're ready'... There's a curiosity to do it, but we want to be a lot better than we were last time.' (Coe. Int:006)

Structurally, the group displays the now familiar minimalist approach to organisation. As Sue put it:

> 'We're very democratic because although Suzanne is the teacher, and she's lovely, we tend, almost all of us go to festivals - various festivals - so we all come back with ideas... So it is very democratic and there isn't a formal committee - the only time we ever discussed having a name was at the stage when we were dancing out at Kirkstall, because there was a Programme - and in fact they never used the name we gave them. We did democratically vote on the name, but we decided it was too milk-maidenish and we didn't like it anyway. So we had that name for a little while. After that we started collecting money, which is when we had the Treasurer, because the thing we are saving up for is a floor. It'll be a long time before we're ready to buy a floor. That's what the subs are going to.' (Coe. Int:006)

The group does not focus on dancing out - although a portable floor is unnecessary for anything else - and the regular subscriptions are also in anticipation of being able to engage specialist teachers when they are available in the area. As Sue explained:

> 'We booked Ira Bernstein[29] to do a workshop with us but Pete [Coe] organised a ceilidh around it - if the ceilidh hadn't raised enough money to pay Ira, the subs would have gone to that but in fact we made a £43 profit, so the subs weren't needed. One time last year Ross Allen was in the area and we couldn't organise something quickly enough to guarantee we could raise the money to pay him and that was another trigger to having the sub - so [that] if we found someone good was in the area we could do a workshop. So it's a contingency fund to pay a good teacher if they happen to be in the area if we can't organise something - for example the Fiddle Puppets are due over in May and we're going to try and sort something out for them but if we can't then we might be able to get Eileen [the leader of the Fiddle Puppets] to come up... we'll have enough by then.' (Coe. Int:006)

The focus on standards, both personal and of group display, may be higher in this group than in others of the 'Exhibitors of Type' model. One informant, from another Appalachian display group, suggested that 'you can't have a group like this and not want to go on stage' (Sue Evans-Turner - personal communication), and the sentiment has been repeated by other informants. Group displays of Appalachian stepping are, as described in Ch.1, a recent phenomenon and, as novel spectacle, are in demand on the increasing number of performance stages that have arisen in the last few decades.

Among the groups surveyed there are a number which do not fully conform to any of the four models extracted from the IQ data. The analysis of the questionnaire returns has provided information which is at times illuminating, and at other times confounding. The interviews reported in brief above

demonstrate how beliefs, motives and attitudes can inform the overall way in which groups operate. Other interviews conducted for the study give further insight into the history, operation, and evolution of specific groups, and these are reported in the next Part of the study before final conclusions are drawn about the position, operation and progress of the vernacular performing arts during the 20th Century.

ENDNOTES - PART III

1. In some cases, questionnaires were received from different officers for the same group simply because a year had lapsed between the group receiving a questionnaire via the network mailing and via the Ring or Federation mailing.

2. *Deva* was the Roman name for Chester. *The Danegeld* was the name of the area of Northern Britain that paid revenue to the Danes in the Dark Ages. Sweyn, the Dane, built a village on an Ey (island) in 1140, hence *Sweyn's Ey* which later became corrupted to 'Swansea'. *Siluria* is the Welsh Border area which, in pre-Roman times, was occupied by the British tribe, the Silurians. The area also gave its name, via the geological strata in the region, to the Silurian Period of geological history and evolution. *Trigg* was the name of the old Hundred (an administrative section of land, between a parish and a shire in size) in which the team operates.

3. Henry Williamson's story has also been used in the promotion of local recreational pursuits and tourism with the creation of *The Tarka Trail* as a walking/cycling trail along disused railway routes and the branch line from Exeter to Barnstaple is now called *The Tarka Line*.

4. The word 'cant' is deliberately chosen here. They may not simply be linguistic puns - although the 'category' does include these. Several titles make allusion to the dance form, or style of performance and are therefore parallel to the heraldic use of Coats of Arms that refer to the name they portray (e.g. William Shakespeare's arms show a broken spear), or make allusion to something totally unrelated to the performance - e.g. a gift, a model of car, etc.

5. *Hands Around* is the name of a country dance figure and *Queen's Delight* is the name of specific dance. Mary Neal was a significant influence in the early days of the Folk Revival. She was a prime mover in the Esperance movement and created the Esperance Club. Although initially working closely with Cecil Sharp there came a parting of the ways. For further information on the work of Mary Neal and the history of the relationship with Cecil Sharp and the early revival, see Boyes (1993a) and Judge (1989).

6. The names of groups vary frequently in this respect, even from year to year, in listings such as the Morris Ring Directory or The Morris Federation equivalent. These variations are therefore ignored.

7. The musicians who play for the dancing of Cockleshell Clog also make occasional appearances in their own right as a country dance band for public and private social dances. On these occasions they are known as The Cockleshell Heroes (Bill Delderfield - personal communication) - another historic (and canting) title.

8. Clothing and the design of team's costume has been outside the parameters of this study, but could prove an interesting area for further research.

9. Broom dancing is a form of step-dancing which utilises a brush as a prop. The dancing is done, variously, over the broom laid on the floor (not dissimilar to a Scottish sword dance) or passing the broom over, under and between the legs while stepping.

10. The Dorset Ooser is a man wearing a mask, essentially human but with horns possibly like a bull. The Reader's Digest *Folklore, Myths and Legends of Britain* (1973) gives the Ooser a familiar Survivalist origin as the Horned God and suggests that:

> '...by the 19th century the Ooser's original meaning had been forgotten, and in places like Shillingstone, it had become the 'Christmas Bull', a terrifying creature which roamed through the streets of Dorset villages at the end of each year demanding refreshments from any villagers it met.' (p.164)

With a more measured approach, Cawte (1978) merely observes that:

> 'At the end of the last century there was a groteque mask, a human face with horns, at Melbury Osmond in Dorset (Mayo.1891), which the writer calls the Ooser. Such a mask, maybe called (phonetically) a wurser, may have been used at 'Christmas mummings' (Moule.1892), but the information is so vague, and not specifically related to this particular mask, that it does not seem to contribute to the present subject.' (p.153)

Thus it is from scant information that the Wessex Morris Men's new Ooser custom has been reconstructed - as have several other customs of recent history.

11. 'Traditions' in this instance refers to individual village styles (such as, for example, the Bampton style, the Adderbury style, etc.) or to specific dances from a particular village (which would also be in that village's style).

12. This quotation raises the issue of ownership of the dances. This is considered further in the case study on the morris sides in Abingdon (C/S:9), and the issue of ownership of material generally is discussed in Ch.8. The same pertains to the Britannia Coconut Dancers (C/S:2) from whom a similar letter was published in the same edition of *English Dance & Song*.

13. The sole exception to this appears to be the Darent Valley Champions which consists of three gangs who perform local Christmas mumming plays in the Darenth Valley in Kent but, as detailed in C/S:12, the three gangs share a title but are effectively independent of each other.

14. The terms 'traditional' and 'revival' are used here for convenience, to indicate older continuing performances that pre-date Sharp's 'revival' and those groups that were born out of it, respectively. For commentary on the terms themselves, see Ch.8.

15. The term seems an obvious one, and became recurrent in my discussion with Trevor Stone. I have been unable to find any previous published use of the phrase and in the absence of evidence to the contrary, assume we invented it during our discourse.

16. It is demonstrated in Ch.13 that some groups which formed in the post-war 'boom' became almost moribund in the 1970s and '80s, and revitalised themselves with, variously, new members, new material, becoming mixed sex teams, etc. - The Alton Morris (Hampshire) and South Shropshire Morris Men are two examples of this process and their history is explored in Ch.13.

17. It is outside the scope of this study to argue with this view but Sue Coe (Int:016) has suggested that much Welsh tradition went 'underground' in the 19th Century, suppressed by the ascent of the Chapel, and did not die out as is supposed. At the same time it is arguable that much of the material performed by English social dance display teams owes more to reconstructed material from the 17th and 18th Centuries than it does to the very few social dances collected from tradition early this century by Cecil Sharp and his collaborators.

18. It is often argued that had Cecil Sharp not, almost accidentally, witnessed the Headington Quarry Morris Men dancing out on Boxing Day 1899, his interest in the morris would not have been stimulated. He would not have commenced his collecting and the subsequent Folk Revival would not have happened. On that occasion the Headington Men were out, out of their normal season, trying to raise a bit of extra cash over the Christmas period in what was a particularly severe Winter: they were 'frozen out' and there was no work - and thus no income.

19. In fact, the Padstow 'Osses always celebrate on May 1st *except* when that day falls on a Sunday - in that case the celebrations take place on Monday 2nd May.

20. The Goathland Plough Stotts, on their annual tour, can include dozens of dancers (and historically had many more people participating - see Stone.1979). In recent years there has been an increasing demand for the group to be booked to perform away from Goathland, at home or abroad. When they accept such bookings, not all these performers can take part. Trevor Stone (Int:003) has suggested that there is a tendency for 'the team' to be defined - even on home ground - as being those dancers who do travel to bookings away from the area. This is a significant development in the tradition, effectively creating a two-tier membership within Goathland which has not pertained before. Further commentary on these sorts of aspects within groups appears in Ch.12.

21. The choice of these three Types is arbitrary, although they do have the largest sample number. The comparison is by Type - not by group. Thus the 'Morris: Cotswold & Border' group who reported dancing Cotswold from Mayday to October 31st and Border from October 31st to Mayday (IQ:230) are included in the table as one Cotswold group dancing May to October *and* as one Border group dancing November to April (although the Border type is last danced on Mayday, that day is reported by the group to be a specific 'special' day - such days are not recorded in this table).

22. It appears that the maintenance of traditional 'collecting' in changed social circumstances is achieved by changing who the beneficiaries are: collecting which used to be for the benefit of the performers becomes collecting for a socially acceptable 'worthy cause'. Thus collecting for charity legitimises the fact of collecting. For a discussion on earlier reasons for collecting, and on the continuation for different reasons after lapses in performance, see Brown.1991.

23. There are exceptions, of course. For example the Marshfield mummers are preceded on their outdoor rounds by a bell-ringing Town Crier. He plays no part in the drama but, at each stop, announces that, "I have much pleasure in introducing the Celebrated Marshfield Mummers, the Old-time Paper Boys." and at Haxey Hood, the Fool has a ritual speech which introduces the proceedings and establishes the (limited) rules.

24. Although there were 346 reports to Q13.16, that question was concerned with signatories to any bank account there might be. As club or association bank accounts usually require at least two, and usually three, signatories, the response level to Q13.16 cannot be directly compared to that for any other sub-question to Q13.

25. London Folk is now defunct, but was for many years a highly dedicated group originally formed as the mainstay of the EFDSS's annual Albert Hall Folk Festival in London. Like many Crossform:Repertoire groups its objective was the display, to the public, of a wide range of the dance forms deriving from England, and to a very high standard. The group used choreographers to devise sequences rather as many European dance ensembles do. They often travelled abroad to continental festivals and appeared on T.V. in this country occasionally.

London Folk survived the demise of the Albert Hall festivals for several years but with a decreasing number of opportunities to perform, the group eventually collapsed. This is a further example of a group with a specialist function being unable, or unwilling, to adapt to a different function (a changed market) and therefore ceasing.

26. The term 'ceremonial' is used here with a degree of hesitation. The term 'ceremonial dance' gained currency from at least the late 1970s, as a replacement for 'ritual dance', to describe collectively those dance forms which the Survivalists attributed to the pagan past. The idea that these dances, which include morris and sword Forms of all Types, were survivals of ancient rituals was progressively being challenged and a new term was needed. The model described here includes some mumming groups as well as dance groups, hence the use of 'ceremonial' rather than 'ceremonial dance'.

27. The RLMD repertoire derived from the collecting work of Richard and Sue Boswell, which was of Type rather than focused on individual towns' traditions.

28. There is some debate as to how discrete these local repertoires were. In Ch.5 the translocation of Longsword and Rapper dances from one place to another was noted, as was copying among Northwest teams and, in interview, Paul Davenport (Int:019) pointed out that there is evidence that Cotswold morris teams often shared musicians and dances. Nevertheless, difference in style at each location is undeniable and C/S:12 suggests that, to some degree, localisation of style may be inevitable in particular circumstances. Trevor Stone is of the opinion that it is the Folk Revival itself which has promoted the idea of discrete repertoires. With regard to the Longsword tradition, he explained:

> 'I interviewed a guy named Ventress some years ago. Ventress is a major landowner in the area and a well-known family. Ventress used to talk about some of his workers taking days off to go stotting [i.e. sword-dancing]. [I interviewed him] to see what his view was as an employer who was prepared to release them - 'cause they were doing it officially - and in some cases doing it with pay - he actually allowed them time off with pay - he felt he was contributing to the society or the locality's 'show' by allowing his workers to go off.
>
> But the workers didn't differentiate between, for example, the Sleights team, or the Ailsaby team, or the Egton team or the Goathland team - they were members of 'The Plough Stotts'. And one of the reasons why the dances were so similar, a lot of people feel, is because the dances were virtually interchangeable. One of his workers went to both Goathland and Sleights on a regular basis. Which is a little bit different to the attitude which has crept in now, where the differences are emphasised rather than the similarities.' (Stone. Int:003)

29. Ira Bernstein is a professional step-dancer from the U.S.A. and recognised as one of the leading exponents of Appalachian step-dancing, although his solo concerts include all Types from the British traditions and even the South African miners' wellington-boot dance.