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PART IV
CASE STUDIES

CHAPTER 11: Introduction to the Case Studies

Part III of the study used data collected via questionnaires and interviews to identify and examine various aspects of group organisation and activity. It is apparent from that data, and from the evidence in Part II of the study, that changes in performance or organisation can frequently occur. Sometimes these changes are quite dramatic, at other times of a minor nature which nevertheless contribute to the evolution of the group or its practices. The data from the questionnaires also raises a number of questions about the dynamics involved in the management and operation of the groups. To gain further information on these, and to understand in greater detail how and why changes come about and how they can affect the groups, it is necessary to examine some examples in more detail. This part of the study commences with a number of Case Studies which are then reviewed and expanded, with further evidence from interviews and other studies, in Ch.12.

Three of the Case Studies are of calendar customs which were revived within only three years of each other in the 1970s, still continue, and which potentially impinge on the entire community of the location within which the custom takes place. Inasmuch as that they were all products of the Folk Revival, and all revived within such a short space of time, the diversity in their development is notable. Possible reasons for this are discussed in the last section of this part. The three were revived completely independently of each other and take place in widely separated locations in England. They are:

    1)   The Jack-in-the-Green - Whitstable, Kent.
    3)   The Hunting of the Earl of Rone - Combe Martin, North Devon.
    5)   Kirtlington Lamb Ale - Kirtlington, Oxfordshire.

The remaining Case Studies cover a range of activities and should be regarded as examples of groups and performances rather than as being representative of any type. Some have been selected because they may be groups with a long continuous history of performance, others may be regarded as key groups in the developments of recent years, others because they demonstrate particular aspects of changes already identified in Ch.5. Collectively, they offer a range of examples with regard to: form, type, age, continuity, position in the community, complexity, motive, where and when they perform, etc.

All the Case Studies derive from interviews with participants and are supplemented, as appropriate, from relevant published and manuscript sources. In all the interviews, the objective has been to identify current practice, the background and origin of the present activity of the group and the dynamics of its operations. The remaining Case Studies involve:

2)   Britannia Coconut Dancers (Bacup, Lancashire).
4)   Kirtlington Morris Men (Oxfordshire).
6)   The Coventry Mummers (West Midlands).
7)   Royal Lancashire Morris Dancers.
8)   The Shropshire Bedlams.
9)   Abingdon Morris Sides and the Mayor of Ock Street (Berkshire).
10)   Bury Pace-eggers (Lancashire).
11)   Shrewton Mummers (Wiltshire).
12)   A Kentish Complex.

Each Case Study starts by locating the interviewee in the context of the group or groups examined and cites any other primary sources utilised. Certain areas of questioning were consistently explored in connection with each group to provide comparable evidence, but the interviews themselves were loosely structured to allow the interviewees to elaborate on aspects that were of import to themselves. The Case Studies, with two exceptions[1], utilise the interviewees' own words wherever possible in order to demonstrate emic perspectives and modes of expression about the subject activity. Further, to fairly represent the comments and concerns of the interviewee, *all* areas of comment that were relevant to the subject activities have been included in the text. Each Case Study therefore not only reports factual evidence and opinions expressed in the interviewees' own words but, overall, reflects their own areas of concern or interest. As a consequence, the tenor of the texts varies from Case Study to Case Study. Ch.12 therefore draws together themes from across the different groups, and comparative analysis is limited within the Case Studies themselves.

All the interviewees had been forewarned of the areas of study and in almost all cases had completed and returned an Initial Questionnaire in advance of the interview. This offered the opportunity for preparation, and in general the explanations and answers to questions were readily given, although in some instances it was necessary to 'talk through' situations before the interviewee was satisfied with the explanation that was finally given. If both the interviewer and interviewee are regarded as starting from their own emic (and distinct) perspectives, then this process closely parallels the approach suggested by John Berry (1990) in bringing two different perspectives together to produce a Derived Etic. The difference in this case is that both interviewer and interviewee contribute directly to the final description or explanation. In a few cases this was a lengthy process but protracted dialogue is

not rehearsed in the text unless relevant. As a further check on accuracy, interviewees were each sent a draft of the Case Study on their group with a request to correct any factual inaccuracies and an invitation to comment on interpretive text.

The limitation of the method, when interviewing a single informant, is that the information provided cannot always be corroborated from another source e.g. by another member of the group. This probably makes little difference when dealing with straight facts, but it must be considered when the interviewee is providing interpretation or opinion. Interpretation and opinion from these individuals is itself of interest and is considered both within each study and, with more relevance, in the review of Case Studies in Ch.12.

Some interviews lasted for up to four hours and drifted into matters that were not immediately relevant to the present avenues of enquiry, others were as short as twenty minutes and entirely focused. Each interview came to a natural conclusion and none were curtailed because of time constraints. The length of each Case Study is not necessarily proportional to the length of the interview(s) from which it is drawn, but is determined by the amount of relevant information gleaned.

In addition to the interviews with Case Study representatives, a number of interviews were also conducted with representatives of other groups in order to follow up specific queries arising from the IQs or to accrue additional information and views on the broader subject areas. These are not written up as Case Studies per se but are quoted as additional or supportive evidence - particularly in Ch.12 and Ch.13. A list of the interviews conducted, together with their reference numbers, is included at Appx.2A.

CASE STUDY No. 1

JACK-IN-THE-GREEN: WHITSTABLE (KENT)

The Whitstable Jack-in-the-Green is one of very few extant customs of its type. The custom ceased in 1912 and was revived in 1977. The town of Whitstable is located on the north coast of Kent facing the Thames estuary. Information on the custom comes from a variety of sources: notes and recordings made during visits to the custom in 1979 and 1995, a brief article about the revival of the Whitstable Jack published in English Dance and Song (Minifie.1978), the Initial Questionnaire return from Oyster Morris (IQ:301) and, primarily, an interview with the prime mover in the revival and re-establishment of the Jack. Dixie Lee (formerly Fletcher) (Int:004) whose information also completed IQ:330 on the custom.

Current form of the custom

Although referred to locally as 'Mayday', the activities described actually take place on the early May Bank Holiday weekend. The focus of the custom, that is the appearance and processing of a Jack-in-the-Green on the Bank Holiday Monday, is in reality one part of a series of associated activities that take place throughout the weekend. It is the focus that is first described - the other activities become apparent later in the Case Study. Oyster Morris (joint male and female morris sides practising a Cotswold style) assemble, together with guest morris teams they have invited from elsewhere in the country, at The East Kent public house in Whitstable by 11 a.m. Additional costumed characters present include *Robin* (Hood) and *Marion*, a dancing bear (*Boris*) and a *Fool*. In some years there is also a Kentish Hooden Horse[2]. At 11 a.m. each team takes turns to perform a dance from their standard repertoire to the crowd assembling at the pub. The dance teams are introduced to the crowd by the Oyster Morris Fool. This character belongs specifically to Oyster Morris and is similar in function to the Fool in many other morris sides. In this case study he must be distinguished from the Fool in the procession which is a separate character enacted by Dixie Lee. Subsequent mention of the Fool refers to Dixie's character, not to the Oyster Morris Fool.

Having performed their dances, the teams form into a procession and progress from The East Kent to The Duke of Cumberland public house, a distance of nearly a mile. The procession is accompanied by a band comprising a variety of instruments: melodeon, drum, trombone, banjo, etc. The band play the tune of *The Whitstable May Song*[3] and the morris teams perform a processional dance developed for the purpose. The additional characters also dance. The order of procession, from front to rear,

is: Robin and Marion, the Fool and Boris, then the morris sides with the band amongst them. A number of followers and general audience also walk alongside the procession.

On arrival at The Duke of Cumberland, where a small crowd has assembled, again the teams each perform dances from their standard repertoire. From here, the teams move some 100 yards to the rather narrow sea wall along the top of which they dance in single file before stopping for a lunch break. At 1 p.m. the procession reforms, but remains static when the band strikes up its familiar tune. The gates to the yard of The Duke of Cumberland are opened and the Jack dances out to the cheers of the performers, who are joined by the crowd. Jack is a tall bell-shaped figure totally enclosed in fresh chestnut foliage and something over 6 ft. tall. Above the greenery rises a floral crown and flowers are woven amongst the greenery. Jack takes his place in a position between Robin and Marion at the front of the procession and the entire company then dances off as before.

After about a mile the procession turns off the highway into the car park of the Health Centre where Jack rests and again the teams each dance. The audience here is smaller and mostly made up of people who are following the procession. The procession then continues a further mile and into the grounds of Whitstable Castle[4]. In the extensive grounds a 'village fête' type of event is taking place with stalls (antiques, jewellery, cakes, etc.), a mechanical organ, children's play area, food outlets, etc. The procession follows the tarmac path through the fête, finally arriving on a flat lawn area in front of the Castle at 2 p.m. Here a public address system has been set up and an audience of some 400-500 people has assembled. Jack positions himself at the rear of the lawn and the morris teams assemble on the lawn facing the audience and sing *The Whitstable May Song* (without accompaniment). Again each performs a dance. Jack remains stationary at the back of the lawn as though presiding over the proceedings (the bearer having removed himself). Following the morris dancing, the crowd are entertained by various street entertainers and circus-type acts together with folk singers and dancers. The entertainment and the fête finish at 5 p.m. and the company disperses.

Background and origin of present custom

Some of the history of Jack-in-the-Green customs generally has already been briefly examined in Ch.5, and is analyzed in detail by Judge (1979). The Jack-in-the-Green, in its current form and ceremony, is not the first time a Jack has been seen on the streets of Whitstable. As one early participant in the revival explains:

'The Whitstable Jack has a bizarre and unhappy tale attached. Traditionally he was a figure who, accompanied by dancers representing Robin Hood and Maid Marion, led the procession of other dancers and their musician from the Horsebridge (outside The Duke of Cumberland, where the [folk song] club now meets) to the site of the Maypole, but in 1912 this was terminated when somebody deliberately set fire to his costume, a wooden framework decorated with greenery, burning him to death.' (Minifie.1978)

Although this makes a good story, indeed the very stuff of folk-tales, subsequent research by George Frampton, and quoted by Dixie Lee, has led him to suggest that there is no evidence to verify this tale of the Whitstable Jack's demise. What is certain is that following the cessation of the custom in 1912, there was a gap in performances until Mayday (Sunday 1st May) 1977 when Jack was revived, following local research, as Minifie explains:

'It was chiefly through Dixie Fletcher's enthusiasm and interest in local custom that we got the little information we have, from Mr. Wallace Harvey, an historian of Whitstable, who described the processions remembered from boyhood.' (Minifie.1978)

The source of personnel for this revival was the performers and audience of The Duke Folk (Song) Club and dancers and musicians of Wantsum Morris (est. 1967), but to trace the background to the revival it is necessary to look a year earlier. On Mayday (Saturday 1st May) 1976, members of The Duke Folk Club organised a folk festival at the Castle which had newly become a community centre. As Dixie recalls:

'When this was all happening I went along to the Castle and I was shown over by the caretaker and, with Cathy [LeSurf], we said, "This would be brilliant to have a little folk festival"... and they said, "Well, why don't you join the steering committee?", and I was on it for something like 17 or 18 years.' (Lee. Int:004)

At that first event, organised as a folk festival, there was no Jack and no Oyster Morris - for they had yet to come into being. Performers included: Wantsum Morris Men, Punch & Judy, a mumming play, maypole dancing (by The Endowed School) and the band Fiddler's Dram[5]. The following year, 1977, was the year of the Queen's Silver Jubilee and Mayday (1st May) fell on a Sunday, and the folk festival was repeated. Dixie again:

'We had it at Mayday 'cos nothing else was happening at that time so we thought we'd have a look and see if the local historian [Wallace Harvey] could tell us anything. So we went along to him and he said, "Yes, there used to be a Jack-in-the-Green." So we said, "Jolly good." Douglas [West - a local photographer] had copies of the photographs of the last Jack and we just revived him - it was almost as though he [i.e. Jack] looked for us.' (Lee. Int:004)

The framework of the Jack was made by Jim Bywaters of Wantsum Morris, based on the photographs of the old Jack. By now *The Whitstable May Song* had been compiled, Oyster Morris had been formed (initially out of the female membership of The Duke Folk Club) and both they and Wantsum Morris danced in the procession together with a Hooden Horse also made by Jim Bywaters. In 1977 the entertainment on the lawn of the Castle included:

> '... demonstrations of maypole, morris and mediæval dancing, plus Ramsgate Folk Dance Society and The Bromley Mummers. There were displays of traditional crafts, workshops, sideshows and a Punch and Judy, and a singaround featuring... [various booked professionals] and local artists.' (Minifie.1978)

The basic format of the event was now established. Mayday (1st May) 1978 fell on a Monday and the procession and fête again took place. That year the Labour government declared 1st May a Bank Holiday. The first Monday in May has, with one exception[6], remained a Bank Holiday and is now generally referred to as the Mayday holiday although the Bank Holiday has only fallen once (1989) on 1st May since. The Jack custom, although enacted on 'old' Mayday (1st May) in 1976-78 stayed thereafter on the new Mayday Bank Holiday Monday, and further peripheral activity has both grown and changed over the years.

Peripheral activity and the growth of the overall custom

Morris involvement

The involvement of morris sides in the revived Jack custom has been important throughout. Wantsum Morris had taken part in the first Jack procession in 1977 but thereafter:

> '... they weren't invited because we'd got our own morris side so we just did it then with Oyster Morris and the Jack... They [Wantsum Morris] came back for our 21st.' (Lee. Int:004)

A focus thus fell on the local side and their involvement was at the core of the revival from the first year of their own existence. This is not surprising - as demonstrated in Ch.7, many local annual customs are actually enacted by a local sword or morris team - but in this case it may also be noted that the membership of the new Oyster Morris came from the same source as the initial organisers of the Jack procession - The Duke Folk Club. Oyster Morris immediately became responsible for organising the morris element of the weekend - as Dixie puts it:

'That bit is now down to Oyster Morris and they invite somebody different every year. They come down for the whole weekend.' (Lee. Int:004)

From the outset Oyster Morris invited a guest side to join them for the weekend. In 1978 this was Great Western Morris from Exeter, a team with whom individual dancers already had links[7]. Great Western came for several years, together with the Devon women's side Glory of the West, but thereafter different sides were invited each year. The guest team was invited for the whole weekend, and morris activity also naturally developed. Members of the guest side stay with members of Oyster Morris over the weekend and on the Saturday the teams convene and dance out in Canterbury.

'This is where Oyster Morris get their funding for the weekend, by dancing and collecting.' (Lee. Int:004)

There is a public ceilidh on the Saturday night which is also organised by Oyster Morris and:

'[On] Sunday they usually do something special - like one year we danced down at the [Channel] Tunnel. They've danced at Leeds Castle [and at] Broom Park - which is a beautiful Country Club. So they try to do something interesting for their guests on Sunday, and then Sunday night we always have a party at Barham Village Hall where all the morris sides do their party pieces.' (Lee. Int:004)

Oyster Morris are deeply involved in the 'new' tradition: in the questionnaire return, in answer to Q1 (Type of custom/tradition), both Cotswold morris and Jack-in-the-Green are ranked 1 (IQ:301) and no other Forms/Types are included. The individuals who are to fulfil the rôles of Robin and Marion are chosen by and from the respective male and female sides - often the youngest adult members. The side writes to the police concerning the weekend - although others also do so. This duplication of effort, although not a total duplication, is possibly indicative of a lack of definition in organisational aspects of the weekend which is explored further below. It is not only the involvement of the morris which has developed since the revival.

The procession and activities at the Castle

The format of the fête in the Castle grounds, and the entertainment following the Jack's arrival, has changed little over the years except that performers may vary from year to year, for example:

'On the lawn we always have a show in the afternoon, and we have local children. The local dancing school usually do a gymnastic display [but] they've been doing clog

dancing [recently] 'cause Helen goes down to Sidmouth [International Folklore Festival] and she goes to clog lessons, teaches her kids, they come along and they do demonstrations... I always try and get a local performer to come along and perform on the lawn. Obviously we have street theatre... up until now we've had mostly Doctor Sunshine but next year we're having Ticklish Allsorts. The first street theatre group we had was Ginger's Street Theatre.' (Lee. Int:004)

Local morris sides, in addition to Oyster and their guests, are also invited to join the Jack procession on the Monday and those that come also take a turn on the lawn. Other elements come and go at the Castle. Information on the old Jack custom indicated that there was a maypole which the Jack visited, and initially in the revival there was a maypole erected on the Castle lawn. As Dixie recalls:

'I actually made that for a few years - that's what it used to be like. It was the Victorians who introduced the dancing round the maypole with ribbons - but I actually made the maypole and put it up there. I haven't the energy to do it [any more].

'The Endowed School did dancing round the maypole. We had a teacher there who was keen to teach the children and she was quite happy to do it. Then she moved away so we haven't had it for a few years. Now there's someone over at Hampton who does it and they came last year, which was lovely...

'We have local bands. We've had photographic competitions. Douglas West put [on] an exhibition of his photographs of old Whitstable one year. Last year [1995] we actually expanded it. We took the piece of ground the other side of the Castle - there's a picnic area - and we took over that and we closed the road and Whitstable Improvement Trust put a small fairground up there and the Lions have got a little train. So the little train was going backwards and forwards giving the kiddies rides, and the road was closed so there was no... didn't have to worry about children being knocked down in the road and it was absolutely brilliant. So we can expand out that way a bit, and again it's all local involvement. This year [1996] we had a Teddy Bears' Picnic, and the local baker baked some cookies - big teddy bear cookies - over 200 of them.' (Lee. Int:004)

In the early years it was Dixie and a small core of helpers from the Duke who organised the activities at the Castle because:

'We still had the folk club going at that time, so we had lots of helpers from the folk club and Don Minifie was involved at the beginning but not for very long afterwards. It was mostly my family I think, Jo and Kerry [Dixie's daughters]. Pete and Marion and Cathy. We all got together - the first one was supposed to be a little folk festival, but people weren't interested in coming to that but [to] the dancing on the lawn and what have you, and a few stalls - it just sort of grew really. When you're enthusiastic about something, then - you know.' (Lee. Int:004)

With the reintroduction of the Jack it became necessary for the activities in the Castle grounds to be organised by other people - initially by the Castle Centre Association, but:

> 'It got to the stage where I was getting no help from the people at the Castle. So I went along to the local Lions Club and said, "Will you help me?" and the local Lions Club said, "Yes, but you'll have to join." So I joined the Lions Club, and the Lions Club are the people now who fund it. It's self-funding but you need some money up front, so we get the Lions Club and we do the advertising, and they book the stalls, they collect the money, they have their own stalls where they make lots of money.' (Lee. Int:004)

The subject of funding is considered further below, but here it may simply be noted that the organisers of the fête have changed over time and Dixie is now hardly involved at all, other than in the lawn entertainment, as she is tied to the procession as the Fool. The fête is arranged in advance, but on the day it tends to be a more casual affair, as the following demonstrates:

> 'As soon as people set stalls up, people start walking into the Castle grounds. It's never really an organised thing. The entertainment in the afternoon is organised and that starts when the Jack-in-the-Green gets there, but until then it's just stalls, and people wander in and out all the time.' (Lee. Int:004)

A regular character in the Monday procession is Boris, the dancing bear. There is no historical evidence for such a character: he simply arrived one year with one of the street theatre groups and, as far as spectators are concerned, stayed - as Dixie recalls:

> 'Boris started when Taffy Thomas came down. The Salamis [i.e. The Salami Brothers, a street theatre group] came down and Taffy Thomas wore a bear suit, and he created such havoc in the town that we thought this was great fun. They only came a couple of years on the trot and then somebody actually came round and said, "I've got this bear suit. Do you want it for Mayday?" So we said, "Yeah," because Taffy wasn't coming any more. So that's how he got the name Boris, because Taffy called his bear Boris, and Kerry took over. She's been Boris ever since.' (Lee. Int:004)

As every bear needs a minder, Dixie's other daughter, Jo, took on the rôle complete with tail-coat, top hat and fish-net tights. Jo eventually dropped out but other members of the family also have rôles. Dixie's son, Quentin, runs the public address system on the lawn at the Castle, and when Dixie remarried she involved her new husband:

> 'Then of course I introduced a new person into the Mayday celebrations. So Howard

does all the introductions on the lawn now and plays his trombone in the procession. Before then it was Mark [Lawson] or - different people have done it for me, but now I've got a home-grown one.' (Lee. Int:004)

There is often more brass than just Howard's trombone in the band. At one time the whole Whitstable brass band played for the first section of the procession:

'We did ask Whitstable Brass to come and join us one year - I think they did it for two or three years. They didn't want to do it all the time. Sometimes some of their members do come and join us again. Like [the time we had] six trombones - which was great.'[8] (Lee. Int:004)

Boris was not the first character to be added to the procession over and above those in the historical record. Dixie takes the rôle of the Fool and although a Fool is a stock character in many morris sides (and with parallels in sword teams) the Whitstable Fool is somewhat different. The character is dressed in tatters[9] and simply processes immediately behind the Jack. In the absence of a minder for Boris, the Fool may take the bear's lead but otherwise there is no performance function; it is simply that:

'I just wanted something to be dressed up as. I just made it up. Nobody else had tatters in those days; now every other person has got tatters. So it's not unusual. I just call myself The Fool.' (Lee. Int:004)

The groups taking part in the procession also vary from year to year. For example:

'Depending who's there really...

'The gymnasts were processing as well, and if we have mummers then I invite them to come and process with us...

'[The mummers are] the Lindy Players Junior Group [and they perform] the traditional Whitstable one [i.e. play] that I wrote. That sort of comes out every now and then, if I have the energy to get it together. Perhaps if we have a youth group down at the theatre this year, I'll get them to do it again...

'We actually had a May Queen this year ([1996] which was quite nice, but all she did was walk in the procession so it wasn't much fun for her. But to me the procession's important so, you know, you've got to hope that other people think so as well...

'Oh yes, we actually had majorettes one year.' (Lee. Int:004)

Any teams who are to perform at the Castle join in the procession: the maypole dancers, the country

dancers, the gymnasts and, of course, a variable number of morris sides. As indicated above:

> 'Oyster Morris invite somebody different every year. They come down for the whole weekend, and then on the Monday we invite other local groups to come and join us to swell the procession out.
>
> '...last year [1995] I said to Oyster Morris, "Look, it's our 21st; can you invite more morris sides than you do normally?" and they did, which was great - that we had more on the Monday and it looked spectacular.' (Lee. Int:004)

The elements which make up the procession and the entertainment at the Castle can obviously vary considerably. One further aspect was added to the weekend in 1984, further consolidating local involvement - this time amongst the next generation, as Dixie explained:

> 'This is something I introduced - the school art competition [in 1984]. I got fed up trying to design posters and what have you every year. So I put it round all the schools - all the junior schools - for a design for a poster for [the] next year and then three of us usually judge it, and there's always one that really stands out, and you say, "This has got to be it." Some of them are so good. So long as it's not just me [judging] on my own - anyone I can grab, a couple of Lions.' (Lee. Int:004)

Further developments and changes in practice

The growth of the overall custom and the variation or addition of new elements may be regarded as natural responses to a growing interest from the town and a deliberate desire to develop, create more local involvement, provide some degree of novelty and expand. This thrust is confirmed by Dixie Lee:

> 'Every year I say, "If anybody's got any ideas how we can improve it, how we can make it better, I'm open to suggestions"... You try and think of things to try and make it bigger and better...' (Lee. Int:004)

A number of other changes (rather than growth or variations in personnel) were forthcoming in interview which are not explainable in this way. Some of these are more subtle and not necessarily obvious to the spectator. When it was decided to revive the Jack, following the first folk festival in 1976, the information sources were limited to the memories of Wallace Harvey, the local historian, and the photographic evidence supplied by Douglas West. As a result:

> 'Jack is modelled on the old one and [initially] we used wood shavings because we

were not sure what it was. It might have been paper, but we tried using wood shavings, but over the years it's changed and [now] it's all greenery, 'cause that was so difficult to do - chestnut.' (Lee. Int:004)

The change was pragmatic and practical. Other changes in the appearance of the Jack from year to year have also been practical - and inevitable, as the following demonstrates:

'[Of] course, the Jack changes every year depending on what flowers are in season. I mean sometimes we've had daffodils and sometimes we haven't had any at all. It doesn't have ribbons on now; it just has flowers.' (Lee. Int:004)

These changes in the Jack are also a function of who decorates it.

'Jim the Ram [Jim Bywaters] built the frame. Still using the same frame. It's been reinforced here and there obviously over the years. Members of the folk club used to decorate it. Now the local Scouts decorate it. Most of the people who came to the folk club didn't come from Whitstable, and really I wanted Whitstable people doing it, right? So I asked the Scouts if they would come along and do it and the greenery's donated by a local home - they've got enormous gardens. So the Scouts - this is part of their woodman craft [badge-work] now - they go out and they gather the greenery and then they come along and then they decorate the Jack and then the Lions Club make a contribution to their Scout club.

'They've been doing it for about five, six years I think. Quite a long time really. I just give Ron [the Scout leader] a call beforehand - it seems to work very well.' (Lee. Int:004)

For many years the Jack was carried by one individual. When he stopped taking part, the rôle was transferred to another individual:

'One of the ex-morris dancers now carries the Jack for us. It used to be somebody who came to the folk club. He did it for years but he was getting older and he's a farmer and it was always lambing time, so it did get to be more and more difficult, and his wife said, "I think it's best if Ron didn't do it any more." So we found somebody else.' (Lee. Int:004)

The individuals who perform the rôles of Robin and Marion change each year but the Jack-carrier, the Fool (Dixie Lee), Boris (Kerry Fletcher) and the M.C. (Howard Lee) are all permanent positions. One further change concerning the use of the Jack was mentioned. At the end of the weekend, after the fête and the displays had finished and the crowds dispersed and those involved had had something to eat, they would reconvene in the evening in another pub for a social gathering to round everything

off. However, as Dixie explains:

> 'We always used to take the Jack in the pub late on Monday night. That died away 'cause they all got older and said, "Oh, we're not coming back out again on Monday night".' (Lee. Int:004)

Another variable aspect is the occasional appearance of the Hooden Horse in the procession. In the first procession, Jim Bywaters carried a Hooden Horse he had made, but after he left appearances became more intermittent. Dixie keeps a Hooden Horse in her loft, and:

> 'If I can persuade anyone to go in him then he does go out with the Jack, but mostly people don't want to know. It's really sad, and my kids have got too big for me to make them any more. If I can get someone in the Horse then we have the Hooden Horse. So we go along beside the Jack and then the rest of the characters are all dancing... Sometime we have Mark Lawson out with his Hooden Horse.' (Lee. Int:004)

Mark Lawson leads a midwinter gang known as the Dead Horse Hoodeners (IQ:035) but he will also sometimes bring his Horse out into the Mayday procession. The morris dance along the sea wall is another change in practice that occurred for no apparent reason. It first happened in 1983 and has remained de rigueur ever since. Simply, as Dixie puts it:

> 'That was the first time they did it. They still do it. It's become part of the tradition that they dance along the sea wall.' (Lee. Int:004)

Among these various changes and developments some have been additions which make the custom grow; other have been minor alterations which have 'just happened'. Both these kinds of change may be regarded as æsthetic and unforced. Those that are successful may become an established norm (even if intermittent). There are also examples of pragmatic changes which are obvious or simple solutions to a need - but it is always to sources in the immediate locality that Dixie looks when such need arises. Various quotations above have referred to a local imperative and this is, as Dixie explains a very deliberate 'policy':

> ' 'Cause it's a local custom. I mean, in the Castle grounds, right from the very beginning, I always said we would invite *local* charities to have stalls, and *local* craftspeople to have stalls. So it comes around and it goes around *in Whitstable* and doesn't go out of Whitstable. People go along and they spend their money in Whitstable - it benefits the charities. [Of] course, the Castle Centre Association, where it's all held, is a charity. So we pay the Castle, right, and we have all the local

charities, they come in, local craftspeople come in, local art club, the horticultural society - all these local groups. I don't want it to be like Rochester. I don't want it to be a great big tourist attraction. I want it to be something that Whitstable does in the springtime and that is basically what it is.' (Lee. Int:004) (Italics indicate words stressed on tape.)

Dixie is committed to Whitstable and she is also the kind of person who gets actively involved in a myriad of different organisations - not all of which relate to her folk interest, although many do. She helped start The Duke Folk Club when she returned to England from South Africa; she helped that club expand into running ceilidhs; she persuaded the club band to perform in other situations; she joined the Castle Centre Association when it was necessary in order to start the festival; she stayed on it to develop the whole May weekend; she joined the Lions when that became necessary in connection with the weekend but is involved in their other activities too. Dixie is also involved in local amateur dramatics, music-hall projects and so on.

These involvements are not undertaken alone; others are always with her although she would not credit herself with the leadership she displays. She is an enthusiast that people follow but she is no egotist and her motivations are always externalised. Nevertheless she is conscious of what her enthusiasm has achieved and is proud of it: she is equally proud of what the people who have been involved in her interest have achieved for themselves. In short, she is the kind of activist and enthusiast that makes things happen around her and delights in the results.

Additional notes and analysis

Although Dixie was and remains the prime mover in the custom, overall organisation is split between different agencies: Oyster Morris organise the morris activities; the Lions (and formerly the Castle Centre Association) organise the fête; Dixie determines the entertainment for the lawn; the Scouts prepare and decorate the Jack, etc. These disparate groups are only co-ordinated for the purposes of the weekend: there is no formal committee overseeing the totality. The Whitstable Jack organisation has no constitution, no rules, no affiliations to other organisations and there are no rehearsals for any part of the weekend. Dixie describes it as:

> 'An informal committee I think. Just me and the people who organise the basic things and the publicity. Those things have got to be organised; the stallholders, the publicity. I do have a committee now. I used to do it all myself, but I've said, "No more." I need help - so I have help. Last year was the first time I had a real committee, but before that I had a couple of people who helped. That's what we try

to do now. We [also] have a banner up across the street - so that's got to be organised.' (Lee. Int:004)

This leads to very loose organisation - sufficient for the event to happen, but no more. The four elements - morris weekend, fête, Castle lawn entertainment, Jack procession - each exist in their own right; they are not dependant on each other and each could exist without the others. Together they complement each other and each has grown as a result of the opportunities offered by the existence of the others. The whole may certainly be described as greater than the sum of its parts and there is potential for the weekend to be promoted as a major tourist attraction, although this would conflict with the 'local' motivation noted above. Other annual events in Whitstable are subject to tourist promotion - although they did not start as tourist attractions. As the following shows, Dixie is fully cognisant of them, enthusiastic and occasionally critical:

'You see, we've all got different priorities on this. We had a meeting with some Councillors the other day and they were saying that they have a co-ordinator and planner in Herne Bay. We have quite a lot of things happening in Whitstable - I suppose being a summer resort place. It starts off with Mayday, and then we have the Regatta and we have the Oyster Festival - these are all sort of fairly major events in the town - and then the Carnival a bit later on, we have that as well - so the summer's really quite busy - and a lot of fun down here.

'The Regatta is the oldest, that's been going 200 years, interrupted by the war. It's not a water-based regatta any more: it all happens up on Tankerton Slopes, but we always have displays over the water - the helicopter and the lifeboat - somebody's rescued and a boat's on fire and we hope to have an aerial display... That's [organised by] the Lions as well... That's far more traditional than Mayday 'cause it's been going for such a long time. Now they've got a separate committee [for the Oyster Festival] and this year it's been taken over by a County Councillor so he knows all the people to talk to - and that has had funding from the Council for the last few years. Now they're talking about bringing in this co-ordinator from Herne Bay - and we've told him [i.e. the Councillor] that we don't want him. We might use his expertise now and then but we certainly don't want him coming along and telling us what to do. But because of the meeting it does mean that people from the different organisations met with one another - like somebody from the Carnival committee said, "Oh, we're going to be in Faversham Carnival next week but we haven't got a generator," - 'cause it's a night-time one - so Lions were able to say, "We've got a generator you can borrow, no problem," but before we weren't communicating with each other. Each one was doing their own little bit. I think it's been decided that we will have another meeting. Some of the Councillors do come up with stupid ideas!'

'There's been a Whitstable Week for years and then it was called the Oyster Festival - a long time - I don't know how long. The main thing is the landing of the oysters. They usually invite dignitaries from all the towns - this is where all their money goes out, this breakfast for the Mayors from all the local towns. They land the oysters and then they have the blessing of the waters, and stuff like that. I don't see it being a family-based festival. They have the theatre and they have a comedian and they have

the brass band with concerts down there and that sort of thing - and then pubs put on their own entertainment a lot that week.' (Lee. Int:004)

These events are crowded with tourists and Dixie is fearful of Mayday going the same way. As she says:

'I mean, yes, we have friends who come down from London, like yourselves, and that's absolutely lovely to see, 'cause we know that you're enthusiastic about these sort of things, but we don't want it to become like Rochester - a tourist attraction and not involving local people. The important thing to me is the Jack - that's what's so important - but to the Lions, it's making money up at the Castle. I want to walk round the Castle and greet my friends, and see people I know.' (Lee. Int:004)

Whitstable Mayday is advertised in the local tourist guide (*Leisure in the South-East*) and the posters for Mayday are sent via the tourist offices to Canterbury and Herne Bay, but more for the benefit of the fundraising organisations that are involved than for the promotion of the Jack itself and its procession. Despite the strong local focus already noted, the Jack has performed out of Whitstable - but only as a wandering Jack. Boris went too but there was no associated morris or processional ritual. As Dixie recalls:

'He went up to the festival that Jim Lloyd used to organise at the South Bank [Arts Centre in London] a few years back, with the chap who always used to be inside it. They sort of walked about for the whole week. They went up every day with fresh flowers and Boris the bear was with them. That's the only time he's ever been out of Whitstable, and that was for a folklore festival.' (Lee. Int:004)

Thus, as a recognised 'item' of folklore, the Jack contributed to a folklore festival but there was no attempt to recreate the ritual as performed in Whitstable or to act as a promotional tool for the town per se.

If one applies the approach argued by Trevor Stone, and discussed in Ch.7, then the Mayday weekend, the Regatta, the Oyster Festival and the Carnival are all community focal points in the year but, judging by the comments above, only the Mayday weekend is culturally embedded rather than overtaken by a 'tourism' imperative although there do appear to be pressures in that direction. Dixie is not alone in her view of what the weekend means. Several Whitstable people who now live away come back for the weekend - a tendency noted amongst former locals at other culturally embedded calendar customs - and local people who are not involved in the organisation itself can also feel a personal involvement and investment in it - for example:

'This lady died earlier this year. It's really sad. She really loved Mayday. Her and her husband had got the cottage just inside the Castle grounds - they've been caretakers just for so many years it's incredible. She used to love Mayday and you'd go round there and she'd be baking things and freezing things and making jam - and she always had this stall outside for all the years right up until this year and she was there for this year - she wasn't well - and I said, "Oh, Lilian, just enjoy it this year," and she really enjoyed it. I saw her afterwards and she said, "Oh, I did have a lovely time," and then the next week she'd died.' (Lee. Int:004)

Other recent Jack-in-the-Green revivals in the South East have become rapidly adopted by the local establishment, in the form of local government, as tourist attractions. The Rochester (Kent) Sweeps Parade, which also runs over the Mayday Bank Holiday weekend and ostensibly derives from an earlier Jack procession organised by sweeps, is co-ordinated by the local Council which also pays for a large number of visiting professional folk acts and contributes to the cost of visiting morris sides. The full page advertisement for the 1993 'Rochester Sweeps May Festival' which was placed in ED&S (v.55:1) offered, in addition to the Jack: a Euro Concert, 80 dance teams and additional entertainment. The Festival Producer was Gordon Newton and information could be obtained from the Rochester Tourist Information Centre. It is widely promoted as a tourist attraction with a glossy 'programme' produced. The 1997 programme listed 124 dance display teams (mainly morris) which had been 'invited'. The Hastings (Sussex) Jack-in-the-Green revival, another Mayday Bank Holiday event, has developed similarly. As its prime mover writes:

'In 1884 the Jack in the Green was seen for the last time... Ninety years later he reappeared with the Hastings-based Mad Jack's Morris Dancers, about ten people paraded a Jack in the Green round the town and the people of Hastings seemed well pleased to see it out again. Since then the custom has grown into a large event attracting morris dancers and street musicians from all over the country. The event lasts all weekend and is developing into a mini folk festival. This year [1989] we are expecting over 600 dancers.' (Leech.1989)

In comparing these three modern manifestations of the Jack it is probably fair to say that, in terms of the totality of activities, Rochester and Hastings are now constructed as events for outside visitors whilst Whitstable is still orientated primarily towards local community celebration. This has certainly been the intention behind the Whitstable event and possibly it has been able to keep this orientation simply because it has not been beholden to financial support from agencies with a different priority. Even so, increasing costs have led to the organisation seeking financial support. As Dixie explains:

'D'you know, we actually got a grant from the Council this year. It's the first time. The Council granted £40,000 or something towards local arts, like local festivals, so

I applied to them and I actually got £443 - which was the deficit on the present year.

'I had to send them all the accounts and what have you. I could have got up to £800 I think, but when I sent them the accounts - I shall get it all next year. But this is the first time the Council have ever acknowledged that it happens. But it's only because a local Councillor runs the Oyster Festival, which is the other one which happens during the summer time. They said something about making it more local but quite honestly I don't see how I could. No, I'm not going to be dictated to.' (Lee. Int:004)

Dixie wants the event to be recognised and appreciated at an official level but not taken over or controlled by what remain, in her view, agencies outside of the present organisational structure. She is happy for the event to develop and grow but not for it to become like other tourist-orientated folk festivals she has seen in Kent and of which she is critical:

'Over in Faversham, I think it's Gordon - the guy who organises Rochester - has taken over their Hopping Festival[10], and you go there on a Saturday of the Hopping Festival and you can't walk down the street for morris dancers - and you cannot get by to go and do your shopping. They have the Pearly Kings and Queens singing in the market square which is lovely and one year they had The Wurzels and that was great fun and the people in the square were really enjoying it. All the old folk were out there singing all the old songs - had a lovely time - but you go round the corner and there's just so many morris dancers you cannot walk down the street. I don't think that's a lot of fun for a lot of people... If we go back to being just Oyster Morris and their two guest sides next year, that's fine. That's not a problem. Morris is lovely, but people don't want to stand around [for] hours watching it.' (Lee. Int:004)

The costs of the Whitstable weekend are various. The costs incurred by Oyster Morris in hosting the visiting teams are offset by the collections when they dance out on the Saturday, and the Saturday night public ceilidh also largely pays for itself, but these monies are quite distinct from the costs of mounting the weekend. which are listed as:

'[We] pay the Castle, publicity, and we pay the [professional] artists who perform on the lawn. Pay Quentin for the P.A. The difficulty is that you can't actually charge people to come into the Castle grounds so you have to sell them a programme. The Castle grounds are for anyone who wants to come in - for the public. So therefore I have to persuade people to buy programmes. And then of course we have to charge people for booking fees for the stalls - but only minimal, we don't charge a lot, 'cause most of them are charities.' (Lee. Int:004)

The sale of programmes is a job for the Lions. They also provide the up-front cash for advance costs and cover the event through their public liability insurance. They have other rôles and:

'They have the manpower as well - for manning the gates and stewarding [at the Castle] 'cause it gets so busy up there. You've got to have responsible people.' (Lee. Int:004)

Several of these areas were formerly serviced by the body responsible for the Castle:

'...we used the Castle Steering Committee because they had the Castle and we wanted to do it there, and I had to become a member of that committee. But in the end... I said, "No, I'm not going to do it any more [with them]"... The people on the Steering Committee did actually help for the first few Maydays - but it was difficult.' (Lee. Int:004)

One downside of not being formally (institutionally) organised is the fact that, for the last few years, a local marathon has been organised on the Monday and actually conflicts with the Jack procession, as Dixie explains:

'The marathon goes off at eleven - before we dance down. Talk about non-co-operative! They never came to talk to us about it or anything. They just suddenly started to do it. So this year we were a bit early leaving and what happened was that by the time we got up to the Horsebridge, where they walk along the sea wall, the runners were coming back. We have a lovely fight with them. I just laugh a lot. They never came along and said, "Can we co-operate in some way or another?" They haven't got a right of way. We don't stop anybody from going anywhere.' (Lee. Int:004)

Those who organise the custom have a relationship with the other organisations that are involved in the associated activities and with the town at large, but apparently not with other organisations. This may be viewed as self-sufficiency or as insularity but, as is shown in subsequent Case Studies, it is not uncommon.

Passing it on in the future

It is obvious from the tenor of the quotations from Dixie Lee which are used in this study that she is deeply involved in the custom. It is also apparent that she is the driving force behind it and effectively the single link throughout the progress of the revival. There is also evidence that she feels increasingly that she has less energy to put into the custom for, as she says:

'I was enthusiastic about this when I was young. Some years it's a real chore and other years I just really enjoy it.' (Lee. Int:004)

This raises the question of the future of the custom and, although it is not the object of the study to speculate on the future, it is worth noting Dixie's current position in this respect:

'I don't doubt somebody could take this over, but at the moment there isn't anybody that I could say, "You take it over for me," 'cause there just isn't. If I moved away then somebody would have to.

'All the paperwork is around. Somebody could do it, but there just isn't anybody around here with my connections. The stalls at the Castle wouldn't suffer. The morris dancing wouldn't suffer. But organising somebody to do the Jack, to be in the Jack, and to organise the programme on the lawn is what I do. They *could* do it but it would suddenly become very different I would think, and if I find somebody and I can say to them, "O.K., I want you to take over more," and this is what I'm trying to do now. I'm saying, now the Lions club is big enough, I can say, "Will you do this for me and will somebody else do something else?" but before we were sort of only eleven or ten of us and you haven't got enough people that you can say. Now its bigger and I can say, "You take responsibility for this," and I can gradually get rid of things. But at the moment, I don't know who I could say, "Do this." I've got to find somebody... I'm very eager to introduce new thoughts and new things, but I don't really want to alter it. On the other hand, I don't want to be dictatorial about what happens because what happens has evolved - not by me saying, "Right, this year we're going to change".' (Lee. Int:004)

There are ambiguities in Dixie's attitude to the custom. She wants the custom to develop but doesn't want to alter it. She wants to delegate certain areas of work but wants to guide how they are conducted. She emphasises the local but welcomes some visitors, introduces outside performers and has even taken the Jack out of the town. She enjoys the scale of the event and the fact of its growth, but wouldn't be concerned if it reverted to just the core characters, Oyster Morris and their guests.

These ambiguities do not need to be reconciled. Such considerations do not normally impinge on the conduct of the activity, although the fact that they can be expressed reinforces the idea that emic analysis is not only possible but often present. Individuals like Dixie are not uncommon amongst the groups studied: they are people around whom the tradition takes place and without whom, in times of stress for the tradition, continuation may falter. This is a major consideration which is discussed in later chapters.

Summary

In reviving the Jack, as much information as possible was gleaned concerning the pre-1912 performances and used in the new custom. The Whitstable Jack is an example of the type of

transformation and change of function discussed earlier in the thesis. The pre-1912 Jack appears to be of the type styled indigenous by Judge (1979), while the 'new' Jack is very much a product of the Folk Revival. There is a significant change of function across the lapse but, in this instance, the revival seems to remain culturally embedded. The form of the revived Jack was modelled on the old photographs, as were the costumes for the Robin and Marion characters. However, the making of the whole was not limited by the information available and new elements were readily added. Some innovations have been specific to certain years, some have happened for a few years and then ceased, some happen intermittently, others have become an established part of the annual proceedings. Both need-driven and æsthetic changes have been noted.

The activities that comprise the Whitstable Mayday have not simply been created and developed to their current state by the originating organiser(s). They (and in particular Dixie) have undoubtedly, and with determination, shaped and, to an extent, controlled that development - but it has been done, and continues to be done, in reciprocity with other individuals, groups and organisations who also have a vested interest and their own agendas - some commercial, some charitable and some simply as consumers or providers of entertainment. The prime mover sees the function of the weekend as being for and by the local community and has introduced elements (often peripheral rather than central) which widen the involvement of that community. She has also allowed elements to drop when she feels she no longer has the energy to do them herself and has nobody at hand to pass them on to. However, she will resist changes that she feels are inappropriate and will do whatever is necessary to maintain the custom. There is no singular overall vision of the weekend, and in some aspects, attitudes to the custom are ambiguous. The custom evolves in its own way but it has occasional guidance or prodding from those who have strong feelings about a particular aspect.

The organisation overall is a collection of individuals and groups and each has a specific rôle. The organisation is minimal: people do as much as is necessary for it to work and no more. Those who participate each take benefit or pleasure from the event in their own terms - they do not have a common goal other than that it happens. The custom demonstrates that a communal activity or celebration does not necessarily mean a common community experience or objective. Organised as it is, the custom has room for individuals, or groups of individuals, to invest of themselves and to derive individual satisfaction; it can also serve the needs of a number of very different community organisations in the town. At bottom, the pleasure for the prime mover is, simply, the Jack - as she says:

'The important thing to me is the Jack - that's what's so important...

'I always get choked up when the Jack comes out. Always, always, always. There is something *so* powerful about it when it comes out. You've got to do it, haven't you? You've just got to do it.' (Lee. Int:004)

CASE STUDY No.2

THE BRITANNIA COCONUT DANCERS (BACUP, LANCASHIRE)

Britannia is an area of the town of Bacup which lies in the Rossendale valley in Lancashire, and was formerly the site of the Britannia Mill. Sources for the Case Study are various. Tess Buckland, an expert on popular and ethnic dance, has published research articles on the Coconut Dancers from Tunstead Mill (Buckland.1986) and on the Bacup tradition itself (Buckland.1990). The tradition was also one of those featured in the Channel 4 programme *The Future of Things Past* (T:002). Coconut dancing appears to have been more or less continuous in the area since first recorded in the 1850s and in Bacup itself since the present team formed in the 1920s. The team responded to the Initial Questionnaire (IQ:246) and four members (Ian O'Brien, Tom Healey (Treasurer), Joe Healey (Secretary) and Ken Harvey) were subsequently interviewed collectively (Int:020). It was not practical to tape record the interview and hence much of the information given, and included in the Case Study, appears as narrative rather than quotation. The team have had the opportunity to examine the draft Case Study in order to correct any errors in my, and my wife's, memories of what we were told. Members have also provided: a copy of an undated A4 publicity sheet (Supp:246), a 3-page information text on 'The Britannia Coco-nut Dancers of Bacup' headed paper over the name 'S. Grundy, Treasurer' dated 1987 (Grundy.1987), and a manuscript letter from the 1951 Hon. Sec. of the group (Bracewell.1951).

Current practice

Every Easter Saturday the Britannia Coconut Dancers, or 'The Nutters', are they are known both locally and within the Folk Revival sub-culture, maintain the tradition of a dancing tour of Bacup. The costumes they wear are unique and, although the garland dances in the repertoire are in some aspects comparable to other Lancashire garland dances, the 'Nut' dances are also unique. The costumes are described in the Nutters' own promotional literature, thus:

> 'Our dress consists of white hats decorated with red or blue riband and red and blue pom poms, a rosette and a blue feather (the leader wears a red feather). Black polo neck sweaters, black knee britches, in velvet, with red piping and bells at the knees. Over the breaches [sic] is a short kilt of white material with three red hoops and a white shoulder strap over one shoulder. White stockings and black clogs complete the costume. The clogs are most certainly a Lancashire addition.' (Grundy.1987)

The repertoire includes two kinds of dance, the Garland and the Nut dances, the latter being capable

of performance either in procession or in square (i.e. quadrille) formation. Buckland offers a succinct description of the custom:

> 'The coconuts are not in fact actual coconut shells but circular pieces of wood, normally maple, used for its hard "ringing" quality. These wooden disks are attached to the palms of the hands and above each knee with leather straps, and a slightly larger circle of wood is positioned on the right side of the waist. Throughout the performance the dancers primarily strike the palm nuts of each other, and occasionally their own. In one figure, the knee nuts of adjacent dancers are also tapped. In addition to the coconut dance, which can be performed in two files of four, in a file of eight, or in a square formation, the Britannia Coconut Dancers include in their repertoire five figures of a garland dance, similar to a set of quadrilles. On Easter Saturday the dancers, in single file on either side of the road, advance through the streets of Bacup using a running polka step, and halt at staggered intervals to perform two or three figures from the coconut dance. Along the left side of the street the nine musicians steadily march in single file playing a polka tune, until alerted by a whistle blast from the dancers' leader to finish. During the regular stops at public houses, old people's residencies, working men's clubs, and in the town square, the dancers usually give two presentations from their repertoire while collectors move amongst the crowd for cash contributions. The number of local residents who watch - standing at windows, doors, and gates, shopping or drinking in the pubs and clubs - are swollen by hundreds of visitors eager to witness the "Nutters" on their famed traditional day of dance.' (Buckland.1990)

The music is supplied by a silver band. One promotional sheet issued by the Nutters claims that:

> '... the Britannia Coconutters dance their way through the streets of Bacup, starting off at 9 a.m., and wearing out a full set of clog irons in the course of the day's dancing, during which they cover about 65 miles, entirely within the borough boundaries!' (SQ:246)

In interview, members estimated that the dance route was approximately seven miles, and that they actually covered some fifteen miles in dancing - which included stops at twenty-two public houses. Some of these are so crowded that the landlord and bar staff have to clear a space behind the bar for the Nutters to perform. Many landlords are happy to supply beer for the Nutters, and one informant estimated that something in the order of 40 pints might be consumed during the day. In addition to the dancers themselves and the band, the party includes the leader who carries both a whistle and a whip. In performance the leader is known as the 'Whipper-in' or, (more properly according to Bracewell in 1951), 'The Whiffler' (IQ:246) and wears a similar costume to the dancers, as do the collectors who constantly elicit contributions from the onlookers.

This is the content of the Easter public performances, but the Nutters do not confine their appearances

to the 'once a year' custom. They are willing, if enough men agree, to turn out for local fêtes and functions, and they also make occasional appearances within the Folk Revival at festivals and major events. In total, these may be regarded as three distinct arenas of performance. At these excursions the music is supplied by an English concertina rather than a silver band. The terms on which they may take such local or more distant engagements is discussed below. Performance in Bacup is listed as the most important to the group and the importance of other bookings diminishes the further afield they travel (IQ:246).

Background of the group and performance

The origin of the Britannia team, if not their definitive start date, is fairly well documented:

> 'The first "Coconutters" were a Stacksteads group called the Tunstead Mill Troupe, which was formed in 1857... Another troupe were the Lee Mill dancers, one of whom, Mr. James Mawdsley, moved to Britannia in 1903, joined the Working Men's Club there, and was instrumental in the formation of the Britannia Coconutters.' (SQ:246)

It is not clear when the Britannia team first danced as such. Even if a Britannia team *was* formed at the instigation of Mr. Mawdsley in the 1900s, it must have lapsed for, on 18th April 1951, Mr. A. Bracewell, the then 'Hon. Sec.' of the team, wrote:

> 'The present troupe was formed in 1922, or 3. I got 8 young men to learn the dance under the tuition of two old Dancers namely Mr. E. Nuttal of Rockliffe and Mr. J. Pilkington of Waterfoot and believe me they had a job on as it is a very difficult dance and requires a lot of learning and constant practice.' (Bracewell.1951)

The present team can trace an unbroken continuity from this 1920s group. Tess Buckland's research indicates that Nut dancing was at one time more widespread in the area:

> 'At least five troupes other than the Tunstead Mill team were in operation in and around the Rossendale Valley: the Lee Mill troupe; a group from Rawtenstall; the Cloughfold Cokernut Dancers; a team from the Delph quarries at nearby Shawforth; and a young team whose members were the sons of the older Tunstead Mill dancers. The Lee Mill troupe operated contemporaneously with the Tunstead Mill dancers at a geographical distance of about a mile; a possible factor contributing to the former's collapse in 1886 (*Bacup Times 1938*). Knowledge of the Shawforth team is very limited, and it may well be that the Cloughfold and Rawtenstall teams are one and the same, Cloughfold being a community within the Borough of Rawtenstall. The Cokernut Dancers of Cloughfold performed at the Coronation Celebrations in

Rochdale in 1911 (*Rochdale Observer*), but thereafter, as an identifiable group at least, they disappear from the written record... The catastrophic effects of the First World War on the cultural life and the male population of Britain put an end to the Rawtenstall team and the two troupes from Tunstead Mill.' (Buckland.1990)

The Britannia repertoire includes both Nut and Garland dances - the latter being not uncommon within the Northwest morris tradition, although not in a square formation. Tess Buckland has investigated the occurrence of these dances in the area concluding that in Whitworth (from whence according to local legend (Buckland.1990), the teachers of the old Tunstead Mill team had come):

'In contrast to the Britannia troupe, separate teams of garland and coconut dancers were the norm in Whitworth. In 1910 a brief revival, following a lapse of over twenty years, once again fielded discrete teams (see Pilling. 1965 and *Rochdale Observer* 1910). The activity in Whitworth then lapsed.' (Buckland.1990)

It appears that both Nut and Garland dances were performed by the Tunstead Mill team and further elements of the custom as maintained by the Britannia troupe also appear to derive from the Tunstead Mill team. Tess Buckland has identified: the attribution of blue and red feathers to the 'men's' and 'ladies'' sides of the dance; the title, function and behaviour of the Whipper-in, and the costume. She concludes that:

'... the description accords well with what is known of the Tunstead Mill team from oral and visual material. Photographic evidence indicates that the Britannia dancers have merely updated their costumes rather than radically altered its form...' (Buckland.1986)

The conclusion must be that the Britannia dancers effectively took over where the Tunstead Mill team left off, subsequently developing in the way all teams have been shown to do in this study. This account begs the question of where the dances themselves came from to the Tunstead Mill team but that is not the concern of this study and the question has been addressed in detail by Buckland (1986 & 1990).

Management and operations

Officers & decision making

The Leader of the team, who also acts as the Whipper-in, is invariably the longest serving member - although this is not necessarily the oldest member. Members of the team reported that it is operated

in a 'democratic' fashion. The questionnaire return indicated that at practice meetings the Secretary raises issues and jobs and that the group vote on them (IQ:246) but, certainly in performance, the Leader has authority and makes the decisions: when and where to stop and perform, how to deal with traffic and crowds, etc. Much of this is dictated by custom but there are always decisions to be made on the day, and these fall to the Leader. He also deals with any disciplinary matters (IQ:246). If there are any arguments during performance, I was told, 'you don't argue about it on the day, you argue about it afterwards' (Int:020). The 'democratic' aspect manifests in collective decision-making and appears to operate in non-performance situations such as deciding which bookings the team will accept: invitations would come in and be put to the team - if enough members said 'yes' then they would do it. It was also apparent that the decision to respond to the Initial Questionnaire and the subsequent decision to grant me an interview had been collective. Apart from the Leader, the only other officers of the team are the Secretary and Treasurer. These officers are voted into post 'depending on who is prepared to do it' (Int:020). Here again, the indication is that collective discussion and informal negotiation resolves any competition for the post - or absence of volunteers. There was a feeling, expressed by former Secretary Ian O'Brien, that there were dangers in a group being too organised. If the officers over-stepped the mark in 'trying to be too proper' they would have a mutiny on their hands. There is undoubtedly a balance needed in the use of the authority that the team has given to its officers.

Membership

The current membership is entirely local. Two members of the team are involved in other aspects of performance: Ian O'Brien plays English concertina in a folk-dance band, and Ken Harvey performs pub singalong material - 'Come Home Again Kathleen and that sort of stuff' (Int:020). Apart from these two, none of the team is involved in any other folk activity. The age range of the membership is wide. The present leader is the oldest of the group by some twenty years over the next men, a group in their forties, and younger men are also members. Length of service is calculated by the number of Easter Saturdays on which a man has taken part. Age itself is not an indication of how long a man may have been a member - at least two of the forty year-olds have only been members for three years - but there does appear to be a history of long service once one joins:

'Information on.. [the Tunstead Mill] 1857 troupe is slight but at least two dancers,
Abraham Spencer and William Hargreaves, who became cocoanutters fairly soon after
the team's inception were still actively associated with the tradition in 1907.'
(Buckland.1986)

The presence of a second team at Tunstead Mill 'whose members were the sons of the older Tunstead Mill dancers' may be a further indication that older dancers tended to keep dancing well into older age rather than retiring for the benefit of the younger generation. If this habit too transferred from Tunstead Mill to Britannia, this would account for the wide age range noted in the present team and in the team of two decades earlier (Doc Rowe - personal communication). An alternative explanation may simply be that there is only a finite number of places in the dance team - the dance set requires eight; the team perform to a single musician except for Easter Saturday itself when a non-member silver band play. With the addition of a few spares to take turns or collect, the team is complete and there is no capacity for additional members as there is in many groups. Given this situation the team will tend to become close-knit with little or no turnover - until men can no longer dance, or die. This would itself lead to some degree of bunching of age bands across a wide range.

The IQ indicated that new members were selected by 'existing members' invitation (although anyone would be considered if keen)' (IQ:246). Ken Harvey recalled that he was invited to join the team some twenty years ago, and described having remembered the Nutters as a child, and following them. He felt that it was a part of him. There have been experiences in the past of people who have come along and joined the Nutters for a few years and then leaving to go and do something else. This is the primary reason given for why local people are preferred: people who have grown up with the Easter Saturday tradition, for whom it is part of the norm, and who are enthusiastic and committed. Recruitment of new members to fill occasional gaps appears, not surprisingly, to be done from acquaintance groups (which would tend to provide men of similar age to the recruiters) or by inviting individuals (like Ken Harvey) who had been noticed as having a commitment. Members were described as 'self-selecting' - perhaps referring to the commitment aspect - but numbers dropped 'about three or four years ago' (Int:020) and the team advertised locally for new people. Each man is responsible for his own costume - for making or having it made, and for maintaining it. The kilts, in particular, are reportedly very difficult to make.

Objectives

The Britannia Coconut Dancers do not have a constitution but do have rules. There is no formal AGM and any 'business' takes place at practice nights which serve as an opportunity to discuss matters such as forthcoming bookings or arrangements for Easter Saturday. There is neither a formal nor informal committee although the group does have appointed officers. The objectives of the group were listed in the questionnaire return as three-fold:

'To continue tradition; Enjoyment; Support local charitable events'. (IQ:246)

Commitment to continuity of tradition in many groups has already been explored in Ch.8 and, for the Nutters, it was certainly evident in interview. Tangentially, the effect of that commitment was also observed in the commentary to *The Future of Things Past* programme, as follows:

> 'No matter what the weather is like, it's Spring, and the Britannia Coconut Dancers come out with stoic good humour to perform their seven mile, day long, dance.' (T:002 - commentary)

The Nutters reported that two of their dances had almost dropped out of the repertoire. In particular No.4 - 'the twisty one' - had faded away because it was the most complex, the most difficult to learn and the most difficult to execute properly. A deliberate decision was made to bring these dances back into the repertoire rather than lose them. The revival of these two dances moved the tradition forwards, but by restoring an earlier state of the tradition. This is a trait that has been noted in customs several times and is discussed later in the study.

Enjoyment of the dancing featured strongly in the comments that the Nutters made to camera during the filming of the Channel 4 programme *The Future of Things Past* in which their Easter custom featured - 'the dancing is the pure enjoyment of the thing' (T:002) - and the enjoyment is apparent both in film of the dancing and in the enthusiasm with which they talk about it.

Reference has already been made to an earlier Secretary's opinion that the dance is 'a very difficult dance and requires a lot of learning and constant practice.' Quite apart from the five Garland dances, the Nut dance itself (in whatever form) has a total of thirty-nine different sequences. Rehearsals - or more correctly 'practice nights' - are conducted throughout the year. When the clocks change for Winter (i.e. to Greenwich Mean Time) they practise every fortnight and when they change to British Summer Time they become weekly although, as Ken Harvey observed at this point in the conversation, 'Some of them ought to be doing it daily.'

There are very definite standards applied to who may and may not dance out in public and decisions in this area are made by the whole group (IQ:246). Those who are not considered good enough to dance out at Easter can dress up and act as collectors. One man who joined the interview at a later stage had only been dancing for a few weeks but his arrival raised the number of members present to five - enough for four men to demonstrate part of the Nut dance accompanied by concertina.

Sequences which he had theoretically learnt were selected for the demonstration and his occasional errors gave rise to teasing comments as to whether he would be allowed to dance out next Easter - some four weeks after the interview. Each dance is known by a number and also has a nickname deriving from some feature within that dance's figures.

The Nutters maintain a Building Society account, to which the three officers are signatories (IQ:246). Formerly, some of the cash in hand was invested in premium bonds and on one occasion a significant win resulted in several people 'coming out of the woodwork' and, basically, claiming a share of the proceeds. However the immediate issue was resolved, the team realised it was necessary for the future to establish a method of identifying who were legitimate members. The total assets of the group were calculated when anyone subsequently joined and the new member was required to pay a joining fee of one twelfth of the assets. They also received a twelfth of the current assets if they left. After some time the system was changed so that joining fees were no longed required but a new member did not receive a 'share' until the equivalent had been recovered by the group. This system no longer pertains, but it may be noted that the introduction and variation of these systems were the pragmatic responses to immediate problems. The systems did not become 'written in stone' but were subsequently adapted as need - the state of the accounts and the pressure from external sources - changed. Providing there is enough to meet the team's need, money is not a driving force.

Pride and Ownership

The Nutters are tremendously proud of their tradition. Publicity material from the 1950s introduces them as 'Lancashire's Premier Dancing Troupe' and lists recent engagements as 'Royal Albert Hall, London - Harringay [sic] Arena, London - Milton Hall, Manchester - Free Trade Hall, Manchester - Birmingham - Leicester - Nottingham - Newcastle University Rag Week, 1951.' (Supp:246) This pride is maintained in the present team who mentioned several non-local engagements which they regard as prestigious, particularly some Morris Ring events and the Sidmouth International Folklore Festival. One interviewee recalled a more recent visit to the Albert Hall as part of an EFDSS event: He described sitting backstage, being conscious that the event was nearly finished and:

> 'Hearing the announcement, "Thank you all for coming", etc. I thought they'd forgotten us, and then they introduced us as "the premier dance side of England to finish off" - I felt so proud - not for me but for Bacup.' (Int:020)

This pride has also been observed by Buckland (1990) and it is apparent in the 1987 publicity

(Grundy), but it is a collective rather than an individual pride and, as demonstrated in the quote above, is located in the community/locality of which the Nutters are a distinctive part. Pride and commitment were also manifest in the interview. The fact that five men had turned up, prepared beforehand to demonstrate a part of their tradition - a concertina and a set of Nuts had been brought - and to spend an evening talking about it, is evidence not only of their pride but of their willingness to show and discuss their tradition with a stranger who they believed to be seriously interested in it. They had even brought photocopies of relevant material, and more was sent to me afterwards. Over the years the Nutters have had to face the glare of publicity on a regular basis, as Buckland observes:

> 'The strange appearance of this tradition and its status as a unique custom of regional and national significance have attracted fairly regular (if slight analytical) attention from the media since the late 1940s.' (Buckland.1990)

The pride in their unique tradition is also manifest in the feeling that it is *theirs*; that there is an issue of ownership. This is not a recent development, and it still pertains. Buckland again:

> 'With the death of Cecil Sharp in 1924, the task of collecting the repertoire of this unusual group fell to his former assistant, Maud Karpeles. The performers... resisted this attempt to document and disseminate their much prized coconut dance, but they later came to enjoy the patronage and increasing fame which association with the English Folk Dance Society brought them.
>
> 'Respect for the Britannia dancers' wish that their tradition not be imitated prohibits a full notation of the dance here.' (Buckland.1990)

The team recognise the fact that there are other dance sides in the area, mostly performing Northwest morris, and that at least one side in the local area has recently started performing a nut dance but the opportunity to explore the team's reactions did not arise.

Choosing Bookings

The retention, by the team, of their extraordinary tradition has probably served to enhance their reputation and increase the invitations to appear at various events. The team are conscious of the possibility of their being exploited and guard against it by the application of variable appearance fees. When there is spare money they are often willing to perform at local fêtes to 'help them out for charity' (IQ:246) for little or no fee - as already noted, one of the objectives given for the group was to 'support local charitable events'. There are concerns over the team being over-exposed. It was felt that the decline of some other teams was as a result of their doing too many performances and people

becoming bored with it. This may apply to both audiences and performers, and a similar concern was observed amongst the Symondsbury Mummers amongst whom it was considered that over-exposure 'nearly killed the team off' in the 1950s (T:001). Closely connected with concerns of over-exposure are concerns about being taken advantage of or 'ripped off'. Both concerns are dealt with by the expedient of varying the fee they quote when invited to perform. If the event, locally or further afield, is something that the team really want to do then there is little concern about income as long as they do not end up out of pocket, but if that enthusiasm is not present then the price will be raised. Sometimes, but not invariably, a really big fee will persuade the team to take a booking they would otherwise not have wished to do. The acceptance or rejections of invitations is a balance between availability of dancers, the level of enthusiasm to undertake that particular booking, and the fee level.

Further observations

The absence of formality in the group - the lack of committees, the collective problem solving, and the avoidance of 'being too strict' - may appear, in contrast to many arts organisations, to be indicative of a lack of discipline. Such a view cannot be sustained after a conversation with group members. There are common bonds amongst the group, including; commitment and attitude (to the dancing and to the locality), enthusiasm, to 'properness' in performance, and so on. Standards are also important. The absence of formality arises from the fact that it is not necessary. The team is able to function perfectly well without it, and when problems do arise they can be dealt with collectively (and pragmatically) - which itself can strengthen the bonds within the group. The members have nothing in common as a group other than their involvement in it (IQ:246). Authority is given to a few individuals - the officers - and each has particular functions to perform, but that authority must be exercised within limits collectively held by the group.

Like other groups encountered in this study which are both committed to their locality and respected by its population, they have accrued a large body of metafolklore. In addition to the Albert Hall anecdote quoted above, two further examples illustrate that metafolklore can concern items beyond the activity itself and that it can also be self-deprecating - very much a part of the shared experience.

Ken Harvey related that on one occasion, when the team was dancing in Blackpool, he was standing out to give someone else a turn when he became aware of a lady standing beside him crying. He discovered that as a young girl she had been evacuated from Bacup during the War and had not thought of it again - until that moment when she saw the Nutters, heard the tune, and remembered.

On another occasion, during an Easter Saturday, the team was performing No.4 - with the 'twirly' bits - and one of the dancers caught his clog in a grating. He spun and fell, to be rapidly 'followed by the next man, and the next, and the next...' (Int:020). The recounting of the tale was a stimulus for general laughter.

Several minor changes or developments in the custom have been noted above: costume changes from that inherited from the Tunstead Mill team, subscription methods and the status of membership, the performance repertoire, and so on. The processional route on the Easter Saturday had been the same for about ten years but had changed to the current route because 'they suddenly realised it was easier dancing down hill than it was dancing up hill' (Int:020). Doubtless more changes have taken place, but such things do not affect the emic view that the tradition is constant and unchanging. More evidence on this aspect is apparent in the next Case Study, but one further point became more and more apparent while drafting the Case Study.

There have been a number of theories about the origin of the dances, and the Nutters are happy to recount them all - with equal neutrality. The public information issued by the group tends to hint at the possible antiquity of these dance types: referring to 'Feudalism' or 'the Lord of the Manor' (Bracewell.1951), to 'Moorish pirates' (SQ:246), to dances 'lost in the mists of time' or 'Morris Dancing... first introduced into England from Spain in the reign of Edward III' (Grundy.1987). Such references add mystery and glamour for the outsider, and are the very stuff of modern media texts. For example:

> 'Nuttiest of all is the little Lancashire town of Bacup, on the moors above Burnley when, each Easter Saturday, the Britannia Coconut Dancers hop, skip and tap their way through crowded streets in celebration of a centuries-old event...
>
> 'It seems that on a dark and stormy night some 500 years ago, a vessel with a motley crew of Moorish pirates came to grief on the rugged Cornish coast...' (Larner.1996)

However, in interview the members did not mention antiquity, 'propitiating the Gods' (Grundy.1987), etc. at all, except as one of the more dubious theories of origin. Their concerns are with the known history, with the present, with the tradition being maintained, with pride in their performances and with 'the pure enjoyment of the thing.'

CASE STUDY No. 3

THE HUNTING OF THE EARL OF RONE: COMBE MARTIN (NORTH DEVON)

This calendar custom is one with which the writer has been closely involved since 1970 when a reconstruction of the custom was made. The custom had previously ceased following the 1837 performance. The information is therefore drawn from personal notes made each year since 1970, as well as on questionnaire returns from the Joint Chairmen of the managing group, the Earl of Rone Council, and conversations over the years with current and previous members. These informants include members of the Ackland, Barnett, Brown, Dovell, Hartley, Quaintance, Westcott and Worth families but the conversations were not recorded or transcribed although they have informed my annual notes on the ceremony. In consequence this Case Study, like the previous one, does not follow what will be the usual pattern - of developing commentary around quotations - but is presented throughout as narrative text. Further information is from my published account (Brown.1987), minutes of EoR Council meetings and both the official archive and various personal archives of participants. Personal involvement and close acquaintance with a large number of participants has allowed greater detail to be recorded for this Case Study than for others.

Current form of the ceremony

The 'Hunting' comprises a series of processions through the streets of the village of Combe Martin, on the north coast of Exmoor in Devon, which take place over the Spring Bank Holiday weekend each year. The participants are purportedly touring the village hunting for an outlaw - The Earl of Rone. The Friday evening procession comprises a Hobby Horse, Fool, party of six to ten costumed 'grenadiers', and drummers. On Sunday afternoon the procession is joined by musicians playing a single tune repeatedly. On the Monday evening one party, consisting of the 'grenadiers' with two drummers, leaves the 'Stable'[1] and processes to beyond the head of the village where the grenadiers enter a wood and 'discover' the Earl of Rone hiding in the undergrowth. He is captured and the procession then returns to the main street where they join up with a second party including the musicians, drummers, Horse and Fool. The Earl is placed back to front on a donkey, and the entire company then processes from the top of the village to the seashore at the bottom. Periodically, during the procession, the grenadiers fire their guns and the Earl falls off the donkey to the ground, only to be revived by the Horse and Fool and replaced on the donkey. At the last 'death', on the seashore, The Earl is not revived but picked up by the Grenadiers who run into the water and throw him as far as they can into the sea. In addition to the central characters, each procession is also accompanied

by a number of other people in costume, some of whom collect money from onlookers. Several of the women also have specific roles to play and these are described below.[12]

The Friday procession travels, during the evening, from Seaside up the village to the stable visiting pubs en route. The Sunday procession starts out, in the early afternoon, from a caravan site overlooking the sea just outside the western boundary of the parish on the Ilfracombe road and progresses down into the village and up the main street, diverting onto several side roads, to arrive back at the Stable in the late afternoon. The Monday procession is timed to reach the beach (locally called 'Seaside') at sunset, while allowing for an extended rest at one pub (The Pack O' Cards) down the village.

In addition to these perambulations, there is: a children's procession through the village on the Saturday morning and afternoon, sometimes children's entertainment later on Saturday afternoon, and a village barn dance in the evening at the Town Hall. Villagers joining the processions increase in number at each excursion through the weekend as do the numbers of onlookers - culminating in an audience of several thousand at Seaside on the Monday evening.

Background and origin of the present custom

The custom reportedly took place annually around Ascension Day (in some texts, during the week leading up to Ascension Day) until 1837 when it was banned by local bye-law for 'licentiousness and drunken behaviour'. (Tugwell.1863, Wade.1895, Chope.1917)

There were attempts to revive the ceremony in the 1930s and the 1950s[13] but none came to fruition. In 1966 a local Barnstaple Councillor, William (Buck) Taylor, suggested to local folk enthusiasts that they might find it interesting to research the ceremony, and in consequence, in 1970 the North Devon Folk Troupe (NDFT) performed a reconstruction of 'how the ceremony might have looked like at the time it was banned' (Brown.1987) in the Ilfracombe and Barnstaple carnivals. The name 'North Devon Folk Troupe' was adopted only because the group was required to have a title in order to enter the Carnivals. In 1974, when the Combe Martin August carnival was revived, the Chairman of the Carnival Committee invited NDFT to participate - thereby bringing a modern 'version' of the Hunting back into the village. The NDFT group were again asked to take part in 1975, '76 and '77. During this period no 'hunting' took place: the costumed performers with Horse, Fool, grenadiers, mounted Earl and musicians and drummers simply joined the end of the carnival procession.

Over these four years, the NDFT encouraged village participation but, as most of the enthusiastic individuals were already committed to their own groups' entries in the carnival, they could not join in. Pressure built to move the ceremony to another time, preferably nearer its pre-1837 season, to allow greater village participation. When, in 1978, the government created the late May Bank Holiday to replace the variable Whitsun Bank Holiday, The Hunting of the Earl of Rone was moved to that weekend. The full series of processions on Friday, Sunday and Monday, together with the re-enactment of the hunting and capture of the Earl on Monday was reintroduced to the village over Spring Bank Holiday that year.

Governing the custom, and created in 1978, is now the 'Earl of Rone Council' (subsequently referred to as the EoR Council) comprising, at that time: individuals who had worked on the 1970 reconstruction, the Chairman of the Carnival Committee, two of the four Landlords of the Top George Inn (who had accommodated the participants in the custom since 1975 - the same year that they took over as Landlords) and other interested villagers, plus the local policeman. The EoR Council numbered thirteen individuals and was formally constituted with the sole object of maintaining the custom. The choice of the number thirteen on the EoR Council was simply, and only, because that was the number of people initially interested in forming the Council.

Practice, Changes & Developments

The source texts which describe the custom as it was performed prior to its abolition in 1837, cite only the central characters as described above and mention 'that there were hundreds of people, not only from this place, but also from surrounding parishes... following the noisy procession' (Tugwell,1863). Nowadays, the processions include numbers of people *participating* in the procession (dressed in costume and often dancing) as well as those who only spectate *following* or *accompanying* the procession. The *participants* must be regarded as an integral part of the overall performance and are a distinctive feature of this custom in comparison to other Case Studies in this section.

A number of developments and changes have occurred in The Hunting of the Earl of Rone since its reconstruction in 1970. The NDFT was a group of friends already with a common interest (all were members of the local folk-song club). The members of the organisation shared the further common interest in local tradition generally, and formed the NDFT independently of the folk club and without conflict with it. The NDFT was a member-based organisation with a constitution and bank account. Any interested person could join, on payment of a subscription, and had a vote in the annual election

of officers.[14] The concept of the reconstruction was led by only two or three individuals with previous experience of calendar customs of a similar type, but research and the making of the reconstruction was shared by all members.

Costumes and properties

Each person made their own costume except for the grenadiers' jackets which were all made by the mother of one of the leaders, an experienced seamstress, and other specific skills were utilised from members of the group. A carpenter made the Hobby Horse and gun stocks and (wooden) barrels. The NDFT 'guns' had no blank-firing mechanisms, but when the ceremony returned to the village, mechanisms were designed by a member with a hobby interest in guns and made to his design by an engineer who was also a member of the group. Later guns were made to the original model by an engineer from the village who was also a member of the EoR Council. Similarly in the village, additional and new grenadier costumes have been made by a local seamstress - a member of the 'party' although not on the EoR Council. This 'Permanent Wardrobe Mistress' (Hartley. Int:010) takes responsibility for all non-personal costume: grenadiers' jackets, Earl's costume, etc.

A new Hobby Horse was made by another carpenter-member of the NDFT when the custom returned to the village in 1975. The frame was not strong, and a third Horse frame was made by another of the NDFT leaders who was also on the new EoR Council in 1978. This frame was still in use in 1998. Each time a part of the 'old' Horse was included in the 'new' Horse - in particular the head and neck, although this has been reinforced with fibreglass over time.

The laborious task of tying ribbons onto the hobby-horse was shared between all members of the NDFT who were taking part in the reconstruction. Re-tying ribbons on the second Horse was done similarly, and the task is now undertaken (as necessary whenever they have been washed) by members of the EoR Council plus any other willing participants at what might be described as a 'ribboning party' whenever it is required. The skirt for the Hobby Horse (a strip of hessian cloth painted with discs and rings in a variety of colours and attached to the edge of the shoulder-borne hoop of the Horse), has been made by various individual members of the organising group (NDFT and subsequently EoR Council). The skirt is replaced every three to five years.

The 1970 costume for the Earl character was made by one of the NDFT leaders, and was used until 1978 when a new costume was made by a member of the EoR Council. This was still in use in 1998.

The same NDFT leader made the 1970 cap/mask for the Hobby Horse and this was used until 1992, after which the same individual made a replica mask which is currently used.

Membership

Whereas membership of the NDFT was defined by the payment of a membership subscription, this is not paralleled amongst those who conduct the current custom. From 1974 to 1977 the participants in the procession at the end of the Combe Martin Carnival were the members of the 1970 party who still lived in the area, with additional people from the local folksong club and morris dance team whom they invited to join. In addition, some individuals from as far away as Essex, who had supported the reconstruction, were also invited to join in.

The EoR Council is self-selecting, and although the number remained at thirteen for several years, as the number of villagers interested in taking part has grown, so the membership of the EoR Council has also increased and the numbers are not formally limited. Discussion in the EoR Council can result in an individual being invited to join it. Those taking part in the processions do not comprise any formal group at all. They are referred to as 'the Party'. There are rules, laid down by the EoR Council, as to who can join the Party (which effectively means wearing a self-made costume and joining in the procession) but in practice this cannot be controlled. Nevertheless, members of the party identify themselves as such. Technically, the Party comprises any resident of the village who wishes to join in, together with people who were involved in the 1970 to 1978 performances and individuals from outside the village who have been specifically invited to take part by the EoR Council.

In 1978, a register of participants was introduced. This has a number of pages for each year, and participants in years prior to 1978 were 'pencilled in' in cases where they no longer lived in the area. The first page of the register bears the legend:

> 'Any person who has signed this register, thereby holds the right to participate in the Hunting of the Earl of Rone ceremony in any subsequent year, and no other invitation should be expected.'

Members of the party each year are able to sign in the register. No subscription is required of members of the party and no behavioural rules are associated with membership. Methods of control, which might be expected, are discussed below. To date only one individual, the spouse of a party

member who lives away from the area, has been formally warned about behaviour by the EoR Council.

In the register, the first page for each year contains titles for various performance rôles or titles and acts as a record of these rôle-holders. From year to year, the list of titles beside which rôle-holders sign is slightly inconsistent, but progressive addition of rôle-titles bears witness to the increasing number of rôles regarded as important and the increasing number of signatures under the title 'Party' shows the growth in the number of participants. The list of titles is shown in Table 4.1. From 1974 to 1978 membership of the Party was loosely controlled, but thereafter, because of increasing numbers and the wish to encourage village participation, the membership of the Party and the register was closed to all except existing Party members and villagers. A few people from outside the village have subsequently been formally invited, by the EoR Council, to join the party - but only after demonstrating a commitment to the custom and a willingness to help in any way asked over several years. Such invitations are by no means automatic.

TITLE YEAR	70	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94
Earl	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Fool	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Grenadiers			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Captain of Grenadiers											X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
M.C.													X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Captain of Musicians													X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Captain (Boss) of Drums													X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Musicians								X	X	X	X	X	X	X						X			
Party								X	X	X			X				X	X	X	X	X		
New adult members												X	X				X						
Leader of Party													X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Landlords																		X	X	X	X	X	X

Table 4.1: Occurrence of 'Rôle-title' headings in the Earl of Rone Register

Members of the Party are entitled to buy and wear an enamelled badge in the form of the Earl's mask. People who are not members of the Party cannot buy these badges. When a junior version of the ceremony was first introduced in 1979, it came about as the end product of a study project undertaken by the top year of the village primary school[15]. The top year now undertakes this project annually and members of the class and other chuildren perform a replica of the adult custom complete except for the presence of the Earl of Rone character. The junior grenadiers carry guns without firing mechanisms. The junior procession is 'supported' both by parents, and by older young people who have moved onto secondary school and some who have left school. In addition to the class project, tutoring of the children in their processional rôles and rehearsal of the junior band is undertaken by

some of the young villagers (20 - 25 yr. olds) who originally took part as part of a class project. The EoR Council set a lower age limit to the Senior Party of 14 yrs. as this was the age at which young people could enter licensed premises. It also became necessary to introduce an upper age limit to the Junior Party in order to keep opportunities open for the younger Junior Party members. This was set at 18 - but for no identifiable reason, other than that is the modern age of majority. Junior Party badges are produced each year. They are of the usual 'button' type and bear the Earl's mask and the year in black on coloured paper. These are 'collected' as avidly by older 'supporters' of the Junior Party as they are by Party members, and many a mother's costume carries a 'full set' from 1980 to the present.[16]

Conduct of Ceremony and Functional Rôles

In 1970 a morris-dance tune was played to accompany the procession in the carnivals. There is no mention of music or drumming in the texts on which the reconstruction was based, but the NDFT leaders had felt that, æsthetically and in comparison to other extant calendar customs, the addition of a band would enhance the proceedings. A version of a folk-song tune was selected, after discussion, and when the custom returned to the village in 1974, the NDFT leaders had taught the tune to several local folk musicians (Hartley. Int:010). This tune is now firmly established as 'the Earl of Rone tune'. Although the original adaptation of the tune exists in manuscript form and is sometimes used to introduce schoolchildren to the tune, it is primarily transmitted aurally and, as variation and decoration are encouraged, the tune is actually played in several variations leading to heterophony in the performance. This is a positive and deliberate decision. When a booklet on the custom was being prepared for publication (Brown.1987), the EoR Council discussed whether to put the tune in print. The decision was against so doing.

One accomplished drummer from the Essex membership of the party was asked, in 1978, to devise a drumming rhythm, to fit the tune, which was distinct from rhythms used for other calendar customs. This has remained unchanged since its introduction.

During the performance one year, and no-one interviewed can remember which although photographic evidence indicates it was 1975, one of the people walking along with the procession broke into a dance double-step which was rapidly taken up by other walkers. Over time this has developed, initially through individual variation, into rows of people across the road dancing in step with each other. It has been suggested that the sideways movement became necessary because the procession moves

forward too slowly to allow the double-step to be executed in a purely forward direction. As a further variation, alternate lines started dancing in opposite directions creating a 'scissor' effect as one watched. Detail of the actual stepping style also developed, again by the process of individual variation being taken up by others. There was no apparent stimulus for the variations, other than creativity, although it has been noted that in at least one instance, a change was demanded of a leading individual because of the onset of arthritis.

A further example of development for creative or æsthetic reasons is associated with the introduction of a Combe Martin May Garland into the Monday procession in 1992. In the course of conversation with the current Procession Leader (a lady of retirement age, member of the EoR Council, from an old Combe Martin family and leading light of several village groups and institutions), she recalled 'going Maying' as a child. In doing this, the children made and toured a May Garland. When this was recounted to the Chairman of the EoR Council it was agreed that it would be nice to have a Combe Martin May Garland in the Earl of Rone procession. The garland was duly made by the lady in question, and a former EoR Council member then living away from the village was appointed to carry it. By 1992, the number of people processing on the Monday evening had grown to the extent that the procession could be up to 200 yds. long. As a result, visual communication between the Procession Leader at the front, the Bandleader in the middle (both of whom carried ribboned sticks) and the Captain of Grenadiers at the back had become difficult. Communication was necessary in order to co-ordinate the stops and starts associated with the death and revival of the Earl character. The May Garland was therefore located at the rear and utilised as a third signalling device to help co-ordinate the progress of the procession. Thus something which had been created for æsthetic reasons had acquired a functional rôle. The same lady continues to make the garland on the Monday afternoon each year.

In a custom as large and complex as The Hunting of the Earl of Rone, there are more 'jobs' that need doing to co-ordinate the performance and make it function than there are officers of the EoR Council, or even the Council itself. As the number of participants in the processions grew, so too did the number of functional rôles, and the number of individuals seeking rôles. Many of the rôle-holders are appointed by the EoR Council. Other rôles were created by individuals for themselves. Self-created rôles tend to 'happen' one year and then be continued without official approval, or even comment by the EoR Council, until such time as the individual does not participate in the custom one year for whatever reason. At this point, party members realise the impact of the void and find someone else to fill the rôle. This usually happens, not in advance, but at the time of the procession

itself. A subsequent meeting of the EoR Council will recognise the need for the rôle to be fulfilled and thereafter asks an individual to do so. This has happened with: Beer Carriers, Horse Tenders, Children Watchers and even Grenadiers. These 'rôle-holder' titles are used here for convenience to describe the individual's function. The list of officers' and rôle titles, as given in the Questionnaire returns (IQ: 0003 & 0012) only includes: Earl, Horse, Fool, Captain of Grenadiers, Grenadiers, M.C. (Bandleader), Chief Musician, Chief Drummer, Procession Leader.

The growth in size of the procession itself also prompted developments in the conduct of the custom. With the Hobby Horse dancing energetically there was a constant danger of the smaller children who run in and out of the procession being injured. The EoR Council decided to require the smaller children to go to the front of the procession out of harm's way, but here too the tendency to dash about was a liability and as numbers grew it was decided that they needed to be contained in some way. The solution for the Monday procession was a length of rope held across the road at the front of the procession. The rope was introduced in 1989 and was decorated with bunches of flowers, already in evidence on drums, instruments, donkey, and costumes. The rope is decorated on the Monday afternoon by the daughter of the Garland-maker, and is carried by women who have adopted this rôle for themselves with the sanction of the EoR Council.

Over the years there have been several starting-points and times of the processions themselves. From 1974 to 1977 the Earl of Rone procession simply followed the larger village carnival procession from the top of the village to Seaside. When the custom was first established at Spring Bank Holiday, each of the three processions started from the stable, perambulated, and returned there, the amount of time available determining the extent of the perambulation. The Friday procession would travel half way down the village as far as the Pack of Cards pub and then return, but pressure from some residents and from traders in the lower half of the village led to the EoR Council adopting the route described above. For the same reason the Sunday procession was changed. A coach was hired from a local firm to take the Party from the Stable to a farm just beyond the housing on the Ilfracombe road. This was the starting point for three years but difficult road conditions, and complaints from the farm owners about people urinating against their buildings before the procession started off, led to a further change, and the coach now travels on to deposit the Party near the caravan site. The Sunday procession used to commence at what was, prior to changes in the licensing laws, pub closing time on Sunday lunchtime (i.e. 2 p.m.). This was adhered to even after licensing hours were changed, but in 1994 the time was brought forward an hour as the growing numbers were taking longer to process to the Stable, however this led to less time for social drinking, and it has since reverted to 2 p.m. The

Sunday procession had always sought to return to the Stable well before Evening Service at the Church in order to avoid the possibility of conflict with that institution. The Monday procession has remained unchanged, in these aspects, since it was first established in 1978, except that from 1993 the start time was brought forward by half an hour to 6.00pm in order to accommodate rests at two (rather than one) public houses during the procession down the village. (Int:010) In 1995 the EoR Council agreed with the joint Chairmen that one of these stops (at The Castle public house) was causing too great a discontinuity in the procession and that stop was cut out. The Castle remains the refreshment stop during the Sunday procession thereby maintaining some degree of equity.

The Hobby Horse is carried, in turn, by males from the party. The weight of the horse means that it is necessary to change carrier periodically. When the custom was reintroduced to the village, the small number of men involved meant that changes could occur as and when needed, and individuals could carry for a while, and then recover before their 'turn' came round again. As the number of participants grew, and young men moved from the Junior Party to the Senior Party, the number of males grew to exceed the number of 'turns' available in some processions. It was therefore necessary to establish a means of selecting carriers. Progressively, particular changing places became established, and the selection of carriers was delegated to the two women who tended the Horse and the changeovers. Convenience factors were also utilised in the choice: for example, no grenadiers carry on the Monday night as the EoR Council prefers to keep a full complement of grenadiers to march by the Earl; young men carrying for the first time tend to be allocated a turn on the Sunday, which is the most lengthy procession and hence has the largest number of 'turns'.

The act of dancing the Horse out from the Stable at the beginning of a procession, and into the Stable at the end is viewed as important. This rôle has been taken by the Hartley family for some years. As a Landlord of the Stable pub, the Top George, Paul Hartley was initially given the honour simply because he was a male landlord of the host pub[17]. The family have since ceased to be landlords of the pub, but the rôle has remained established. Once old enough, his son Andrew was also given this rôle. The job of carrying in and out thus became the prerogative of this part of the Hartley family. In 1994, due to long-term injury, Andrew Hartley became unable to carry the Horse at all and instead nominated the individual who would 'carry in' in his stead. (Int:010)

By 1995 the custom had been back in the village for 21 performance years, and other people's rôles had also passed on to successors. Various mechanisms have been adopted in order to do this, as demonstrated in the following examples:

1. The rôle of the Earl was, before re-establishment, simply given to lightweight people who had some idea of how to fall off donkeys. The first Earl from within the village was a landlord's son from the Top George. He was of a suitable weight, and old enough to undertake the job seriously. He was the Earl for three years, after which he had grown too big and a replacement had to be found. Initially there was lengthy debate in the Council as to who this should be. Eventually it was agreed that the Earl should choose his own successor. He already had experience of what was involved, and could make an assessment from among his peers as to who might do the job best. This method, of each Earl nominating his successor, has remained ever since.

2. Both the Chief Musician and Chief Drummer have also handed on their jobs, in each case to individuals who, by consensus at the time, were the best young musician and drummer. In fact, the job of Chief Musician is now shared between two young men who invariably confer whenever possible, but either of whom can and does make executive decisions when necessary. (Int:010)

3. For many years, the job of tending the Hobby Horse, and assisting the change-over of carrier, was undertaken by two village women. Before they took on the job, it had been undertaken by early participants in the reconstruction, but each had missed a year and another person had had to be found. When one of the village women decided that, for medical reasons, she would have to give up the job, her partner elected to stop at the same time. Debate in the EoR Council resulted in the decision that two young women, one from the village and one from 'away' should take it on. This reflected a discussion that was taking place at the time concerning the membership of the party from 'village' and 'away'[18]. One of the young women who was chosen was the daughter of people who had been involved with the original reconstruction of the custom; the other was the daughter of one of the women who was relinquishing her rôle. The job of selecting carriers however, was retained by the two retiring tenders, and remains so, also retaining overall charge of the Horse and those around it.

4. When the original 1970 Fool, Cherie Barnett, eventually decided to hand on her rôle, the EoR Council insisted that the 'official' rôle pass to her daughter Salliann. Neither were village residents, although they had formerly lived in the neighbouring Parish. In practice the rôle is shared with other young women from the village, when they are available, who have previously danced as the junior Fool. The rôle of the Fool is an important one. In terms of the theatricality of the rôle, the Fool is the Horse's partner: they dance together and, on Monday, revive the Earl together when he is shot off the donkey. In practical terms, the Horse's mask severely limits the carrier's vision and the Fool becomes the focus whereby orientation can be maintained. A Fool who really understands the job is therefore crucial to effective dancing by the Horse.

5. One woman from the NDFT period, Marion Westcott, looked after the donkey on the Monday evening for a number of years. When she was unable to attend, the EoR Council gave the job to a mother and daughter from the village. When they ceased to attend, Marion was asked to return (her daughter was now older) and, as that year the donkey was particularly stubborn, was assisted by another woman who had long been involved. These two are now established as the donkey tenders each year.

6. Before the custom was first moved to Spring Bank Holiday, the size of the procession was such that the Bandleader effectively led the procession. The Procession Leader from 1978 onwards, as the numbers grew, was whoever was the Chairman of the EoR Council. This situation pertained up to 1992. When the then Chairman stood down, and the new joint

Chairmen preferred to retain their already established rôles in the procession, the job of Procession Leader was given to another member of the EoR Council - the garland-maker, Phyllis Ackland, who is mentioned above.

The most recent rôle to be handed on is, sadly, that of Captain of Grenadiers. Tim Bartlett, who had held office since 1974, had designed the firing mechanisms for the guns and who laid claim to originating the double-step dancing, died in February 1995. Tim was the first major participant in the custom to have died since it was reintroduced to the village. A group of people from the custom travelled to his funeral in Portishead, some ninety miles, where the Earl of Rone tune played the coffin from the church. A memorial service was held in the Combe Martin parish church on the Monday morning of the 1995 weekend, and a tree was ceremoniously planted in Lady's Wood in his memory in November 1995. Tim had been temporarily taken ill during the 1994 weekend, and his costume and rôle had been taken over by Adrian King, who was a long-standing grenadier and invariably wore the 'Sergeant's' jacket. It was to this individual that the rôle and costume - donated to the village by Tim's widow - was officially passed in 1995.

The 'handing on' of a rôle from one individual to another is an important aspect of the continuity of performance. As has been shown above, rôles have developed from need, but the conduct of the rôles is not defined or noted down. 'Handing on' implies the transmission of nuances of conduct. These mores of behaviour are sometimes modelled by the new rôle-holder from the old, but if 'understanding' is not evident in the new rôle-holder then the reasons can be, and are, easily and readily articulated.

On those occasions when a rôle has been given without being 'handed on', the result has been either that the new rôle-holder is quickly 'put right' or, if they do show 'understanding' (i.e. their 'new' way is functional and does not of itself cause other aspects of the performance to be changed), then the conduct of that rôle is allowed to develop.

The changes noted are diverse and have been precipitated for a number of reasons, just as they have been dealt with in a number of different ways. Over the years other things worthy of note have also happened - stimulated by boredom, devilment, or simply creative energy. A few examples will illustrate innovation of this type:

1.   On one occasion the musicians 'captured' the bass drummer during the Monday night procession - to their own amusement but the mild disapproval of other sections of the procession. The capture was attempted the following year but was generally frowned upon by those processing and in particular the Bandleader - it has not been repeated.

2. On the Sunday in 1994, the procession leader mistakenly led the procession up one particular sloping cul-de-sac and then stopped. Rather than stop playing or turn round to come back down, the band played on and the entire procession reversed back to the main road.

3. A few years after the custom was reintroduced to the village, one Monday evening when the procession reached Seaside and the Earl was to be thrown in the sea, the Grenadiers who threw him in, led by the Sergeant, waded right into the waves before throwing the Earl. This has remained the accepted method ever since.

4. The first year at Spring Bank Holiday the young children started throwing stones from the beach at the Earl as he floated in the sea. This has happened every year since, although efforts have had to be made to restrain the children from throwing stones until the Grenadiers are safely back out of the sea. This issue has regularly been discussed by the EoR Council and in the Open Meeting (see below). It has been agreed that it is not possible to effectively ban the stone-throwing altogether. Both the local policeman and EoR Council appointees have been used to try and at least restrain the more violent stone-throwing.

5. During the early years back in the village, one Sunday procession reached the highest point in the housing estate up a straight steep hill on the side of the valley. This was also a cul-de-sac. The procession walked back down the hill to where the road bends leaving the Hobby Horse and Fool at the top. To a drum roll, the Horse and Fool then ran full tilt down the hill, stopping only with great difficulty at the bottom. From 1979 to 1988 this pattern was followed with the addition of Grenadiers stationed on either side of the hill to keep any stray children out of harm's way. This became known as 'The Death Run' and was regarded as considerably more dangerous than it actually was. In this light it also became a form of initiation rite for one of the young people carrying the Horse for the first time that year, most usually an individual who had previously played the part of the Earl. (Int:010) The reputation of The Death Run grew until, in 1989, a vote in the EoR Council meant that the practice was stopped, and the procession actually re-routed to avoid the hill. The arguments presented to the EoR Council were that it was too dangerous, that someone would at some time be seriously injured and that under recent legislation the Party could be held liable if an injury did result to a participant or spectator.

All five of these examples of variation or development of the performance originated from a spontaneous creative idea by one individual carrying a number of others with them. Where the result was pleasing to a sufficient number of the party, and the opportunity arose, the incident was repeated. In some cases the practice has become an established part of the proceedings.

The Open Meeting (held in the stable on the evening of the Tuesday after the weekend) was introduced in 1990 and any member of the party, or villager, is able to attend. The meeting is not advertised except by word of mouth, but any individual raising an issue during the weekend is encouraged to raise it at the Open Meeting which is chaired by the Chairman of the EoR Council. The frequent and potentially distracting 'raising of issues' (usually questions commencing 'why' or 'why not') during the actual processions was a primary reason for instigating the Open Meeting, together with a general desire to extend the social context of the previous four days. No decisions are made

at the meeting, although votes are sometimes called for. All issues and opinions are instead referred to the EoR Council for discussion, most of its members attending the Open Meeting.

The reasons for changes in the conduct of the ceremony are not always within the control of those who organise it. In 1988 the local council decided to install a fashionable cobble-brick ramp at the point where the beach meets the tarmac road, but on the Monday evening the donkey flatly refused to cross this perceived barrier, and the Earl was forced to dismount and walk onto the beach for the final death and commitment to the sea. Previously, the donkey had easily been led onto the beach still carrying the Earl who had been shot off in the usual manner. In subsequent years no attempt has been made to take the donkey onto the beach and the Earl's 'last walk' thus became, for the time being, established as the norm.

In addition to the series of processions over the weekend, various peripheral activities have, from time to time, been attempted:

1. From the introduction of the custom at Spring Bank Holiday, the village Carnival Committee organised a 'Revel'[19] on the Monday afternoon on common land known as Holland Park, although lack of local support led to cessation of the Revels after only three years.

2. On the Saturday evening there is a village barn dance in the Town Hall. The musicians from the EoR band provided the music until 1990, after which various members refused to play for the dance again. This was because the event became more and more chaotic and over-run by unaccompanied children, which in turn led to several adult members of the Party ceasing to come which itself exacerbated the problem. Over the years, various charging structures for entrance to the barn dance were tried, including free entry, in attempts to encourage village participation. It was only after the musician's 'strike' that the decision was made to:

    a) exclude unaccompanied children under 14 yrs. of age after 9pm.
    b) establish a charging structure which reflected the cost of putting on the event, and
    c) employ an established barn-dance band and caller to play.

    The net result has been a much more controlled and enjoyable event, which attracts an increasing number of people. The EoR band no longer plays for the dance as several members prefer to socialise and dance themselves, but the evening ends with the EoR musicians playing the tune and the company dancing as they do in the street, but with the added embellishment that the rows of dancers link up by holding hands at shoulder height.

3. When the village dance was introduced, so was the Combe Martin Strawberry Cake as an integral part of the evening.

    > 'The appearance of the Strawberry Cake - a sponge cake of large proportions
    > filled and smothered with cream and fresh strawberries - is a new tradition!
    > There is no 'sensible' reason - although it is great fun. Some individuals
    > rationalise its existence as being in celebration of Combe Martin's reputation

for producing early, fine quality strawberries.' (Brown.1987)

The cake has, since 1989, also been decorated with icing representations of the Earl's mask and it is danced round the room to the accompaniment of the EoR tune, prior to being cut up and served to the assembled company. The Strawberry Cake is regarded as a very important part of the evening's proceedings.

4.   Another element of the Village Dance is the presentation of the enamelled Party Member badges to young people reaching the age of fourteen that year (and therefore old enough to join the Senior Party). Badges are given to annually-attending children of Party members from 'away' when they reach the appropriate age, but primarily the badges have been awarded (from 1982 to 1994) to children from the top school class of four years earlier (i.e. the year in which they undertook the school project and junior procession). The entire class list was read out, and those present came up to collect their badge. In 1993, the EoR Council discussed the fact that many children did not continue to participate between the ages of 11 and 14 and were not present to receive their badge. The award ceremony was continued in 1994, but the decision was made that thereafter, badges would only be presented to those who had taken part for at least two out of the three years since they had left the junior school. This decision has necessitated the establishment of a junior register to record participation.

The Junior Party, which processes on the Saturday, has also seen changes: no 'old' musicians are now 'allowed' to perform with the party - the musical support for the young band of recorders and violins being provided by the 20-25 year old musicians; when the top year teacher who had started the Junior Party ceased to be the teacher of the top year in the school, her rôle was similarly taken over by the older youngsters.

As well as collecting money, several of the collectors, in addition to handing out leaflets which briefly explain the custom, sell Earl of Rone memorabilia in the form of postcards, badges and a booklet about the custom - Brown.1987.

As has been shown, The Hunting of the Earl of Rone has a variety of aspects in terms of the way the performance is managed and the organisation is administered. Some similarities, and differences, to other case studies are apparent, but before moving on to the next case study, some further notes and analysis on The Earl of Rone custom are appropriate.

Additional notes and analysis

The management of performance

The complexity and size of the custom means that it is potentially very difficult to manage and control in performance. There are a large number of opportunities for people to exercise individual creativity:

this is manifest in the way they dance, the way the Horse is carried, the way the tune is played, and so on. These individual acts of creativity, however, happen within unwritten but communally held limits of acceptability: if the Horse, dancer or musician exceeds the limit, the first reaction will come from others in that group rather than an individual in authority. People also co-operate in these areas: dancers spontaneously team up into co-ordinated lines, certain combinations of Horse-carrier and Fool become a performing unit, the musicians spark tune variations and decorations off each other, etc.

Nevertheless, there *are* individuals in authority over each aspect of performance. The Captain of Grenadiers exercises little overt control except on the Monday night when the Grenadiers are strictly regimented. On those rare occasions when the Captain calls an individual to order, they do respond. Similarly, the Bandleader will pull the whole band together if it becomes dissonant, as will the Chief Musician or Chief Drummer with their own sections if the music becomes 'tatty' or the drumming is not 'tight'. If they deem it necessary, the women who tend the Horse will bring it under control if it becomes too wild.

Other rôle-holders also have authority in their own areas: the women who only allow young children to 'go so far' in dashing about; the Chief Collector who will see opportunities and direct collectors to them; the procession leader who determines the pace and route of progress (with guidance signals from other specific rôle-holders when the size of the procession demands it).

These rôle-holders have authority but use it, indeed only need to use it, sparingly - but they also co-operate with other rôle-holders to co-ordinate the proper execution of the performance. The 'properness' of the performance is established by tradition but is also developed by decisions made away from the performance by the EoR Council. This occasionally causes problems during performance for individuals who are not on the EoR Council and suddenly find that something they expected to happen by tradition (e.g. the route or a particular stopping place), has changed. The rôle-holders do not interfere in each other's areas but will, if they feel the need, effect co-operation between themselves and other rôle-holders.

The authority of these 'managers' is similar to the Britannia Leader's rôle, but the scale of The Earl of Rone procession has necessitated the creation of a number of rôle-holders. They are, simultaneously, potentially autocratic managers in their area of responsibility and co-operative managers in the performance. This is no different to the operation of 'legitimate' performing arts groups in performance, but there are other aspects to consider. Those rôle-holders who adopt an

autocratic approach to decisions and hold to their decision, even in the face of Party opposition, do not remain rôle-holders for long. Those who work within the common consensus, or who, having made a 'bad' decision (in the view of the Party), concede the same, are reinforced in their rôle. Thus, although the authority is invested in the rôle-holders by the EoR Council, they can only exercise it effectively by common consent, and there have been a few occasions when the party has simply defied a rôle-holder's autocratic decision. This is, again, reminiscent of the 'danger of mutiny' expressed at Bacup when an officer is too autocratic. The unwritten rules within which the custom and its component elements operate are communally understood, but they can and do develop and change.

The management of the organisation

The rôle-holders in the performance are distinct from the Officers of the EoR Council, although several rôle-holders are on the Council and some hold office. The management of the organisation is separate to, and separated from, the management of the performance.

The Council's relationship with the performance is that of a management committee which makes necessary decisions and then delegates the execution of those decisions to the performance managers. It may also be noted that, as shown in examples above, the Council will often only have to make a decision on some performance aspect *after* a problem has already been addressed and resolved by a rôle-holder during performance. In these cases the Council's function is, effectively, to ratify a decision already made, although minutes show that such decisions may be discussed at length before they are ratified. The Council rarely fails to ratify.

The organisation and the management committee exist only to uphold the custom and its annual performance, and the Council's relationship with the performance has been discussed above, but the Council functions in other ways and deals with matters other than the act of performance. It meets irregularly and is 'convened' by the Chairmen when they judge that a meeting is needed.

The EoR Council needs to deal with preparations to ensure that everything is ready for the custom to take place: that the donkey will be delivered in time on the Monday; the Town Hall is hired; there are sufficient blank cartridges for the guns; liaison has taken place with the police; licenses are obtained; properties and key-character costumes are repaired; merchandising is ordered and received; posters put up; the Strawberry Cake delivered; the barn-dance band is engaged - and so on through a myriad of arrangements.

In the early years of the custom's return to the village, the finances were operated in a very simple manner: income from all sources (primarily street collections) was hoped to cover all costs. As the custom has grown, so too has the income and expenditure and, in parallel with changes such as the 'regularisation' of the Saturday village dance, a conciousness of cost centres has developed. In general terms, the aim is for the costs of the dance to be covered by the income from the dance, and for costs of mounting the performance to be met from street collections, with surpluses donated to local good causes. There is no forward budgetting or planning for future costs. Broadly, when a need for expenditure arises, the question is, 'Can we afford it?' The extent to which performance income exceeds cost provides a normally secure buffer against these situations. The conduct of the custom is important - financial considerations are almost incidental.

In 1996, the opportunity arose for the EoR Council to apply for some of a European Grant for tourism development in North Devon and in particular Combe Martin. Those in control of the grants indicated that they would favour a bid from the EoR Council rather than from the Carnival Committee (which had actually initiated an application). The EoR Council approached the opportunity by considering what they could obtain the money for, rather than having a previously identified need. Initially, there was considerable concern over what strings might be attached to money dedicated to tourism development - a reflection of Dixie Lee's concerns in respect of the Whitstable Jack. The joint Chairmen were determined that accepting the money should not result in unwanted changes or interference in the conduct of the custom. It was agreed to commission the text and photographs for a new upgraded booklet on the custom, rather than simply reprint the old one, which had been their intention around this time.

The bid was accepted and the booklet was published in time for the 1997 weekend. Writer and photographer were both individuals involved in the custom and the printers were a small business in the village. In each case, as with many other areas of expenditure for the custom, full commercial rates were not charged.

The complexity of the arrangements for the custom have led to a need for some mechanism to ensure that everything has been done. One of the present co-chairmen of the EoR Council maintains a notebook, referred to as 'a run-down book' which lists all the things which need to be done and, following the weekend, updates it with the outcomes of the year and any amendments for the next (Hartley. Int:010). This is more effective than the previous ad hoc method of those involved collectively trying to remember everything that needs to be done. The list is discussed in Council and

particular jobs tend to fall regularly each year on particular people, in exactly the same way as do making the Garland or decorating the rope. The fact that the same performance takes place each year makes these aspects of organisation simpler than they often are in the 'legitimate' arts and the regular undertakings of individuals simplify then even further.

The Council has additional rôles. It is the public relations department - attempting to shape the non-participant villager's view of the custom and that of the local press. It controls the disbursement of money raised from collections, merchandising sales and barn-dance admission income - for income exceeds the costs. It deals with official communications with other organisations and institutions both inside and outside the village.

The management committee (EoR Council) is self-selecting, and as such will tend to invite only those of like mind to itself to join its membership. The EoR Council is focussed in its purpose, and tends to seek a consensus at its meetings rather than forcing votes. The singularity of purpose has occasionally manifest when individuals on the Council have suggested additional functions for the custom and its organisation. The creation of an Earl of Rone youth club has been rejected, although the need for a youth organisation in the village was recognised . For several years the EoR Council deliberately avoided allowing the custom to be exploited as a tourist attraction by external agencies, and even now is selective in how it permits the custom to be promoted for this purpose. It is, therefore, possessive of the tradition at one and the same time as being welcoming and open-minded towards those who come to watch and enjoy it - just as in the previous Case Studies.

The EoR Council and its conduct of the custom is completely autonomous. It is not beholden to any other organisation through patronage, sponsorship or other form of association. Surplus funds are applied for the benefit of social sections of the local community - primarily the school - and its accounts are summarised in a village publication. *The Shammickite*[20], each year. The accounts are not presented to the public in the traditional accounting form - with income and expenditure account, balance sheet, etc. - but simply as a summary. This practice started in reaction to 'village gossip' (from some uninvolved individuals) wherein it was suggested that some of those involved were making money for their own pockets through organising the ceremony. The financial situation is reported to the EoR Council at each meeting and no effort is made to retain the on-going information within the group.

The management structures and modus operandi discussed above, both in the EoR Council and in

performance, have grown up with the custom as it became re-established. Except for the offices of Chairman, Treasurer and Secretary (which are required for the purposes of the bank account), the Council has not adopted any predetermined structure from another model. The management structure is, like the structures of other groups examined in this study, minimal and only extends as far as the custom and its operation demand. The present structure has arisen solely from present need, and it continues to do so. Growth in the size of the EoR Council (from 13 in 1978 to a variable number in excess of 20 in 1993) has resulted in the unintentional formation of what has been described as an 'unofficial committee'. This is not a set group of people, but the nature of village life allows for accidental aggregations of interested parties: at the end of another organisation's meeting; in the pub; over morning coffee when people 'drop in', and Earl of Rone matters will arise, amongst others, particularly in the period leading up to the Spring Bank Holiday. The result can be that certain matters are virtually agreed and even approved before ever they are raised at an EoR Council meeting.

This section of the Case Study has sought to start analysing the material noted in previous sections and has used an approach and language that the participants in the custom do not themselves use (i.e. it is an etic approach). The use of such language tends to indicate that the management of the custom is more formal than it really is. It is actually conducted in the same way as that in which those involved conduct the rest of their social lives within the village. As such it is an extension of the everyday and not separated from it. To the outside eye (the etic perspective) it can appear extraordinarily casual.

More general analysis is given after the remaining Case Studies, but it should be noted here that a number of causes of change have been evidenced above, in particular as responses to æsthetic judgement, growth in the number of participants, and the avoidance of potential criticism.

As a final note it should be stated that, although this Case Study is considerably more detailed than any other, there are still a few aspects of the Hunting of the Earl of Rone which have been omitted from the text of this Case Study, and which remain confidential to only a few individuals. However, none of these would shed additional light on the custom or its operation and their omission affects neither the opportunity to analyse, nor the analysis itself.

CASE STUDY No. 4

KIRTLINGTON MORRIS MEN (OXFORDSHIRE)

The village of Kirtlington is in Oxfordshire, approximately ten miles north of the city of Oxford. A village morris team was almost certainly in existence in the 1730s and, with an intermittent history, existed until the 1870s. The primary informants for Kirtlington Morris as it presently exists is the co-founder, former Squire and now Life President, Len Berry, together with his wife Barbara who is co-founder and formerly the side's musician. All quotation are from Len unless otherwise stated. They were interviewed, jointly, on 29/11/93 (Int:001) and subsequently on 4/9/96 (Int:002). Additional information comes from interviews with Paul Davenport (Int:019) and from IQ:076.

Current form of performance

The Kirtlington Morris Men are a group of approximately twenty-five who perform a specific style of Cotswold Morris. The present side was formed in 1978 and first danced out in 1979. Although a core number of the dances have come from, or been reconstructed from, dances collected from a village informant in the 1920s, the side has added/written additional dances in the Kirtlington style since 1978. As Len says:

> 'We've done the rest. We've now got something like about twenty dances... We've made them ourselves. Barbara [Berry] wrote most of the tunes... about twelve tunes. Barbara was our musician, so we'd go along to a practice... and she would play it and we would try and walk out a dance, and by the end of the evening we'd have a good dance... There was nothing in the notation about stick dances, but there were hints. It's evolved like that really.' (Berry. Int:001)

The side dance locally in their own right and at selected local events as well as touring and dancing out with other teams by invitation and, to an increasing extent, at summer folk festivals. Of the totality of performances, they regard the village and other local performances as the most important (Int:001). They are closely involved in the current form of the Kirtlington Lamb Ale and Feast which is the subject of a separate Case Study (C/S:5). The Kirtlington Mummers, who perform a local Christmas hero/combat play also collected in the village, draw their cast from amongst the membership of the morris side, but this activity is regarded as distinct to the morris and is not otherwise associated with it. The two activities are never combined.

Background and origin of current side

Historically, the earliest references to morris dancing in Kirtlington date from the late 17th and early 18th Centuries and 'A Kirtlington side was certainly in existence as early as 1732' (Chandler.1993b). Further references occur in every decade of the 19th Century. Kirtlington Morris is intimately associated with the Kirtlington Lamb Ale, both historically and since the present side was formed. Davenport states that:

> 'It seems probable that the Kirtlington Morris last danced in a short-lived revival in the late 1870s, but that its heyday drew to a close ten years prior to this. Hortin, speaking in 1910 at the age of 72, said that the side had danced on the occasion of the wedding of Edward the 7th in 1863.' (Davenport.n.d.)

One and a half morris dances were collected in Kirtlington in September 1922 by Cecil Sharp, who was at the time in the company of George Butterworth, Maud Karpeles and Percy Manning. Sharp was interviewing 'the old boys at the pub [and] Sharp's source and interviewee was William John Pearman who was also the source of a text for the Kirtlington Mummers Play.' (Berry. Int:001) Sharp's informant had been the Squire of the morris in the period it had last been performed.

The EFDS-led Folk Revival of the early decades of the present century saw morris again being danced in Kirtlington, but:

> 'The '20s and '30s EFDS side did not dance [the] Kirtlington [style of dance]. There was a revival side in the '20s like there was everywhere else, but they were taught by a lady from Oxford. She used to cycle out to the villages and teach dancing of all sorts.' (Berry. Int:001)

In the 1970s, Paul Davenport (then of Green Oak Morris in Doncaster) had returned to Sharp's notes and, taking the style of dancing that Sharp had described as being performed by the Kirtlington side, had reconstructed another five dances from the additional five Kirtlington morris tunes that Sharp had taken down from the village. Len credits Paul Davenport as follows:

> 'He's the bloke that actually built up the tradition... *The Archæology of a Tradition* it's called. He was looking for something different and he constructed it from that one-and-a-half notations, and those tunes.
>
> 'So he was saying, these were the [titles of the] tunes, therefore such and such a dance would have been in the tradition - and the Kirtlington style of that dance would have

been [like this].' (Berry. Int:001)

Davenport initially sent a copy of *The Archæology of a Tradition* to the Parish Clerk in Kirtlington who 'said he wasn't interested and sent it back'. Undeterred, Davenport subsequently rang a Mr. Bob Edgington, who at that time organised the Lamb Ale Feast, and he called his neighbour, Len Berry, to the telephone. As Len recalls:

> 'For some time Tim Radford had said to me, "Why don't you revive Kirtlington Morris?" I was running a Scout group so there was no way I had time to get involved... I didn't know anything about it. Then [my neighbour] said to me, "Len, I've got someone on the phone - you ought to talk to him", and it was Paul Davenport.
>
> 'In '78 he came down with his team who were dancing Kirtlington tradition. Paul was very flamboyant - my God, he could dance! When he did an upright caper you needed a parachute to come down... [and] he expected everyone else to do the same. Consequently [upon the phone call] he sent it [i.e. *The Archæology of a Tradition*] to me and we were bowled over by it. From then on, he said, "Look, I'll come down," and that was when he came down with his side.
>
> 'He actually came down to show us how to do a Backward Hey... He came down on his own one weekend. I got everybody up early on a Sunday morning, and I got them there so that we could run through this Backward Hey. He wasn't very complimentary about our blokes. He insinuated that they were a load of poofters - he nearly got filled in on the spot.
>
> 'He came down for our [first] dance out because he honestly didn't think we could do it... We walked out of the village school in our kit... and got up and danced and did the Backward Heys and everything else - and he couldn't believe it.' (Berry. Int:001)

The initial source of the new dance team was the Scout troupe and the musician was Len's wife Barbara. The new side first danced out in 1979.

Practice, changes and developments

Membership

Since the formation of the side, evolution has not been dramatic. The initial group of Scouts was augmented from other sources, in particular from members of another morris team. As Len describes it:

'Some of them started with us - right from the start... Started as young lads when we started it, 'cause we started with Scouts. Then we had people move over from Adderbury, we had two or three people come over and dance with us... because they [i.e. the Adderbury side] weren't dancing regular.' (Berry. Int:001)

A further source of members for the new side was provided by the education system when Len obtained a bursary from the District Council:

'... for teaching morris in the school. That was for me to go in. I had to get one of the other blokes, who was a teacher, to come along, 'cos he was a musician as well. And we had to carry on for a bit after schooling. They gave me £250 for that. I used to pay [the musician] every week; I didn't have anything 'cos I was working for myself anyway. One of [those kids] is still in the side. We had 'em for a long time, about three of them [there were initially six] stuck it for a long time... Unfortunately two of them have moved away.' (Berry. Int:001)

One Oxford City Morris man who moved into the village joined Kirtlington and ceased dancing with his old side - 'There was no rift... it just seemed more sensible'. (Berry. Int:001) The side draws from inside and outside the village... 'They came from Oxford, Banbury, quite a way round. So you can say [a] 20-mile radius.' (Berry. Int:001)

As noted in Ch.9, it is not unusual for dancers to be involved in more than one team, but other natural associations link the revived Kirtlington side to others:

'There's two sides connected - apart from Adderbury. Some of our blokes dance with their wives or girlfriends in another side which is North West - Jabberwocky - which they formed themselves, using our musicians and our people... and they're also married or living with half of the Rogue Morris, the ladies' side from Oxford, so they tend to go out with them quite a lot, so it's great, but they won't mix it... They won't do any other dancing in our kit.' (Berry. Int:001)

The last sentence in the above quote is indicative of a general attitude amongst the team which also manifests in other ways - an attitude in which the Kirtlington dances and traditions are regarded as very special and not to be bowdlerised or diluted with other traditions.

There are two Kirtlington men who also dance with Adderbury:

'... but not at Lamb Ale.

'Sometimes we've been invited to events with other sides, where they say, "Everybody

dance somebody else's tradition tonight," and our blokes won't have it.

'In America, they wouldn't have any of this funny stuff, where you dress up and be silly, they won't have any of that.' (Berry. Int:001)

This view of the 'correctness' of what the side will and will not do is not confined to dancing, or even primarily concerned with the dancing. It is a general self-confidence and a determination that they are 'not going to be told what to do' by anyone outside of the group. In the early days, a representative of the Morris Ring visited the side and he had obtained:

'... an O.K. from The Ring, to give us a £100 free of interest loan... to join The Ring. And we said, "Well, I'm sorry but you've just put your foot in it... you told Barbara on the way up that there's no way she would be able to play for Kirtlington Morris." So I said, "Hard luck, mate - she's our musician." ' (Berry. Int:001)

On another occasion, the presence of a female musician was again called into question:

'A bloke from Icknield [Morris] said that we'd have been invited to their day of dance but, "Of course you will change your musician 'cause she's a lady". So they were promptly put in their place because we always maintain that if the ladies didn't go then the men wouldn't neither.' (Berry. Int:001)

Such attitudes are communally held by the side, but are not derived from official 'rules' or even unofficial rules. As Len says:

'When we formed the side we had two rules only. They only ever made two rules. One was that we was not going to get involved in morris politics... and the second rule was that we have no animosity toward lady dancers at all - we encourage them.' (Berry. Int:001)

In fact, both of the rules are related to the Morris Ring. The first is an outcome of the 'musician incident' above, and the second - which can be viewed as a modern anti-sexist attitude - is similarly deliberately contrary to the received wisdom of the time about the Ring attitude to women morris dancers[21]. Women actually dancing *in* the Kirtlington side, however, is a different matter, reportedly because:

'The style wouldn't be suitable for women; they've tried it and there's no way the women are going to lift their legs up like that. It wouldn't be fair on them. I would suggest though, Bampton and Headington and dances like that, that women can do it - and Adderbury. To be honest, some of the other [men's] sides that have tried it [i.e.

the Kirtlington style] have had to pack it in.' (Berry. Int:001)

In view of the side's general attitude to women dancing morris, and their use of a female musician, this statement must be taken as the only reason, in the side's view, why they do not include women in the dancing team. This is in distinct contrast to the attitude of many member sides of the Morris Ring. In practice, rules, or perhaps more properly 'commonly held attitudes', do pertain. For example:

> 'Some sides drink the Bag [i.e. the money collected] before they get home, but ours have never done that. There's never been a rule, it's just one of those things... It's like the business of wearing no badges. If anybody, a new bloke, puts a badge on he's quickly told! It's not a set rule, there've been no rule laid on that.' (Berry. Int:001)

All these examples, and phrases such as 'our blokes won't have it' and 'he was quickly told' are all indicative of an esprit de corps that is present in the side. The team looks after its own - not just its own dancers, but their partners and, indeed, the village whose name they bear. Len described how this manifested when the side accepted an invitation to dance in America:

> 'What happened, the single men that could afford it - that were in good jobs - paid for their own air fare. The people that couldn't afford - or if there was two of them, like ourselves [i.e. Len and Barbara]... - ... what we did is that the rest came out [of] the Bag. But to raise the money for the Bag... we did jobs in the village, basically; we built all the concrete paths round the new village hall; we did the wheelchair ramps; there's some decoration; we hung up the curtains; we put the handrails in for old folks to get up into the hall. So we raised about £900 on that alone.

> 'That and what we had in the Bag anyway paid for the fares. And what we did then is that, when they came back, as the Bag filled up again, so, the members who paid their [own] way were reimbursed. So everybody in the end went for nothing - everybody went on the Bag in the end. It probably took nine months to pay off everyone - might have been even up to a year.' (Berry. Int:001)

The idea of equity, according initially to ability and subsequently to the whole side, also applied to other overseas visits - 'Everyone paid their own way for Holland. Not a lot of problem with that - it wasn't that expensive.' (Berry. Int:001)

Management

The officers of the side are elected at an Annual General Meeting. 'It's the usual thing... who'll do the job?' (Berry. Int:001) The offices (in common with many other sides) include those of Squire,

Bagman and Foreman. It is known that the 1880s side had a Squire - in fact it was William Pearman from whom Cecil Sharp collected the dances and tunes - but the selection of these three titles is 'just following the tradition of other sides.' (Berry. Int:001)

> 'The man who earns [i.e. deals with] the money wasn't the Bagman as such. As far as we were concerned, the Bagman was the Secretary really.' (Berry. Int:001)

The Squire, Bagman and Treasurer are all signatories to the side's bank account (IQ:076), and these three together with the Foreman are the key offices in the side. Len Berry was Squire from the start of the revival side until 1993 when he and his wife moved away from the area to live in North Wales. Len attributes two contradictory functions to the office of Squire:

> 'The Squire becomes just a figurehead, just a boss.' (Berry. Int:001)

In a strong, charismatic and visually striking individual such as Len Berry, it is possible to see both functions (i.e. 'just a figurehead' and as a 'boss') being played simultaneously, and it is not surprising to find adjustments made when he no longer lived locally, and a new office was created which:

> 'Only came into being this year [1993], from this AGM, that's a Life President. That's because when I left they said that they was not going to appoint another Squire - I would be Life Squire - but, because of the situation in the side where they wanted to change the Foreman and switch people around to share some of the jobs, (in actual fact, the Foreman was the Bagman as well you see - Secretary, you might call him that) they wanted that altered, so that's how it came to be that.' (Berry. Int:001)

Len was asked what he was expected to do as Life President, and replied:

> 'Literally nothing, except turn up for certain events and be a figurehead.' (Berry. Int:001)

In the re-shuffle in 1993, the previous Foreman became Squire, and a new Foreman (who is also the Squire of Adderbury Morris) was appointed. The role of Foreman is critical to the performance aspects of the side's activity.

He selects any new dances which are to be added to the side's repertoire and teaches them to the side, although the whole group is involved in both processes. He teaches new members the dances and assesses the standard they have achieved. Crucially, it is the Foreman who selects which items will

be performed at any given time and is in overall charge of the performance (IQ:076).

The Foreman's level of influence is also demonstrated by Len's observation on the way the dancing tempo itself has changed over time:

> 'I think one of the things that has altered is our dancing. It's speeded up more. It did slow down while we had a certain Foreman, and Alex the musician, she slowed it down as well - which suited him because he liked it. But after we had Diana and then consequently Tim Radford's new wife, from America, excellent musician, and she really put a bit of beef into it, so they do dance with a little bit more verve now than they did. They started off like that, then they slowed down, and it was very interesting when one of our young lads didn't dance for a long time, and then he came back. He came to practice and they said to him, "What are you up to, Edward?" and he said, "It's you lot, you're going too slow." They have speeded up that much again now.' (Berry. Int:002)

One further office, that of Village Liaison Officer, was also created when the Berrys moved away. Up to that time it had been unnecessary.

Decision making

Whilst the overall responsibility for performances resides in the Foreman, other decisions concerning the side are made collectively. Decisions concerning the disbursement of money (the 'bag'), which engagements to accept and (rare) disciplinary matters are all collectively discussed (IQ:076), and overall:

> 'They very rarely do village fêtes; they don't like being the one that's filled in between the police band and the dogs! The only thing they have done is better paying jobs, are the big craft fairs at the stately homes 'cause they do pay you 150 and 200 quid sometimes - a proper fee. So that's about all they do really.' (Berry. Int:001)

The choice of engagements has however changed a little with the change of officers. The side dances away by invitation:

> 'More so now, I think, because of the change in routine like, now. They've got blokes running the side now, really, that are getting into more dance-outs with other sides, mainly because this [particular] bloke... didn't like dancing with other sides.' (Berry. Int:001)

Len also notes that the majority of early members were not part of the 'Revival sub-culture', and that

some eloquent individuals:

> '... discouraged "non-folk" members of Kirtlington from going to other events, until
> new members who knew a bit more about "folk" joined.' (Berry. Int:001)

The transition from a primary focus on the village and the local tradition to a greater interest in 'away' performances is therefore attributable to an increasing number of 'folkies' in the side. This trend has parallels with other groups and will be discussed later.

Rapid decision-making by the group is encouraged by a very simple expedient. Rehearsals are customarily held on Tuesday nights and any items for decision are raised at the end of practice - and before the side retires to the pub.

Some specific jobs fall to certain individuals. In terms of costumes:

Len:	'All the shirts, baldricks, armbands and hats were all done by Barbara at the time.'
Barbara:	'The last lot I did have help... I made everybody one [a set] when they started.'
Len:	'All from the Bag.'
Barbara:	'I made new ones so they'd all have two when we went to America, and anybody who leaves is supposed to hand it in - it's not their own property.'
Len:	'The kit doesn't belong to them as such. They buy their own trousers... We supply the shirts, because they're a specific design, armbands, baldricks, bells - and they were all made by us.'
Barbara:	'But one or two have got their own now because their wives can sew and they've had the pattern - they wear their own.' (Berry. Int:001)

The maintenance of the costume is the responsibility of each dancer, and Kirtlington's pride in its bearing constantly ensures a high standard. Len told me proudly that:

> 'We started off, we thought we looked a clean mob, and everybody said so!' (Berry. Int:001)

Other properties of the group are looked after by the Bagman. In performance Kirtlington present both a Fool and an animal - Elmo, the Griffin. Len described how:

> 'We used to have a regular bloke, who couldn't dance, who would go in the animal.
> Unfortunately, he was taken ill and couldn't do it any more, and so consequently now

if they take it out, then if anybody happens to be injured with a bad leg or anything, they would jump in it.' (Berry. Int:001)

Additional notes, and analysis

The current Kirtlington team came into being, after an absence of their style of morris in the village of approximately 100 years, due to a skilled teacher and enthusiast - who was not part of the local community - doggedly pursuing an idea until he found an individual from within the community, who knew another individual from within the community, who would take it up and turn the idea into reality. To a significant extent, it was sheer luck the way it came together:

Barbara:	'When you think about it, we would never have got [into] it if Paul Davenport hadn't rung up old Bob [Edgington], and we hadn't been there to answer the phone.'
Len:	'That was the only thing. If Bob had said, "Well, I don't know anything about it... go back to the Parish Council," who... didn't want anything to do with it.'
Barbara:	'If anyone had said, "You ought to do something about Kirtlington Morris", we'd think, "Oh, we haven't got time for that!" You know, we weren't dancers. But because that bloke rang up and he was so insistent...' (Berry. Int:001)

The decision to revive the Kirtlington Morris had repercussions in the revival of other Cotswold village morris teams at that time as well, for:

'Ducklington and Eynsham revived in the same year as Kirtlington.

'Well, the three of us used to sing together you see... The people was Robin Saunders from Eynsham and Keith Green - the Squire now still - and there was the other bloke from Ducklington - Keith Dandridge. And Ian Giles.

'The reason was that I started - I said I was going to revive the morris... and they said, "Well, if you're going to do that, I'll go off and do Eynsham," and, "I'll go off and do Ducklington." Both still going.' (Berry. Int:001)

Apart from the strong leadership of a single key individual over many years, one possible reason for the apparently low frequency of changes in the Kirtlington Morris, in comparison to other case study groups, may be that the sort of creative drive that produces these changes is diverted into the annual Lamb Ale, which is the subject of the next Case Study, but before considering the Lamb Ale, it is again possible to note: pride and possessiveness, pragmatic changes, collective decision-making outside

of performance and autocratic within. The determination of individuals in the establishment of the group is also evident - in this case also from an individual who had no local connections.

CASE STUDY NO. 5

KIRTLINGTON LAMB ALE (OXFORDSHIRE)

As with the previous case study on Kirtlington Morris, the primary source of information on the present conduct of the Kirtlington Lamb Ale is Len and Barbara Berry (Int:001/002). Len is now Life President of the Kirtlington Morris Men having been appointed to this, from Squire, when he and Barbara moved from the area to North Wales. Quotations in the text are from Len unless otherwise stated. The Lamb Ale has been recorded for at least as long as the morris side and was certainly maintained at times by them, but it also survived the demise of the morris team and continued in a diminished form until re-developed by the new side.

Current form of the custom

The Kirtlington Lamb Ale is the title given collectively to a number of activities which take place in the village over the weekend prior to Trinity Tuesday each year. The primary activities are a processional ritual and dance displays organised by the Kirtlington Morris Men. The weekend is also attended by other Oxfordshire morris teams together with teams that the Kirtlington men have invited for the weekend.

On the Friday evening, the Kirtlington Morris Men convene at one of the two pubs, the Dashwood Arms, where, if there are enough singers present, there may be a sing-song. During the evening other teams who have been invited from beyond Oxfordshire arrive, are given papers with details of the weekend, and set up their tents etc. on the village football field adjacent to the new village hall, returning to the Dashwood Arms as and when they can.

On the Saturday morning, as Len describes the proceedings:

> 'We meet towards elevenish, something like that. Meet at the local in kit and with the other [guest] sides and then we go off to dance through the village - certain points round the village like the Old Folks [Home]. After lunch we take off then, to Woodstock, [or] Blenheim - this last year we went to Blenheim Palace and we danced on the forecourt. After we tour into Woodstock, we go back to Kirtlington and prepare for the evening.' (Berry. Int:002)

On the Saturday evening, three activities take place:

> 'There's a big singaround in the local [the Dashwood Arms] and there's a ceilidh[22] and usually a music session in the Oxford Arms - so we split it like that. [For] the

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ceilidh, we book a good band and a caller - that's the only thing that's ever paid for at Lamb Ale but we have to, obviously. That's in the new village hall. So we have a good ceilidh at which we also have a lamb roast. We do the lamb roast on the Saturday night. That goes on 'til midnight and that's a sell-out. We sell out every year. It's a sweat-box that, you know.' (Berry. Int:002)

The village hall also serves as the clubroom for the adjacent football pitch and, as it has showers etc., also acts as a washhouse for the teams camped on the pitch. It also serves, over the weekend, for serving meals:

'The next morning we also provide breakfast for anybody - so anyone can come in and chuck a couple of coppers in the bowl, and our lads lay on toast and cereals and things like that. We take over the village hall for the weekend. So we have breakfast there if they want it. Some of them cook their own on the campsite.' (Berry. Int:002)

After breakfast, the teams convene at the northern end of the village where they are formed into a procession led by two characters, the Lord and Lady of the Lamb, bearing garland-type tokens referred to as 'The Maces' and 'The Forest Feathers'. Behind the Lord and Lady come eight costumed young girls and they are followed by Kirtlington Morris Men and then the other teams. Len describes the proceedings thus:

'We meet there. They all have a list of when they're going to dance, where they're going to dance - exactly what spot. By this time the other [Oxfordshire] sides are arriving so they have to be up there before ten o'clock and into a processional. We try to split them up: you don't have a big Northwestern side right behind a very small morris side - say something like Ducklington - one little concertina player would hardly be heard, so we try and split them up that way. Then before quarter-past-ten (it has to be before then), as soon as we're ready, we process right through the village; back down through the village, across the southern green and straight to the church.' (Berry. Int:002)

Most of the morris teams join the congregation for the service although some cannot get in - it is always a 'full house'. The service is as follows:

'In there we have three songs - usually led by myself and Barbara. I read the lesson, I have done all these years, and then one of our lads - it used to be Ian Harris, our Foreman - and this year it was Tim Laughton, one of our lads, does a solo jig. When we come out of church we then proceed to the southern edge of the village - so you're down the other lane out of the churchyard - and we congregate at the southern end of the village and then process back to the school.' (Berry. Int:002)

The school playground now becomes the focus of activity, although a fair is also by now setting up on the village green. With the Lady of the Lamb in the centre, one set of Kirtlington Morris Men

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perform a dance around her and this is followed by the eight young women who perform their specific dance, *The Silver Berry*, also around the Lady of the Lamb. This is followed by the full Kirtlington side, three sets in all, performing mass morris, where:

'They do two dances - usually do something like *Trunckles* and *Lumps of Plum Pudding* - we do that in a threesome [i.e. three set formation] with the musician in the middle. Then each side [i.e. each guest and local side] does one dance. Then they look on the list and six sides - roughly six anyway, we split them into four groups - stay on the playground and do displays of their dances. So we split them into four groups - one goes to the village hall, one stays in the playground, one goes to the Oxford Arms and the other one goes to the Dashwood Arms... One of our men goes with their allotted [sides], sometime two, it depends how many we've got. They're supposed to move round every so often - in theory.

'They're given times on their list, but for some reason or other they always seem to get back to the Dashwood. That's how it goes. It works sometimes - well, most times it does. It works certainly in the first half of it. What we try and do now to curb that [is that] we don't give them any free beer until we get them back to the playground. They're all given a cask of ale, and sometimes it's produced by our blokes. One of our lads is very good at brewing beer. In fact this year the Landlord gave us a barrel - so there was a nice barrel of Hooky [beer from the Hook Norton brewery] for Kirtlington - that didn't last long. Then they all have to go back to the school at three o'clock and Kirtlington then do their dance display - 'cos they haven't had much of a chance up till then. They do a full display. Then each side is called forward to dance. Now we also ask the maids to do another one - they've only got one dance - and we just go right round the sides until five o'clock.' (Berry. Int:002)

From five o'clock many guest sides are packing away their camp and heading for home, and other Oxfordshire sides will also go home or go off to dance in their 'home patches'. In some years, the Kirtlington men would return to the Dashwood Arms in the evening and perform out at the back of the pub, but:

'... that's not in the fixture, you know, just a thing for themselves while they're having a drink.' (Berry. Int:002)

On the Monday, a Lamb Ale lunch is organised, not by the Morris, but by a Mr. Edgington who has done so for many years. This is attended by the Kirtlington Morris Men, but:

'Usually, we've just about got about eight or ten of us go to it. We go there, we have the lunch, then usually go outside and do two or three dances. Very few people come and watch because they're dashing back to the pub, the local lads and that. So we usually get only the Top Table people, as I call them - 'cause there *is* a Top Table. It's very archaic. They're got this Top Table business - I think it's because they put

more money in - these are the local squires, the vicar, and the business people. But really that's about it to be honest.

'The fair still goes on - that's the two days of the fair, the Monday and the Tuesday. Funnily enough, there was a better fair this year. They opened on the Sunday - they're getting clever. That's when the people are there. You've got several thousand people there then.' (Berry. Int:002)

Background and origin of the present custom

Church Ales used to be widespread and have particularly been noted in the South Midlands. They were, prior to the introduction of Church Tax, sponsored events when special ale was brewed by the church for sale to raise funds, and a festive period extended over several days. The majority took place around Whitsun, but the dates ranged from Hocktide through to Trinity Monday or Tuesday. Chandler notes that:

> 'They were consciously popular, with features arranged for entertainment designed to generate the greatest mass appeal. The diversions included music and dancing in a variety of forms, feasting, drinking, elements of basic humour involving forfeits, singing and competition of various kinds.' (Chandler.1993a)

It is possible to recognise the same elements here as are recorded in relation to West Country 'Revels' and to Lancashire's 'Wakes Weeks'. At Kirtlington, the Lamb Ale may have been recorded as early as 1679[23] - but 'was certainly a regular occurrence by 1723' (Chandler.1993b). The 1670's account gives some detail of the format of the event:

> 'The custom is, that on Monday after Whitsun week, there is a fat live lamb provided, and the maids of the town, have their thumbs ty'd behind them, run after it, and she that with her mouth takes and holds the lamb is declared 'Lady of the Lamb', which being dress'd with the skin hanging on, is carried on a long pole before the Lady and her companions to the green attended with music and a Morisco dance of men, and another of women, where the rest of the day is spent in dancing, mirth and merry glee. The next day the lamb is part bak'd and rost for the ladies feast, wher she sits majestically at the upper end of the table and her companions with her music and other attendants, which end the solemnity.' (Blount.1874, quoted by Chandler.1993)

By the 1840s, the Trinity Monday procession included a 'Lord and Lady' who processed through the village and, on the Tuesday, the Morris 'were as usual entertained at Sir George Dashwood's.' (Chandler.1993b) The Dashwoods were large landowners in the area and their possessions included the village of Kirtlington. They had patronised the custom - at least with money and probably with

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a feast[24] - since at least the 1730s, but the family 'ceased their regular annual payment... in 1862' and 'the final Lamb Ale was held during that year'. (all Chandler.1993b)

> 'In addition [to the described procession], the Morris Dancers performed during the nine days' duration of the Ale in neighbouring villages, where they collected money towards the expenses of the festival; and there were also competitions between morris sides. Teams which regularly attended the Ale included those from Bampton, Bucknell and Headington Quarry.' (Chandler.1993b)

Although Chandler quotes 1862 as 'the final Lamb Ale', it is perhaps more accurate to consider this as a year of major change in the maintenance of the tradition and loss of sponsorship, for it is apparent that not all of the customary elements of the Lamb Ale, as described from the 1670s to the 1840s or 60s, died out at the same time. As exemplified many times in this study, the 'established' compound form of a custom may have ceased, but it is not sufficient to say that therefore the custom itself stopped. Efforts were made to keep the morris dancing going, and separate male and female sides were reported from the 1880s, and a further suggestion of a 'short-lived revival' in the 1890s. (Chandler.1993b)

The Tuesday Feast apparently ceased for a time but, as Len says, was nevertheless continued:

> 'I think it died out at one time, and then it was taken up by The Oddfellows Society and they revived and ran it, but it wasn't run on the same lines as the village feast where it was all one thing. They [i.e. the Oddfellows] used to have a parade, because that's where we found some of the names for the old [morris] side.

> 'The Lamb Ale is now run by a private family. The actual Feast is just run by the Edgington family, only because his dad used to do it. His dad took it up when the Oddfellows dropped it... just over fifty years back [i.e. circa 1940].' (Berry. Int:001)

Even with the Feast in this form, the traditional involvement of morris men was maintained and the Oxford University Men were annually invited. The flavour of much of the peripheral activity reported in the last century was similarly represented instead by a visiting fairground.

Just as other aspects of the modern custom were modelled on the historical records, so too is the presence of other morris and dance sides, although not on a competitive basis. As Len describes initial development of the guest-side list:

> 'We started off by inviting all the Oxfordshire sides, *all* of them, and that still goes...

There are a couple of sides in Oxfordshire, well three really, who don't like dancing with ladies, and *will* not dance with ladies, and that is the three traditional sides - unfortunately.' [i.e. Bampton, Abingdon and Headington Quarry.]

'The other Abingdon side, Hemmings[25], and the number three side in Bampton turn up every year.' (Berry. Int:001)

This principled invitation to *all* the Oxfordshire morris sides determined the number of groups that the new custom would thereafter accommodate each year. Given that some sides would not attend, others could then be accommodated - with a view to adding variety to the dancing spectacle:

'Three sides we knew wouldn't come so - for those three sides we used to get a sword side, a Northwest side and p'raps either a Molly or a Border. So that way we could split up the Cotswold [sides and dances].

'Some of the Oxfordshire teams, now, don't come every year. Like Eynsham will only come every other year because of their other commitments.' (Berry. Int:001)

Advance arrangements are made, even before responses are received from the Oxfordshire sides, to ensure an adequate number of sides even if some of them decline. The mechanism is:

'Oxford sides automatic, so we know about fifteen will come. So, from then on we vote... You put your name forward, who you want... and then they [i.e. Kirtlington Morris Men] have a vote on it and when they've got about twenty-two sides, that's enough. Now if any of the Oxfordshire sides fall out, we fill them from off the running list of people we'd like according to how many votes they got.

'At Lamb Ale we've had... Grenoside..., Trefor Owen dances with Wakefield and also dances with Grenoside as well... We always have Grand Union Rapper 'cos they are funny - we have a good laugh with them - they turn up anyway - they're like Hemmings [Abingdon]... they don't wait for an invitation - they are part of the scene. They expect to be invited...

'We always invited them [Adderbury] to Kirtlington [Lamb Ale], and it's very rare [that they come], 'cos we've got four blokes that dance with Adderbury that dance with us, and they dance with ours more than Adderbury - and when it come to, like, if he did get enough for half-a-dozen, he would have to have two of our blokes... [to] dance with 'em.' (Berry. Int:001)

When first developed, the Sunday dance-turns on the school playground would culminate with all the sides performing. But this too has changed, for:

'We used to do a massed dance at the end but we didn't do it this year. Hemmings

always used to lead that, for years. It's usually done [called] by the two Fools, that's me and Mike Badcock [Kirtlington and Hemmings], used to control it by shouting out the turns. That was the end of it then.' (Berry. Int:001)

Peripheral activity and the growth of the overall custom

The present form of the Lamb Ale comprises a number of different activities. Some of these have been modelled on the old records of the Lamb Ale in previous centuries; others have developed and grown with the modern custom. All aspects must be considered in this Case Study, for it is the total effect of all the activities combined that make up The Kirtlington Lamb Ale as a calendar custom. The modern form started with the Kirtlington Morris Men taking a deliberate decision to reinstate the Lamb Ale. As Len says:

'We asked them [i.e. other villagers] originally if they wanted to join with us, and we would revive the whole lot... and make a proper village do of it.' (Berry. Int:001)

But enthusing the local community and the organisers of the Feast was not, as Len recalls, initially an easy task:

'When we first started it, the local people wasn't very interested at all. We had a lot of snidey remarks about it... Especially the Kirtlington people... the old people [i.e. long-established village families - not necessarily aged individuals] said that we were honing in on their Feast, and all that, you know. And they said that what was happening was that us on the Saturday and Sunday were taking the money away from the Feast, for the fair on the Monday and Tuesday. We said, "Well, how could we because we don't sell anything. If people want to go to the pub that's their blooming pigeon... They said that the morris was nothing to do with the Lamb Ale... They always said they was nothing to do with that until we showed them... The way we got round it with the bloke who actually does the meal on the Monday, the traditional bit, we gave him all our archive stuff for him to read... We thought, "We'll give him the lot" - we got it all in a folder: the letters, the articles all over the years. And he was fascinated - he said, "I never realised."... [We] said, "Well, there you are, we're only reviving what was here, what belongs to the village, and why haven't you done it?"

'It's very difficult to go to a village, even if you've lived there a long time, and start something up that belongs to the village... because they resent you doing it, which is daft, but at the same time they *do*. They don't want to do it themselves, they don't understand it. We always kept them informed because we didn't want to tread on anybody's toes. What they was doing as a Feast was nothing like the original, and to be honest they knew nothing about the history, they didn't know anything about the old traditions of the Feast.

'We tried to get the village involved with our side of it as well, and they now appreciate it. It's come round now that they say it's the best thing that ever happened because it's made a cracking weekend of it, and although we still do our separate things we now attend [the Feast itself].' (Berry. Int:001)

The Feast itself was still extant, as explained above, although:

'it's not quite a village feast as such. It's a limited number of people sit down to a lunch on the Monday, which is the Feast day - well, there's two days for the Feast now - they just have this lunch, and a crazy cricket match.' (Berry. Int:001)

Attendance at the Feast is by invitation, although those attending have to pay.

'When they started to invite us, we wasn't very keen, but we thought, "Well, we've got to do it because we consider we're part of the village." It's very difficult after you've had a weekend of dance on Friday, Saturday and Sunday to get people to take the Monday off... Not everyone is in a position to take another day off, and in some cases lose money over it. The bag always paid for the meal - that's the only time we actually used... the bag to pay for anything like that.' (Berry. Int:001)

This invitation was effectively an acceptance of the new Kirtlington Morris by the Feast organisers and the point from which the current form of the Lamb Ale weekend consolidated as an entity. Since then:

'it's grown a bit in that one or two of the village organisations now have suddenly rumbled that... a lot of people descend on Kirtlington, and it would be a good way to raise money. The W.I., the P.T.A. - and they all make a nice bit of money... It keeps everybody happy and they feel part of it.' (Berry. Int:001)

The W.I. sell food at the craft fair, and the P.T.A. organise and sell food at the village school. Both are the major source of sustenance for the visitors and performers during the Lamb Ale. The Village Hall Committee now run the craft fair in the village hall. This had originally been started by Len and Barbara who are also craftspeople in their own right.[26]

Within the old records of the Lamb Ale, virgins from the village chased a lamb in order to decide who would become Lady of the Lamb. Those who were unsuccessful became the Lady's attendants or companions. Nowadays both the selection method and the rôle of the attendants have changed, and:

'the girls choose themselves, and they only come from Kirtlington so it's limited

sometimes. One of them is nominated as the Lady. That's why they're getting smaller really. Once you've been the Lady, you can't be in it any more, you're "out" then. So they stay in because they want to become Lady. They've got to become fourteen or fifteen before they can become that.' (Berry. Int:001)

During the proceedings the Lady's companions perform a particular dance that has been created for them. It is:

'A static dance [i.e. not processional]. They dance round the Lady. It's like a ballet dance really, in a square... When we get back from the Church, we go back into the school playground which is where all the ritual stuff happens. First of all the girls dance round the Lady, then the girls go off, then the Lord takes the Lady back on again, and then our morris come around and we do *Bonny Green* [a particular dance] round them.' (Berry. Int:001)

The origin of the dance lies in one individual's creative idea which was subsequently taken on by the organisation and has become an established part of the custom. Len recalls that:

'[Paul] Davenport came down and stayed with us and we played him this tune because it was written for our Silver Wedding, called *Silver Berry*, by Keith Harris from the Whitley Folk Club, and we played it to him and he said, "That would be a good tune for a dance for the girls". And being a ballet master, he wrote a dance to go with it, and that's how come the girls do the *Silver Berry* dance... Nine girls from the village. It has to be nine virgins from the village... Eight girls do the dance - and one is the Lady of the Lamb.' (Berry. Int:001)

The girls are now taught the dance from within the village community:

'One woman did it for a long, long time, and she got a bit cheesed off with it obviously after so many years and she handed it over virtually to the older girls. The older girls gradually took over and started teaching the dancing. It was brilliant. And there's one mum, she alters the hems of the dresses every year so they're all the same [length] where they're short or tall.' (Berry. Int:001)

Although the girls' dance was initially danced only once, pressure has led to it being repeated during the day, and:

'... we do have to now: let 'em go and do it again later in the afternoon... 'cos it's a bit 'one-off' [otherwise]. But they're the ones that lead the procession. The Lord and Lady actually lead, with the two girls carrying the Maces, and two boys carrying the Forest Feathers - so that's the front end of the procession, then comes the girls, and [then] our Morris, and then all the rest.' (Berry. Int:001)

The Maces and Forest Feathers featured in the old descriptions of the Lamb Ale procession, and on revival they were:

'... copied from the ones that were in Cecil Sharp House and got destroyed in the war.'
(Berry. Int:001)

A further example of new ways to meet old descriptions is evident in the supply of beer for the visiting morris sides during the weekend. Len explained that:

'The morris used to go around prior to the Feast and dance out round the villages and raise money... and the money that they earnt while they danced round the villages used to buy a large barrel of beer which they then put in the Bowery... made of leaves and branches, and that was there for them to drink during the Festival.' (Berry. Int:001)

Nowadays the general Bag of the Kirtlington side is used to buy the beer, although it was noted in the Case Study on Kirtlington Morris Men (C/S:4) that the side do not buy beer from the Bag as a general rule. Len qualified the 'rule' when discussing the Lamb Ale:

'...unless it's for the guests. We do at Lamb Ale, every dancer and musician gets a couple of pints off us.' (Berry. Int:001)

Even the timing of the Lamb Ale itself has changed over the years it has been recorded, because:

'The Lamb Ale was first held [at] Easter or Whitsun, but the date was afterwards changed to Trinity Monday. [It is currently] the week after Spring Bank Holiday... It might eventually go back to the Bank Holiday weekend, I reckon, because it only goes back because of the fair - for the Monday and Tuesday... The fair are always booked up on the Bank Holiday, but whether that will work now with these other people, I don't know.' (Berry. Int:001)

The implication here is that the custom has only been retained on the weekend *after* Spring Bank Holiday because the showmen who provide the fair have prior commitments, or more lucrative pitches, on the Bank Holiday itself. In 1993, Len indicated that:

'... they're having trouble with the fair, 'cos the fair don't want to pay - 'cos they have to pay for the ground and the use of the village green. And they don't get the people there, and when they wanted to put the price up they said they wouldn't pay it. And then Edwards' [fair] packed up, and they've got all these other little ones that come

now, but it's not the same atmosphere.' (Berry. Int:001)

By 1996, Len observed that, as quoted above, the fair now opened on the Sunday to take advantage of the crowds and the 'trouble' with the fair seemed to have eased. Trouble of a different kind however can be present. It may have been that the declining attendances at the fair were a direct result of the increased activity and interest in other elements of the weekend:

> 'To be honest, on the Friday, Saturday and Sunday there's never any trouble - thousands of people there, there's no trouble, everybody's enjoying themselves, but Monday and Tuesday - well, Tuesday is dying out now - [but] Monday night - punch-ups! Local! Punch-ups in the pub. Police are there.' (Berry. Int:001)

This too, by 1996, seemed to have eased, and the Tuesday had declined further, but as the long history of events such as Wakes, Fairs and Revels shows, increasing drunkenness and yobbish behaviour can lead to declining involvement of the general respectable populace and, ultimately, to demands for restriction or cessation of the event.

Additional notes and analysis

Throughout the development of the modern Lamb Ale weekend, the Kirtlington Morris Men, and in particular the overall vision of Len and Barbara Berry, had been the driving force in creating and consolidating the activities. Both were concerned as to what would happen when they moved away to North Wales:

> 'We feel very proud that we got it going... We were frightened to death that it was going to stop, but we thought, "We can't go on for ever and ever doing it. And if we get out now while it's going well..." And they came up trumps - mostly due to Nigel and Pete.' (Berry. Int:001)

Although the Morris have never, even in the historical record, actually run the Lamb Ale in its entirety themselves, they have and still do play a major part by supplying the performance elements of the weekend. At the time at which they started recreating the event, the Feast and the Fair were independently extant. Using the historical record as the model, other aspects of the old Lamb Ale were recreated and reinstated using pragmatism to determine how they were achieved. Some elements from the historical record were tried and dropped - again for pragmatic reasons. The prime example here is the Lamb Pie. Historically the Lamb Pie used to be carried in the procession and then pieces

were given out to all those in attendance. Within the revival:

> 'We don't do it now. We did it when we started [but the weather was] - TOO HOT!
> Used to auction [it] for about £16... We've stopped doing the Lamb Pies... We didn't
> think it was very hygienic carrying them about like that.' (Berry. Int:001)

The increasing size of the event and the provision of free entertainment led to increasing interest from within the community and this was used to involve other organisations and to develop the event in ways which were not part of the original descriptions. Individuals' creative ideas, such as the maidens' dance, were also tried and incorporated where appropriate.

The current form is therefore a mixture of recreated and completely new elements. As with other examples in the Case Studies, the Kirtlington Lamb Ale event has grown and developed well beyond the initial 'reconstruction' that was envisaged, in response to its local community, its interactive audience and the creative ideas of those involved. Initial resistance to the recreation of the older form of the Lamb Ale festivities from within the village was overcome: a) by supplying historical evidence of the village's heritage and b) by an increasing number of local people discovering that 'it was becoming too good to ignore'.

Subsequent development, attracting a drunken element, resulting in changing perception of the event in toto by certain sectors of the community is also parallelled in other customs both historically and in recent times.

CASE STUDY No. 6

THE COVENTRY MUMMERS

Coventry Mummers, as their name indicates, perform mumming plays but they are one of only a small number of gangs who maintain a repertory of these traditional seasonal plays. They perform the plays, not only at their appropriate season, but throughout the year[27]. Although unusual in some aspects, they nevertheless display a number of characteristics in common with other groups. The bulk of the information in this Case Study comes from Ron Shuttleworth, the founder and prime mover of the team, but also from a variety of other sources. The team was one of seven mumming groups surveyed for a PhD thesis at Ohio State University by Ward (1972)[28], in which he claims that:

> 'In this volume is a collection of nearly every Folk Play current in England in 1971-
> 72, accompanied by contextual information based on my first-hand experience.'

Ward acknowledges the absence from his list of the Marshfield Mummers (Glos.), but even among the teams included in this survey, one can add: the Chelmsford Folk Club Mummers, City of Gloucester Mummers and the North Devon Mummers all of whom were extant in the 1971/72 season - let alone the numerous mumming performances maintained by morris sides at the time and continuing traditions such as Symondsbury (Dorset). The inaccuracy of Ward's assertion may be indicative of a more general lack of rigour. This is certainly Ron Shuttleworth's view:

> 'It seems to me that Mr. Ward decided in advance to present Coventry Mummers in
> a certain light and chose the [tape] recording [he commentated on] and highlighted
> items in order to confirm that image.' (Shuttleworth.1979)

> 'I find that my feelings towards Mr. Ward have changed little over the intervening
> years - he did a hatchet-job on us and I should like to return the favour before I am
> too old to swing the hatchet.' (Shuttleworth.1988)

Coventry Mummers differ from the other teams surveyed by Ward in a number of ways, but most obviously that all the others are single-season/single-play groups. The Coventry approach and attitude to performance is distinct and the other teams all have direct revival connection to a previous or continuing local play tradition (in the case of Antrobus, Bampton and Ripon direct familial links back to the 19th Century). Whilst the Coventry Mummers do have the direct revival connections in one side of their work, as will be shown, the 'commercial' side of their work is unlike anything undertaken by the rest of Ward's list. Ward's view of mumming was, on his own admission, romanticised:

'My romanticised notion of roaming bands of mummers walking from pub to pub were quickly dispelled as I realised how mechanised they had become at Antrobus.' (Ward.1972)

But he does seem singularly critical of Coventry and this appears to be based in his attitude to their manner of performance (see below). In view of Ward's lack of engagement with the Coventry Mummers, and additional doubts about his rigour, his thesis has not been used as a source in the Case Study. In addition to information from the sources quoted above and IQ:005, a further mss. containing 'recollections' (Shuttleworth.n.d.) and an interview conducted for the study (Int:007) have provided the bulk of the information in this Case Study. Although the study draws almost exclusively from Shuttleworth, it is effectively moderated through my own observations of the group over several years and by the fact that the draft was scrutinised by several members of the group with no disagreement or commentary offered.

Current practice

The group performs both locally, for local and charitable purposes, and further afield on a professional basis. Local performances of local plays (i.e. the performance of play texts collected at a certain location being performed in that same location) is taken seriously by the group and is a source of pride. In his repost to Ward (1972), Shuttleworth states:

> 'During the Christmas period last year [1978] we performed three local plays in the villages from which they were collected. We do them 'straight' and keep to original costume types where details exist. One of these texts was previously unknown until we ourselves collected it, and we have hopes that this year it will be performed by local men who will have been taught by a member of the original team. This year we also hope to revive the Tachbrook Mummer's Play using the text from the Carpenter Collection.' (Shuttleworth.1979)

In addition, and in contrast to this 'local' commitment, the group has worked professionally at various arts and entertainment events such as regular tourist attractions at Warwick Castle and, for eleven years (1977-1987) an annual Christmas foyer show at the National Theatre. Both these sources of bookings have been curtailed for financial reasons and Coventry Mummers are no longer engaged. A further example of the 'commercial' side of the group's work was at a company product launch:

> 'Peugeot were launching their new car and they had all sorts of press and people, and they were wining and dining them at St. Mary's Hall - the big old guildhall - and we were booked to do five shows [and] we picked up £400.' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

At such engagements the team will, often 'out of season', use their full repertoire of what are referred to as the 'normal set'[29] of plays which includes: Christmas Hero, Tup, Wooing/Plough, Robin Hood (a 'ballad play' based on a ballad text) and a Longsword dance which includes a play. (IQ:005)

There are twelve to fifteen members of the group with ages ranging from 33 to 62 - Ron being the most senior member. Performances are primarily within the counties surrounding Coventry, but the group are happy to perform (for a fee) at festivals and events all over the country and have even travelled to Germany, Denmark and on two occasions to Ireland.

Background and origin of the group and performance

Coventry Mummers formed and first performed in November 1966 but the genesis of the group started before this and the group was, in a way, the logical conclusion of prior events. As Ron recalls:

> 'I used to go to odd festivals and I was also involved with the Camping Club folk group. We'd been to a couple of festivals and I'd seen these morris beasts and eventually we went to Sidmouth [Festival] and I came back even more in love with morris beasts and I felt that I'd like to make one of those. I thought, "Well, a horse is very much a morris thing. I don't want to tread on people's toes. Now I come from Derbyshire and I'll make myself a Derby Ram." Was as random as that.' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

The combination of the beast and an individual with certain knowledge led to an ad hoc performance - and then another, as follows:

> 'So I made the Derby Ram, and then I took it along to a folk group meet, in August, and a chap called Bob Whitlock who was a long-standing morris man... he knew of the Derby Tup play - he knew enough of the words - whatever - so that we actually put something on that weekend, and the next weekend was a major Camping Club "do" [at] which the folk group were supposed to be doing something, so we did it again there, and then that was it.' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

Ron was now becoming enthusiastic and sought out both a play and a group to perform it. As he himself says:

> 'My interest was now aroused and I did some further research into [Tup] Plays and finally collated a version very similar to the one we use today.

> 'At this time I was associated with a folk-song club called the Coventry Folk

Workshop, and when my text was ready I mentioned it at a club night. Getting an encouraging response, I invited anyone interested to come to a meeting. This was the inaugural meeting of Coventry Mummers, although it could be said that the Tup was the first member of the side.' (Shuttleworth.n.d.)

Fairly rapidly, the idea and the initial enthusiasm turned into a regular team:

'Our first actual booking was where Coventry Morris had something on - it was for the staff of a maternity hospital - and then we did a few more shows and people seemed to be interested. The next step was obviously going to be a hero/combat play. Now, initially we costumed the thing from jumble sales. It was valuable that we had done, as it were, a "lesser" play before we got onto the serious stuff - 'cause we learnt a lot, and got the idea that it was going to be more than a one-off gig, and was worth putting a bit of effort into. So it went on from there.' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

As indicated, there are only a few year-round repertory mumming groups and at the time of the group's formation there was neither precedent nor reason why they should not operate in this way. Ron opined that:

'I get the feeling that everyone thought that you couldn't keep a team going full-time on mumming alone. A bit like the bumble-bees [flying], we didn't know any better so we just went and did it.

'Whilst there may have well been morris teams and people who did something for Christmas, there was no full-time mummers side. Darlington, who were formed...[30] before us, were still drawing their members from a folk club base, and they didn't have a constant membership - so they say, you know, "Who wants to be in the play this week?" ' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

Since 1966 the Coventry Mummers have performed without lapses although the personnel has changed over time, as Ron says:

'There is now no-one else who was in the first batch. I've got one lad who joined us quite early on. It's gone through a lot of phases.' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

The reasons for needing to recruit new members is related to natural progression in the lives of group members rather than to expansion of the repertoire or increases in bookings. On this Ron is quite clear:

'Started off [as] I was the only one who was married - now some of them have acquired young families, some have families that have grown up. That, in subtle

ways, tends to affect the total commitment of everybody. We [now] have great difficulty getting a team for a weekend - especially as some of the lads, their wives, are in other teams.' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

Recruitment of new members is carefully undertaken for reasons that Ron himself exemplified in interview:

'A lot of them have got some connection with [the] folk [revival] though not specific [i.e. membership of another group] but usually they come by recommendation - or, if there's somebody you know and they, say, show an interest. We've got a very equitable crowd... but at one time we did have problems with personalities getting [in the way], arguing and "awkward squad" and things like this one one summer... we were going out every weekend over a period of six/eight weeks and it wasn't long enough between bookings to allow little niggles to evaporate. By the end of July they were really getting pissed off with each other - I was still nominal Squire - and people were saying, "I want a motion of censure against so-and so". I said, "All right, we're having about a month off - leave it 'til after that and then we'll deal with it." By the end of the month, of course, it had all evaporated. It was just 'cause we were living in each other's pockets too much. That shows that you can't afford to have someone that one person doesn't get on with.' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

Such means of selection restricts the recruitment pool to the acquaintances of the existing members and even these are carefully scrutinised by the group before they are accepted, in the following manner:

'If we decide that a new member is required, suggestions are taken. These are discussed by all members. One is chosen and voted on by ALL members when a "blackball" operates. The chosen man is only then invited - he is "in" if he accepts. He may attend meetings as a Probationary and indicates his acceptance of us by buying his "joining round".' (IQ:005)

Repertoire and performance

Having started with the Tup play and added a Hero/Combat (Christmas/Hero) play, the repertoire continued to grow as Ron explains:

'Then we had the Wooing play, and the next one was obviously a Sword play. We'd already got various trick props and I thought, "Well, somehow that head has got to come off[31]", and it's very simple. Once you're shown, it's obvious but it took me three months to work it out.' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

It was, however, twenty years before the Robin Hood play was introduced:

'When the side asked me to find an addition to our repertory, I was faced with a problem. We already had examples of the four main types... I then got the idea of a ballad play of Robin Hood. When I came to look at the ballads however, I found that there was only one plot that stood a chance of being played in a non-stage situation - all the others would need changes of scenery, etc. Even with the one we do, it could not be strictly linear as in the mummers' play and it was impossible to avoid an "in another part of the forest" situation.' (Shuttleworth.n.d.)

The Coventry Mummers are unusual in their 'approach' to the whole idea of mumming. Whereas most teams are either occasional groups drawn, at the appropriate season, from pre-existing common interest groups, or the result of an individual's recruitment drive amongst friends and acquaintances, they remain single-season/single-play groups, often performing a play collected locally (or an adaptation thereof). In contrast, Coventry have the series of local plays, but have also built their 'normal set'. Even with these plays there is a compliance with the traditional forms unlike, for example, Bradshaw Mummers where:

'They've got this bloke who loves to write plays for them... and they'll stop - they won't do anything for three months till they've rehearsed this new play and then [they'll] go out with that. They do Trafalgar, The Invasion, Seige of Bradford, Armada, Albion Heroes - which is the Romans.' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

None of these plays are of a 'traditional' play form although, as noted in Ch.1, it is known that other play forms used to be performed by 'mummers'[32]. Coventry adhere to the more traditional text types, but their performance style is highly extrovert and attention-grabbing - and deliberately so:

'I didn't want to go out into Coventry precinct and have people say, "What are those people tatting about in the corner?" I want people to have to stand on tiptoe and say, "What the hell's going on over there?" So I went for bright simple colours, oversized weaponry [the swords were bright anodised] - stuff that clangs and bangs. The whole idea was to hit it for effect.' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

Nor is their founder shy in acclaiming the team and its achievements. This is never in a self-aggrandising way, although comparisons between the mummers and funded arts are not always complimentary. For example:

'We did a foyer show at the National Theatre for eleven years [1977-1988] and I was told that the actors used to enjoy watching us 'cause we broke all the rules that had

been beaten into them at their first week at R.A.D.A.[33] We waved our arms about and upstaged each other, didn't face the audience - but got away with it... If you look at it from another angle, we're an amateur street theatre that have survived for twenty-seven years without public funding... and we've also got about three grand in the bank!' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

How the group is run

Although the group started with no officers, it soon appointed a Squire with absolute authority to determine what happened during bookings, and the reasons for this have already been discussed, but:

> 'Since then the office of Squire has taken on other responsibilities but that was the initial reason and the extent of his authority. We must have someone who is authorised, by vote, to resolve any problem.' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

Other officers came into being as the need arose. For example, Ron discussed banking problems:

> 'Your problem is when you want two signatories on a cheque. When I ran Coventry Mummers, Coventry Mummers was in my name, the money was indistinguishable from my money except in the [mummers'] account book. Now if you've got a Bagman that you can trust in that way and there's not a lot of income that he's gotta run...' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

The Bagman's function is not dissimilar to that reported for most morris Bagmen. The questionnaire return (IQ:005) indicates that he is responsible for banking and drawing money and relating to outside agencies (i.e. treasurer and secretarial duties). He is also a signatory to the bank account. There are separate Foremen identified for: a) plays generally, b) the sword dance and c) the local Christmas plays. The Foreman 'basically controls rehearsals'. There is also a Ragman who is responsible for properties although this responsibility is also shared amongst the players.

Decisions on which bookings to take are made according to the availability of individuals, but once a commitment is made it is expected to be honoured. The mechanism is as follows:

> 'In general [bookings] come through the Bagman and he will at a meeting say, "Look, I've got a booking here from so and so", and he'll read out what he knows about it. We say, "Well, have we got enough men [available] to do it?" People put their hand up and this is noted down. Basically the rule is, or certainly should be though it's a little bit lax at the moment - we're going though a loose patch, there's always things mutate - but if you commit yourself at that point and you say a definite "yes" rather than a "maybe" or "got to see the wife", then you have to have a *very* good reason

for crying off. On the basis of the number of men who're prepared to do it [we accept or not].' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

Such collective decision making is also applied to selecting additions to the repertoire; teaching new members and assessing standards; discipline and the disbursement of funds. By contrast, tasks during performance such as announcing and collecting are done on an ad hoc basis (IQ:005). The group has officers as described above, but it has no 'committee' unless it be the whole group - 'All decisions [are] taken by ALL members at meetings' (IQ:005). There are no difficulties in getting the group together for such decisions, as the group has 'Weekly meetings at which business and rehearsal take about equal time' (IQ:005). If the collective approach fails to deal with discipline problems, the group have developed a further ritualised method for expressing disapproval:

'One useful instrument is a small cup - the "Pratt of the Year Award". Originally a joke, it has proved very effective in making the feelings of the membership know to someone whose behaviour is perceived as aberrant. It is awarded annually at the AGM.' (IQ:005)

The 'professional' side of Coventry Mummers' engagement diary has resulted in a team that is by no means poor, and even amongst 'richer' groups there are few that could claim to have 'about three grand in the bank!' (Int:007). In line with the group's official objective - 'To promote the performance, research, study and knowledge of English Ritual Drama' (IQ:005) - the funds are sometimes applied to a national level information resource. For example:

'When Brian Hayward's book on Scottish mumming [Hayward.1992] came out they donated that to The [Vaughan Williams Memorial] Library. The Library have had a copy of *Mumming in Newfoundland* stolen, then they reprinted it so we bought them a reprint.' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

The local play performances are also in line with this objective, as is the workshop side of the group's engagements at Folk Festivals such as Broadstairs, Wadebridge and Sidmouth. Ron recalls:

'We did a series of workshops at Sidmouth [Festival] one year. Now, that I look on as the really serious stuff but very rarely do you get a chance to stretch. When I did Sidmouth two years ago [1991] - six one-and-a-half hour workshops - that was really stretching. I said, "I'm not teaching a play". I'm not too keen on teaching plays - because I'm not very good at it, but also (except where there's a workshop 'showcase') there's all these professional people and you're going to bring on an ill-sorted team - how can you improve people's view of what mumming is?' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

Ron does, however, lament what he sees as a general disinterest in mumming in general by other mumming groups:

> 'Most don't seem to have any interest in meeting other mummers' teams - there are one or two [who do] - Merrie England, Ragged Heroes.' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

Commentary and analysis

It is obvious that Ron Shuttleworth has been not only the founder but also the primary creative element and inspiration of the Coventry Mummers throughout its history. From his first interest, it was he who brought together the performing group, invented the 'trick props', found and collated the 'normal set' of plays and is still, although some jobs have been identified and delegated, the driving force behind the group. Like many other leaders encountered in this research, Ron's position is imposed on him by the group and, although this may indeed suit his style and personality, it is important to note that, again like other leaders, the rôle is not one that he guards or deliberately keeps to himself, and he has commented that the Case Study may be:

> '...over-stressing my influence in the later years, as I have little effect on the team nowadays. I suppose, if anything, that I may still act as an anchor-to-windward to retain anything that strays overfar from 'The Tradition' or the traditions of the team.' (Shuttleworth.1997)

Like Tim Bartlett, the late Captain of Grenadiers in the Earl of Rone custom (C/S:3), his authority has been awarded by those he commands:

> 'As the Captain has no authority except that which custom and the remainder of the Party have allowed him to assume, he can only make suggestions and may find that they are ignored.' (Bartlett.1991)

Ron has made a similar comment:

> 'I have 'good' ideas - but they often receive underwhelming support.' (Shuttleworth.1997)

The comment about 'a Bagman you can trust' (see above) is also worthy of note. It derives from an experience within the group, but this was not the only time such a reference has been made in this survey. Trevor Stone reported two instances amongst sword teams which we agreed should not be named. In one instance:

'The Treasurer absconded and with him went... somewhere between 450 and 500 quid. There were three camps. One camp just thought, "Ah, bugger it, let's get stuck in and rebuild the team!" Another camp was, "Let's get the bugger reported to the police to get it sorted out." The other camp was, "Find him and knee-cap him."

'It's happened with other teams. I went to do some research in *** and found the whole place clammed up like an oyster. You couldn't actually talk to anyone without upsetting... half of the rest of the village. They had a Treasurer who took off with quite a lot of the funds!' (Stone. Int:003)

During the course of the research a further eleven unattributable examples have been mentioned.

It is possible to see the Coventry Mummers operating in two distinct arenas of performance: a) the professional, fee-receiving, broadly-travelled group of players and b) the local researching, reviving group of enthusiasts. Ron does not himself make this distinction, and his descriptions and commentary flow between the two with no difference of interest or commitment. I have no evidence as to whether this is generalised within the group, but from the leader (i.e. Ron - the effective if not titular leader) the group appears to operate equally and distinctly in both the local arena and the revival sub-culture.

The professional work has declined since the 1980s and this has resulted in the group embarking on a publicity campaign, for:

'We're actually producing a new publicity leaflet which we'll bang round a lot of places and hopefully bring [in] some more business.' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

In this 'professional' side of the group's work, the group rejects some of the staid stylisations often associated with more 'traditional' teams[34]: they wear bright colours, use trick props and, as already quoted, 'the whole idea was to hit it for effect'. Even so, the plays they perform in this 'professional' mode are the classic repertoire of plays as outlined in Ch.1 and not a repertoire of new writing such as that performed by the Bradshaw Mummers (see above). The 'up-front' attitude place Coventry Mummers amongst those morris groups on whom 'Tyger' Hutchings commented recently:

'I have noticed there is a greater element of street theatre being projected by many sides - they have learnt to perform with a capital "P".' (Helmsley.1994)

Their approach is also entrepreneurial and this is exemplified by the way the Coventry Mummers financed their first trip to Ireland, as follows:

'We went for a long weekend in Wexford over Spring Bank Holiday and we hired a 54-seater coach and filled all the spare seats with ex-pat. Irishmen going back for a long weekend and, in fact, ran the coach at a profit but we had to put twelve hundred quid up front. I use this as an example of where solid funds can be used 'cos if we hadn't already got most of that in the bank, would we have had the nerve to have gone ahead with that with the chance that it would have gone jingling down the pan?' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

Side by side with this attitude and approach is the 'constitutional', almost academic, side of the group's work as encouragers and preservers of tradition. This is manifest in the 'local play' repertoire, the workshops and their book donations. The 'local' is also the beneficiary of the local play performances through charitable donations not only from the quête, but also because:

'Any member of the Mummers has the right to ask the team to do a free booking...
Round Christmas when we do the local plays, in their local villages, these are always
done solely for charity.' (Shuttleworth. Int:007)

Few teams achieve or even seek this balance between distinct functions, although a similar pattern has already been observed in the Case Study on the Britannia Coconut Dancers (C/S:2). It has not been possible to establish whether the local performances have become culturally embedded in the communities, but evidence from other seasonal mumming groups suggests that this is likely to have happened. There has also been a distinct social aspect to the group's travels - a camaraderie perhaps similar to that described later with Hartley Morris in C/S:12 - but it has also been noted that this too has changed with changes of personnel and family commitments.

The repertoire and performances of the group, once established, have remained consistent over time. Changes have mainly taken place in the social aspects of the group's functioning and in the volume of professional engagements.

CASE STUDY No.7

ROYAL LANCASHIRE MORRIS DANCERS

Information on the Royal Lancashire Morris Dancers (RLMD) comes from their Secretary, Michael Jackson, who currently lives in the village of Adlington. Like the Coventry Mummers, there is no historical precedent for this particular team, but its relationship to the local tradition of Northwest morris is apparent in the Case Study. Michael was interviewed on 19/07/96 (Int:017) and supplied a considerable amount of information on contemporary and historical morris dancing on the Lancashire Plain from his own researches, in addition to specific information on the team. As will be apparent, he was able to supply emic information both from the team's 'official' position and from his own knowledge of the team. I am grateful for the distinctions he made, which highlight the need to differentiate between the two types of emic information as described in Ch.3. Further background information comes from the Initial Questionnaire (IQ:158) which had previously been returned on behalf of the team.

Current Practice

The RLMD first danced out in 1984. They are an all male team and full members of the Morris Ring although this does not currently appear to be for any positive reason. Michael suggested that it was:

> 'Probably Richard Boswell's [the founder] idea. So it could be one of those things: Richard had always been in Ring teams and therefore it must be Royal Lancs.' aspiration to be in the Ring. We've not found any reason to change.' (Jackson. Int:017)

The team currently has fourteen members, including two musicians. although:

> 'We tend to hover up and down a bit. We've probably been a touch bigger in the past, but Royal Lancs. has never been a big team. Quite why not I don't know. We weren't one of the earliest teams - there were quite a few teams around at the time Richard Boswell decided to form Royal Lancs.' (Jackson. Int:017)

Ages range from 14 to 50 although 60% of the team are between 35 and 44 years of age (IQ:158). The side has a formal constitution and holds an AGM in November when certain officers are elected. The offices are: Leader, Dance Foreman, Treasurer, Secretary and Tours Bagman. Not all officers are elected each year. As Michael describes it:

'Appointments are for a set number of years, but the posts are staggered. What they've tried to do is to keep Leader and Secretary separate - quite when they brought this in I don't know - but I'm up for re-election this time around - if anybody's daft enough to do the job. Secretary had tended to change - very few people have wanted to do the job a second time - it can be quite hard work.

'There are formal definitions of the jobs in the constitution but they're a bit on the vague side... The formal definition of the Leader is that he's to act as a figurehead for the team. Some teams may have a President who is more of a figurehead. A Leader is a decision-maker, he's supposed to lead the team. Generally, that's what the Leader has done. The Dance Foreman, our constitution says, is responsible for all matters relating to dancing - such as the repertoire and which dances will be done in a particular season.' (Jackson. Int:017)

The questionnaire response (IQ:158) indicated that RLMD perform throughout the year but, like the majority of morris teams (see Ch.7), they operate with a fairly clearly defined performance season. In the case of RLMD this runs from June (more correctly from Whitsun) to September inclusive, and a significant proportion of their performances are regular engagements at local annual events, such as those that:

'... call themselves Carnivals. Adlington calls itself a Carnival, others call themselves Field Days - there are local names for that sort of thing. Big procession round the town or village and then at the end of the procession there's a field somewhere where they've got entertainments... We're very rarely required to wait around to go on the field. They usually have us dance in the procession and afterwards we can just disappear off home, go to the pub, or whatever. We took advantage of that this year; we did one of our regular bookings, which is Longridge Field Day... and we got another invitation [to perform on] the same day. Clitheroe were desperate to get a Northwest morris team for their first Folk Day. The Clitheroe team has folded, so the festival organisers got in touch with and said, "We're desperate for a team," so we said, "Well, we're doing Longridge." I got in touch with the Longridge organisers and said, "Clitheroe's desperate to see us on that day. Can we go at the front of the procession so we get round faster?" and they wrote back and said, "Yes, okay then." So we went on the front of the procession, got around about forty minutes faster than we have ever done before, no hold ups, no floats in front of us to slow us down, and then it was a case of dive into the cars and up the road to Clitheroe.' (Jackson. Int:017)

The team usually perform at four or five such events each year and these regular Carnival or Field Day events are booked well in advance. The regular pattern is that:

'We do the procession and then a couple of weeks later we get an invitation for the next year.' (Jackson. Int:017)

The remainder of the engagements are varied and, like the Clitheroe booking mentioned above, may

be at short notice. These include selected free bookings for charity events, some events which are deliberately chosen for reasons of publicity and occasionally Morris Ring events. Unlike many teams newly created within the Folk Revival and without a 'previous history', RLMD tend not to be avid participants in events that emanate from the Folk Revival except for these few Morris Ring fixtures. In total the team dance out 'probably about fifteen or twenty' times altogether in each season, and:

> 'We don't get invitations from very far afield - we've never gone in for doing Sidmouths and Whitbys[35] and that sort of thing. Might be more of a case that they [the team] wouldn't turn out. Possibly Royal Lancs., when new, tended to be younger than Preston Royal were and quite a lot of the men have got young families and don't like being away from them. Family commitments tend to influence the season quite a lot. Whether we did get invitations at first I'm not sure, but we've not had many distant invitations while I've been Secretary - they've tended to be local.' (Jackson. Int:017)

There have in the past been occasional forays away for weekends but the team now prefers to restrict itself, although:

> 'There are a few mutterings now that some of the men would like to get further afield. We did tend to do a few weekends away. We've attended a handful of Ring meetings, not a huge number, it's not something we've thought about every year. There are other teams we're friendly with and they host weekends of dance - we've gone to those, but it has been a couple of years [since] we were last at a full weekend away. We still do the odd Saturday night stopover - particularly the Leicester Morris Men's Winter Ale. We've got on well with Leicester for years. I've found it very hard to get a full side to commit to a full weekend away.
>
> 'The men expressed the wish that our day bookings be restricted to about an hour's drive of Preston. In fact, on day bookings, we've dipped into Cheshire, Derbyshire, over into Yorkshire, even south Lakeland.' (Jackson. Int:017)

The usual performance area however is smaller, and ranges from Adlington in the south to the Fylde in the north west. The number of days dancing out is restricted not only by the performance season and the team's self-imposed distance limitation but also by the historical traditions of holiday taking in the area, for:

> 'We do get more invitations than that, but a lot of them fall in the holiday period for the men. If only the men would all take the same fortnight holiday we could do double the number of bookings. We don't all live in the same town which is the trouble - they're probably taking the fortnight for their local Wakes Week and it's different according to which town they live in.' (Jackson. Int:017)

Although many teams throughout the country report occasional problems getting enough men to dance out, the particular problem of traditional holiday periods inherited from Wakes Weeks has been reported several times by Northwest morris teams from the old Northwest traditional area where this tradition is still strong. In the case of RLMD the problem is exacerbated simply by the number of towns within the catchment area from which the team draws its performers. As Michael points out:

> 'A couple of us live in Adlington, which is the furthest south - roughly ten miles south of Preston. Copple, Chorley, Croston and Leyland. We did have quite a number of recruits from Leyland despite there being the Leyland Morris Men... Preston itself, of course, and heading north we stop at Garstang - which is about halfway between us and John O' Gaunt [based in the Morecambe area]... We've got a few recruits from the Fylde. So it is biggish [catchment].' (Jackson. Int:017)

Background to the present team

The RLMD was formed primarily through the initiative and drive of one individual, in 1983 - the year before they first danced out. Its history is clear:

> 'The team was started by Richard Boswell and his wife Pru, and they did much of the research in our part of central Lancashire. The idea is that the team, in its repertoire, concentrates on the dances they collected. So rather than trying to do everything under the sun, we mainly stick to that core repertoire of Boswell-collected dances.' (Jackson. Int:017)

By the time he started RLMD, Richard Boswell already had a long history of dancing with other teams in the county. Michael Jackson recalled Richard Boswell's history as being that:

> 'Approximately six years before founding Royal Lancs. [he] was also founder of Preston Royal Morris Dancers, and he stayed with Preston Royal for about four years as leader... They fell out over matters of policy in about 1982 and he stopped with [joined] John O' Gaunt... After a couple of years doing that he wanted his own side again and to some extent Royal Lancs. was pretty well a re-launch of Preston Royal... In late 1983 [he] decided to try and get another team going. Royal Lancs. was that team... He led the team until 1989 when he died. Died at the age of 40.
>
> 'For whatever reason, he had quite a history with other teams before Royal Lancs. started. I've only had this second-hand but, working backwards, he was with John O' Gaunt immediately before Royal Lancs., he was with Preston Royal before John O' Gaunt, [and] I'm told he had spells with Horwich Prize Medal, Garstang, and John O' Gaunt even earlier on - so he'd been with about half the teams in this part of the world.' (Jackson. Int:017)

With very few exceptions (John O' Gaunt being one) the local teams take their names from teams that are recorded as having been extant at some point in the local Victorian boom in morris dancing and named after the towns with which they were associated, RLMD however was not to be so specific:

> 'It takes the name from the Royal County - being the Duchy of Lancaster, Lancashire is the Royal County - and when the team was founded, rather than picking on a particular town as the source of the name, the decision was to make it a bit more of a county-wide team, perhaps not identified with a particular place. That may be because in the very early days the team hadn't settled on a home. I think some of the early practices were in part of South Ribble district. However, pretty quickly I think the team moved permanently to Preston and has been based in Preston ever since. So that's the official version.' (Jackson. Int:017)

Practice, development, and commentary

Repertoire and Performance

The repertoire of the team is more extensive than is apparent in any one season. Michael Jackson was able to provide a detailed account of the repertoire and its history:

> '[It] varies from season to season, depending on the abilities of the current line-up of dancers and how many dances the Foreman thinks they can remember at any time. So we're never actually performing as many as I would like to see. I'm quite happy to do the entire repertoire in any given season. I think five is about the average that we would be doing in a season. Our constitution specifically gives us the aim of performing Northwest dances especially those collected by the Boswells.
>
> 'That's the main source of the repertoire [but] we have added a couple of dances. When Richard [Boswell] left John O' Gaunt, he took a number of the John O' Gaunt men with him [although] it wasn't intended to be a breakaway... They also kept contact with a couple of people who used to dance with John O' Gaunt but had left that team. So, in addition to the Boswell dances, Keith Greenwood (who had been John o' Gaunt's Foreman[36] for many years) back in '77 - for the Queen's Silver Jubilee - he wrote a garland dance to perform in front of the Queen. The intention was that only John O' Gaunt would perform it of course, but with the advent of the cam-corder and so on it has spread a bit further afield. Cam-corder and photocopier does a lot to spread dance notation! We got it from the horse's mouth: Keith Greenwood - at that point not a member of John O' Gaunt - realised that the John O' Gaunt team itself had dropped the dance. They had a spell when they weren't dancing Northwest and he took the view that rather than losing the dance in this area he'd come and teach it to us. So he taught *The Duke of Lancaster* dance and at a later point John o' Gaunt asked that we go up and teach it to them 'cause they'd forgotten it. And another dance we also picked up from a former squire of John o' Gaunt, *The Poltoney Fylde* [?] dance, which is a much older dance. It wasn't in our repertoire at that point but now it's a great favourite with the men and with the audiences, so we've kept that one

up every year.

'I guess the repertoire is nine dances in total, usually about five a season would be danced [out]. There do tend to be a few that are retired for a few seasons. I'm a bit concerned that there are a couple of them that have been retired for too many seasons and it's very hard work getting them going again if you've not done them for about three years.' (Jackson. Int:017)

It therefore appears that what may have started as a deliberate policy to change the repertoire, or even to increase it, from season to season has over time tended to stabilise to a lesser number of dances popular with team and audience. This is also affected by the Foreman's assessment and direct decisions as to which dances will be performed - and which won't.

In addition to changes in the performed repertoire, there have also been changes in the dances themselves. The structures and figures of Northwest morris dance, as inherited from the Victorian boom in the style, are primarily built around multiples of four dancers although eight is the most usual performance unit size. Dances can therefore be performed with teams of 8, 16, 24 or even 32 if the team is big enough overall, but with adaptation many dances can be satisfactorily performed with 12, 20 or 28. Circumstances, however, have led to a need for even greater adaptation, as Michael explained:

'We try not to change them. It's not always possible to avoid changing them. One dance in particular tends to be a bit flexible; it's the dance we know as the *Churchtown Processional* from the small village north of Preston - or more strictly where it was collected. That particular dance is a relatively straightforward Lancashire processional dance. We like it because it's a good fast-moving one. Now that has changed because in a crisis we cut it down to six men. There have been days when we were due to be in a procession, it was intended that we would have eight dancers, and for one reason or another not everybody has turned up. So with a bit of fiddling it will drop down to six men. Every now and then we fiddle with some of the others temporarily. We don't like performing Northwest with only six and the Dance Foreman has raised this matter - certainly at an AGM [and] I've a feeling on one occasion he even called an EGM to talk about it. There was a big debate about "Do we modify dances to cope with six if we're short for a booking [or] do we write a new repertoire based around six?" ' (Jackson. Int:017)

It seems the question was not resolved and, although not favoured, the possibility of adapting dances in time of need remains. Such pragmatism is common amongst the teams whose representatives have been interviewed although usually qualified with an indication that it would be preferable if it were not necessary. It is, however, an attitude distinct from that encountered in those teams who deliberately seek innovation such as the Shropshire Bedlams and those who, in answer to IQ Q22

classified themselves *only* as 'CONTEMPORARY'.

Like many teams, the RLMD has evolved its officer structure over time. As stated above, its current officers are: Leader, Dance Foreman, Treasurer, Secretary and Tours Bagman. When the team started, the list was somewhat more restricted, as Michael recalls:

> 'I joined the team just after its first main crisis when Richard Boswell died. He didn't do absolutely everything but he was the guiding light. We certainly had a Treasurer but I suspect he [Richard Boswell] was everything else rolled into one. After that it tended to be shared out a bit more and we had a spell with separate Leader and Dance Foreman - which to be honest is fairly typical - but the Leader and Dance Foreman had a disagreement and the Leader resigned... So he went and the Dance Foreman became Leader, and has remained in the post ever since - coming up to four years.' (Jackson. Int:017)

Once again, the change was dealt with by pragmatism, and it may be noted that in this instance the resigning Leader chose to act without causing the disruption that could have ensued if he had challenged the constitutional right of the Dance Foreman, for:

> 'The Dance Foreman, our constitution says, is responsible for all matters relating to dancing - such as the repertoire and which dances will be done in a particular season, and that's the point where we had a fallout between the Leader and the Dance Foreman. The Dance Foreman thought a particular dance was ready to dance out and the Leader didn't, and sulked about it - he didn't put his foot down... He didn't actually exert his position - he could have gone to the team and said, "Back me or sack me," but he didn't even take that view... His get-out was that he just didn't dance the dance. The rest of the team took the view, "Well, the Dance Foreman's gone to the trouble of teaching it and we'll go along with it," 'though the trouble is, I suspect, most of us were a little wary about doing it, but after this particular fall-out we've never done it again anyway...' (Jackson. Int:017)

Pragmatism is also evident in the current leadership attitude to the standard of dance, and again this reflects a change noted with other teams and sides. Michael describes this in the following terms:

> 'I suspect in the early days, Royal Lancs. was more autocratic than it is now. John, our current Leader, I think most of the time is fairly laid back. He wants a high standard. I think his ideals are just as high as previous Leaders and leaders of other teams, but what he does take into account is that if we're to keep going, it might be wiser to sometimes let standards drop a little and keep in the limelight rather than as some teams have done. They've dropped their bookings, and they're only going to take bookings when they're absolutely certain that they can achieve perfection. In no time at all, people have lost track that they ever existed and they've disappeared without trace. I think as a compromise, we've let standards drop a little - every now and then we are a little shy of being seen out with other teams as a result - but then

again, sometimes we see the other teams and find they're no better than we are anyway - or worse in some instances. *A combination of circumstances and personality.* Should someone come along in the team of a more autocratic nature, and people would follow, then I daresay at that point the [Initial] Questionnaire would have been filled out differently.' (Jackson. Int:017) (My italics)

'A combination of circumstances and personality' is undoubtedly the most accurate way to view changes and adjustments such as those described above. When changes are precipitated in extremis by circumstances the outcomes are determined, effectively, by negotiation between the personalities of all those involved: those responsible for certain aspects take that responsibility but balance their decision against their perception of what the rest of the team feel or would accept. Such negotiation may be unspoken and undebated and the outcome itself may also remain undiscussed. In less precipitative circumstances the team can address potential problems or emerging problems - such as the question of whether to re-write the repertoire for units of six dancers - in full EGM although as the example above shows this may not resolve the problem. A further example of unresolved problems was given over the question of whether RLMD should allow women into the team:

'We've had discussions about this. It was raised during our most recent AGM, which was last November [1995]. I've a feeling the Leader raised it. I think he had the impression that there was trouble brewing with some of the men, and one or two of the men were prepared to open the team to women dancers which would have led to us leaving the Ring. As a compromise the discussion proceeded along the lines, "Well, what about women musicians?" and in fact it never came to the vote. I said, "It's got to be a difficult issue because, for a start, we don't know of any women who are interested in being musicians for us, and it's going to be very difficult to advertise 'Women come and play music for us but, by the way, you're not going to be allowed to dance'." So, it didn't go to the vote and it didn't go any further.

'I think wives of a couple of the men fancy dancing and it's one of those things - they would dance in their husband's teams but they don't want to go off and join a women's team or some other mixed team. But it's just a couple, and the feeling is that we might lose more men than we gained women.' (Jackson. Int:017)

In both cases actual decision-making was avoided by those involved. If a decision is not essential, why expend more time and effort on it than necessary? This may be another aspect of the tendency amongst all groups encountered to minimise both bureaucracy and possible controversy, although it could also be argued that the teams exercise sophisticated means of avoiding decision-making. As shown below, the responsibility for some areas of decision-making are firmly allocated to individual officers - so this is not a case of generally trying to avoid such issues.

Membership and recruitment

The membership of RLMD when it was first created in 1983 was drawn largely from former John O' Gaunt men with a few men from other sides plus a few who had not danced before, but all through personal contact rather than advertisement, as Michael confirms:

> 'We do seek to recruit - we do our best, but successful recruitment has nearly always been through personal contact. To that extent, as far as I can tell, probably for the past ten years or so we have done better than other sides in that we have brought people into the team who've been completely new to morris dancing. In the early days, the team was a mixture of people who'd danced with other sides and people who'd not danced before. Probably blackmail or threats of violence. It has been personal contact. We'd do better if we could get them out of the blue as well. From what I've seen of the other mens' teams in the area, when you see new faces, they either seem to be offspring of existing dancers or they're dancers that have taken up with a new team when their team has folded. There have been three or four teams in recent years that have finished.' (Jackson. Int:017)

RLMD are less involved in the 'folk circus' than many other similar teams and this may be a reason they recruit a higher percentage who are 'completely new to morris dancing': men looking to leave a team, or seeking a new team when their own ceases, may be more likely to seek another with a similar performance pattern. RLMD has two members under 18 years of age: one is the son of member and the other is not, but is still part of the contact network:

> 'The one who isn't - one of our musicians has a folk group and the young dancer is the son of one of the musicians in the folk group.' (Jackson. Int:017)

Other new recruits also come from personal contact, and:

> '... again, it must be personal contact. They may have been people who really weren't interested in taking up morris until someone twisted their arm.' (Jackson. Int:017)

Full membership of the team is not automatically given to those who wish to join. A new recruit must demonstrate both a standard and a commitment, and:

> '... full membership is usually awarded after a novice's first successful performing season.' (IQ:158)

Throughout the research, various interviewees have indicated that a current performing team is not the same as the current membership. Modern mobility means that members may move away because of

a job, or for some other reason, but still return to dance regularly. Even if distance means that they cannot return to dance, this still does not mean that they have left the team.

> 'A lot of teams seem to be like that. It's surprising that people do travel quite a bit for some reason or other. A team takes their fancy and they'll head that way. I understand there's even one man who lives on the Fylde and he goes down to Saddleworth.' (Jackson. Int:017)

In fact Saddleworth Morris Men claim one member from even further afield in Aberdeen (Int:016) and several individuals have made the point that often you don't leave a team if you've once been part if it. This issue is discussed further in Ch.12.

Decision making

Responsibilities for decision making within RLMD are partly (but it was suggested vaguely) determined by the constitution: the Leader is the figurehead, the embodiment of the team to the public and the Dance Foreman is responsible for everything to do with the dancing. According to the questionnaire response (IQ:158) most of the tasks listed under Q13 are jointly undertaken by the committee - that is the officers as listed above. The exceptions are: arranging transport, making costumes, collecting money during performances and announcing, which are ad hoc or individual; deciding how the bag is spent and what engagements to accept, which involve the whole team. The responsibility for dealing with those who book the team lies with the Secretary, Michael Jackson, but the actual mechanism of deciding which bookings to accept was elucidated in the interview I had with him:

> 'It depends when the invitations come in. If they come in the practice season, I'll discuss anything at a practice. If an invitation has come in I'll say, "We've got this invitation, what's the consensus, do people want to do it?" Sometimes I'll say, "We've got this invitation, I don't like the sound of it, I don't really think we should do it but if everybody else wants to do it then I'll go along with it." So it's a bit like that during practice season. Sometimes if they come in out of the practice season, and they fall between a couple of bookings, I'll perhaps talk it through with the Leader and see whether between us we like the sound of it. If on the face of it, it looks a reasonable booking then that's when my phone bill goes up and I have to spend the rest of the week trying to catch everybody in. Recently when it's come to bookings, I've started thinking about, as well as publicity, also whether appearances in certain villages might help with research. So I did take that into account when we got an invitation in the middle of nowhere offering a mediocre fee and it did help a bit.' (Jackson. Int:017)

The Secretary then is not simply neutral but guides the process, and some invitations do not get as

far as the whole group for consideration. It is also apparent that not all bookings are treated as equal: there are additional aspects which are taken into consideration - the fee, the opportunity for publicity, the possible benefits for research, and other things. By way of example:

> 'They're not always interested in the fee - last Sunday we were out, we were doing a company - entertaining its staff - and I told them there was a free bar. That got them interested.' (Jackson. Int:017)

The process does not of course guarantee that the bookings that are taken will always be successful, and:

> '... we sometimes get duff bookings - we'll get an invitation and I'll work out we can get a side together and we do it and we think, "Why did we bother with that?" Other times we'll be offered a brilliant booking and we can't get the team together, and we're kicking ourselves.' (Jackson. Int:017)

It may also be noted that when bookings are presented to the whole group it is done whenever possible in the course of a practice night. This was also noted with Kirtlington Morris Men (CS/:4) and has been reported from other sources. As usual, the organisations use the simplest, most convenient way to deal with business. In RLMD the only meetings which take place apart from practice nights are the AGM and EGMs as necessary - no general business meetings are convened.

Further commentary

It was noted earlier in the Case Study that there had been a decline over the years in the number of weekends away that the team have undertaken. The decline of weekends away, and the request to confine the performance area to 'about an hour's drive from Preston' may be, as the interviewee suggested, attributable to family commitments of a team made up largely from that age-group. The rationale more frequently offered in this situation is team commitment to the locality or the local tradition. This area has already been explored in Ch.7 in the light of IQ responses. Either explanation might be a rationalisation for the fact of the other. The most obvious conclusion is that a) the question of reason is not as important to the outcome as might be supposed, and b) that different explanations simply reflect different individual motivations. Within a team overall, different motivations or reasons may coexist within a consensus and rarely become a collective problem. RLMD is one of the very few teams where there is evidence of a deliberate marketing policy for the team. Michael Jackson argued the policy thus:

> 'We like to help out with local charity events [but] we also bear in mind that some

of them might be good for publicity purposes. We like to keep a high publicity profile, or more specifically, *I* like... because it helps keep people in the team: they don't want to be totally anonymous; they don't want to be in a team that nobody's heard of. It has helped with the arm twisting. If you've got people who might join the team they'd probably rather join a team that the world at large has heard of, and there are probably very good traditional teams that the folk circle knows very well but, when it comes to this local area, if we're in the newspaper twice a week, and they ring us up and say, "Can you do such and such a booking?" - and the phone never seems to stop at times - "Well, we can't manage it, but have you tried XYZ Morris Men who are a really good traditional morris side?" and they say, "We've never heard of XYZ Morris Men". So that might be one of the reasons why you get new people [joining RLMD] whereas some of the longer established sides seem to only pick up dancers from other teams.' (Jackson. Int:017)

It is almost certainly true that the drive for publicity comes from Michael Jackson - the interviewee and Secretary of the team - but it is equally true that the rest of the team have no objection. People with a good idea tend to be left to get on with it. It was Michael who applied to a certain paint manufacturer's community promotion budget and who devised a joint sponsorship opportunity and created a publicity opportunity from it. As he described the episodes:

'We got goods in kind off Dulux paints - I've got a load of paint in the cellar ready to paint some new sticks with. They had a 'Colour in the Community' scheme - you could say you were going to do something colourful and they'd give you paint. It would have cost us a fortune to buy the paint, so why not?

'There was an occasion twelve months or so ago when we got a Sports Council grant - [from] Preston Sports Council. [We] came up with the story that to reduce fatigue in the men when dancing we needed Sorbothene insoles to wear inside the clogs. Now these are very good. I've worn them for years but they're £14 a pair - not your cheap foam insoles - they're a high quality sports product. I came up with this excuse that we can do with the grant for this - please. Having been offered the grant I thought, "Hang on, who makes Sorbothene?" and it's a firm just down the road from Preston. So I thought, "What if I ring up their sales department and say, 'If we bought these off you with a grant - how many can we have for the amount of money we can afford?'." So they matched the grant in terms of discount. The team put in a small amount of money. The Sports Council grant provided the bulk of it and that was matched by discount from the firm and we got two pairs per man, and it cost the team a little over a pound per man.

'Well, I like to maximise. We got this deal from the firm so I got hold of the local paper and half a dozen of us went down to their factory, posed with the head of the sales office in costume, and we got our photograph in the *Lancashire Evening Post* - it covers Wigan up to Kendal. There are probably teams all over the county who are sick of seeing our faces 'cause we get in the *Evening Post* fairly frequently and they probably never do. If we're doing anything, we tell the paper.' (Jackson. Int:017)

The study is littered with examples of individuals who get on with things on their own agenda with

the tolerance, if not the active support, of the team. Similarly there are examples of individuals dealing with issues that affect them within the team in ways that avoid creating disagreement or controversy. It may be suggested that these are two sides of the same coin of relationship between active individual and team. As suggested in C/S:3, activists are allowed to do as they will but only because the team allows them permission to do so (albeit sometimes through inertia). If they cross the line of collective consent, then permission may be withdrawn. A wise individual will know the limits.

As a final note it is necessary to consider the position of RLMD in relation to the annual Field Days and Carnivals at which they regularly perform. These events are generally organised by, or at least in association with, the churches and, like the other local annual church-organised tradition of Walking Days (also called Witness Walks or Processions of Witness), can be considered to be calendar customs. Although they are omitted from the study because they are institutionally organised there is, as reported in the introductory chapters, a long historic association between processional morris (both Northwest as considered here and its derivative Fluffy type) and local calendar customs. Michael Jackson's own research demonstrates something of the nature and history or this relationship:

> 'I would say in central Lancashire there were as many teams associated with particular churches as there were with mills... In Chorley, the men's team started out as the Chorley Morris Dancers and changed their name to the St. George Morris Dancers because they were associated with St. George's church; in Wigan there were teams - St. John's, I think it was St. Patrick's and St. George's - they were school teams, church schools: two Roman Catholic, one Church of England; [in] Preston it's a bit mixed, there were certainly two school teams - St. Walburg's and St. Ignateous, both Catholic schools [in the] mid-1890s...

> 'I'm looking at a small village where the first recorded team probably started in 1894. It was described as a young men's team - probably 16, 17 years old. It was associated with the parish church and the school linked to the church and in fact seemed to be supported by the Church of England Temperance Society - which is quite a novelty for a morris team. I'm not quite sure when it petered out. Cecil Sharp interviewed one of the dancers of the team and he met him before the First World War... After the First World War, one of the men started a boys' team and the chap Sharp spoke to was in the boys' team and that kept going perhaps for four years or so I'm told... Then that was followed by a girls' team, I think we're talking about the late '20s at the time the girls' team came along, still performing Northwest. It continued after the Second World War, kept performing Northwest until a very late stage and the current team leader, who was one of the last girls to perform the traditional processional dance finally admitted defeat and the team has now turned into a Fluffy team.' (Jackson. Int:017)

This example details how the morris tradition was perpetuated in some places, albeit with lapses

between stages and through changing Types, for over a century. Several teams researched by Michael Jackson appear to have only existed in association with such calendar customs. For example:

> 'A lot of teams were seasonal. A few of the church ones only ever turned out in the annual Walking Day procession. They tended to be Whitsuntide processions and they still are popular. The proper church ones now, I don't think any of them have morris teams though in the village I went to, somebody mentioned that the Fluffy team goes in the church procession because there's a direct line of descent from the first men in the 1890s through to this Fluffy team. In some of the villages, the Processions of Witness changed into Childrens' Festivals. Sometimes, just one church would have its procession, and they'd have a really big turn-out. After the First World War it had already begun to decline in some villages so all of the churches were getting together, Catholic and Anglican, and [have] joint Walking Days, and then some of them evolved into what they call Children's Festivals. Some of them are still very traditional and don't allow mechanised floats - it's still all walking, and there are two of them at least - I'm surprised they're still doing it - that the festival is led by teams of girl morris dancers dancing to the brass band and one of them certainly they started it in the early '30s.' (Jackson. Int:017)

With both the derived children's teams and the Northwest morris revival teams such as RLMD who perform at Field Days, Carnivals and Walking Days there is a symbiotic relationship between the dance team and the event. The team is a normal part of the wider calendar custom and there is a sense amongst many event organisers that a morris team should be there. This manifests, for example, in that:

> '... usually a Carnival has a decent budget to pay for entertainment and some of the Carnivals are very old. They want to maintain the link with the past, so they want a morris team, or several morris teams if they can get them, in the procession, and they'll pay a decent fee.' (Jackson. Int:017)

Although retaining the historic link between team and custom when they don't have their 'own' team, modern Field Day organisers do not necessarily perpetuate the performance of the team on the field itself, even if there is one, after the procession or at the Children's Festival as one might expect. This part of the old way is now gone, and this is why RLMD were able to accept the Clitheroe booking after performing in another Field Day procession.

The historical evidence is that the relationships between dance team and wider custom have existed for centuries and they still pertain today - not only in respect of Northwest and Fluffy morris, for modern similar structures are reflected in the Case Studies on both Whitstable Mayday (C/S:1) and Kirtlington Lamb Ale (C/S:4) although in both these instances it is the performing group itself that

drives the total event rather than an external agency.

The sort of regular comittment that results in RLMD returning to the same events year after year may be indicative of the team being culturally embedded - at least in those events. This would be unusual for a side that so specifically aims to cover a wide area - in this case, pan-Lancashire. Further research could reveal the attitude of the organisers of these customary events towards the morris team(s) they engage. It may be that any morris team(s) who performed well would be as satisfactory as RLMD - in which case the team is not cuturally embedded in the sense discussed with Trevor Stone.

CASE STUDY No.8

THE SHROPSHIRE BEDLAMS

Information on this group comes from the individual who, effectively, created it - certainly who created the performance style and initial repertoire - John Kirkpatrick - and is drawn both from an article he wrote on the creation of the group (Kirkpatrick.1979) and from a research interview (Int:014). My personal observation of a number of Shropshire Bedlam performances, and their effect on audiences, at festivals and events over some fifteen years has also contributed.

Current Practice

Like many new or Folk Revival teams, Shropshire Bedlams accept engagements from event organisers and folk festivals. They have travelled widely and, as will be examined later, are a team that has been emulated by many other sides. These activities make up the largest part of their performances and, like teams such as Royal Lancashire Morris Dancers (the previous case study), many of these are locally organised annual events - a parallel to the Lancashire Field Days or Devonshire's Village Revels. The team are regular performers at some local customs as well as maintaining their own annual performance days, but they do not themselves maintain any custom distinct from their usual performance:

> 'Just before the team started, there was a local vicar got a rushbearing weekend going at midsummer in Bishops Castle. No local basis for it whatsoever, just that it would be a nice thing to do. And it was the church of St. John the Baptist, and that's his feast day - 21st of June. - so we always dance at that... Midsummer weekend is always a big weekend, we dance all three days. We always dance on Easter Monday, have a regular tour - it's just pubs - and we always dance on Boxing Day after the hunt in Bishops Castle. Bishops Castle is the centre of the geographical catchment area. I think those are the only things we nearly always do.' (Kirkpatrick. Int:014)

Another, much older, local custom with which the team are now closely associated is an annual Oak Apple Day tree dressing at Aston-on-Clun which is organised by:

> 'The Parish Council. The reason for it is that, you know, Charles II had everyone dress their trees for the restoration of the monarchy because Charles II had escaped [by hiding] in a tree - Oak Apple Day, trees, [etc.,etc.] - and for some weird reason the tree in Aston-on-Clun continued to be decorated. I don't know why, but there was a wedding in 1786. The local squire, he lives half a mile that way, and there's a girl from a village a few miles this way, and as they came back from the wedding to his house they came past the tree on the 29th of May - The Day - and it was all

decorated and she thought it was done for their wedding. They were so touched that the family left a sum of money to ensure the tree was always decorated. The estate was broken up just after the Second World War, and then the responsibility was taken over by the Parish Council, who've continued to do it ever since. [It has been continuous] at least since 1786, maybe since the restoration of Charles II, and who knows what was happening before that.' (Kirkpatrick. Int:014)

At both the tree dressing and the rushbearing weekend there is an expectation from the local community who maintain these customs that the team will be there: that the event would not be the same without them. They have occasionally missed the tree dressing to fulfil another booking but:

'...normally the team is there. The tree fell over in September [1995], because of the dry summer, after 300 years and they planted a replacement tree in the middle of December and the team danced the tree from where it had been growing to the new place to plant it so they were very much involved with that. So there's very strong local feeling, and it's always been like that.' (Kirkpatrick. Int:014)

Although Shropshire Bedlams cannot be described as all local to Bishops Castle or Aston-on-Clun, the team are regarded as a part of the local custom as it has developed. The group's own Easter Monday, Midsummer and Boxing Day regular performances have also become 'traditional' (if defined by expectation of the community) as far as local populations are concerned and thus, although the team does not have a singular geographical base, it has to a degree become culturally embedded in a number of locations in the area. It may also be noted that, in their attendance at the rushbearing and the tree dressing, the Bedlams behave very like the Northwest morris teams explored in Ch.5 where the event is organised by the local petty establishment (in this case the vicar and the Parish Council) but the performance is controlled by the tradition bearers.

Origin of the group

Of the four primary Types of morris dance noted in Ch.1, Cecil Sharp selected the Cotswold Type as the one to advocate and pursue. It was left to other researchers to look more closely at local references to the morris in other regions and:

'The account books of the Shrewsbury Glovers' Company contain some entries which puzzled an eagle-eyed antiquarian, styling himself "Showsbury", who brought them to light in 1911 in a publication called *Bye-Gones relating to Wales and the Border Counties*. "In 1688 one shilling was paid to the 'Bedlam Morris', and the next charge is ten shillings for 'ye bedlom morris'. In 1689 five shillings were received by the 'Bedloms'. What were these bedloms?" The correspondence columns buzzed with speculation until finally 'O.Y.' declared that they must have been morris dancers, quoting recent parallels of the usage of the word in Northamptonshire, and ending

"the phrase may, therefore, be safely added to the records of words used in Shropshire".' (Kirkpatrick.1979)

Such sources have regularly been the starting point for 20th Century folklorists seeking early evidence of the vernacular arts but rarely do they provide description of what was actually taking place. Other students of morris compiled more detailed information on the practice of morris dancing in the border counties.

> 'First and foremost there is the article by E.C.Cawte in the *EFDSS Journal* of 1963, 'The Morris Dance in Hereford, Shropshire and Worcestershire' [Cawte.1963]. His list of references is enormous... There are a few notations of dances in Roy Dommett's leaflet *Other Morris* (in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library) some of which later appeared in Lionel Bacon's *Handbook of Morris Dancing* published by the Morris Ring |Bacon.1974]. Apart from this handful of complete dances, there is a mass of fragments and snippets of things. There are some overall similarities, but on the whole each dance stands on its own.' (Kirkpatrick.1979)

From such research it is known that a form of morris had historically existed in the Shropshire area. John Kirkpatrick and his then wife, Sue Harris, both professional musicians and singers, moved to Shropshire in 1973. In an article on the formation of the Shropshire Bedlams he also noted of himself that:

> 'Twelve formative and action-packed years with the Hammersmith Morris Men in London had left a legacy of strong personal preferences in the matter of morris dancing, and many pig-headed notions were already firmly entrenched.' (Kirkpatrick.1979)

His general and professional interest in folk activity led to local research in his new home, and:

> 'The fierce local patriotism that fires all immigrants to this part of the world immediately takes hold, and the hunt begins for songs, tunes, and dances of a Shropshire origin. Morris dancing appears to exist in a regional variation - Border Morris - but previous experience and observation show that this is generally regarded at best as a novelty and at worst as a joke. We must investigate further . . .' (Kirkpatrick.1979)(dots . . . original)

Such enthusiasm by individuals moving into a new area is a regular feature of the history of many local teams and is evidenced many times in this study. Outsiders can play a similar rôle to these incomers in creating or revitalising activity and the matter is discussed further in Ch.13. With sources and enthusiasm at the ready all that was needed to turn potential into reality was a further stimulus and this came in the form of a visit to the area by another morris team. John Kirkpatrick recalls it

thus:

> 'In May 1975 the Gloucestershire Old Spot Morris Dancers visited Clun [Shropshire] May Fair. They are athletic, precise, sexy and spirited. Some local Sixth Formers are so impressed that they ask their Folkie teacher where they can learn this sort of thing. Folkie teacher, not aware of the South Shropshire Morris Men's existence, approaches the only person he knows who might initiate his pupils into the mysteries of the art... There was an unexplored local tradition; there was a nucleus of keen young people with no preconceptions about dancing; and there was me, dissatisfied with morris generally, anxious to try a fresh approach, eager to put Shropshire on the morris map, and maybe in the process show people a thing or two. All the omens were favourable. I set about my homework with a happy heart.' (Kirkpatrick.1979)

The first meeting of the new, as yet untitled, group took place on St. Swithin's Day, July 15th 1975. Kirkpatrick again:

> 'Our first meeting [was] in Clun Memorial Hall. There were a few sixth formers, a couple of teachers, one or two waifs and strays - and, merciful heavens one girl! Next time there were three girls. Next time five. It soon became apparent that there would be enough to have a separate team. So after a few joint meetings Sue [Harris] took her women off to Clun Parish Room to form Martha Roden's Tuppeny Dish[37]... The two teams have always been inseparable and the one cannot be thought of without the other.' (Kirkpatrick.1979)

Each team has its own repertoire, with some dances shared, and bookings are undertaken jointly. The concept of two joint teams, one male and one female, was itself ground-breaking at the time. As noted in Ch.6, this was a period when 'women's morris' was in the ascendant and mixed teams had hardly been conceived within the Folk Revival. Although joint teams have been copied elsewhere in subsequent years and, from various conversations, are sometimes regarded as a convenient political accommodation of feminist pressures without the need to address the problems of style consistency between the sexes, the above paragraph demonstrates the very practical reasons for the formation of joint sides in this instance. The question of politics is perhaps a 'spin' added later: an interpretation of the actuality that is convenient in the politically correct light of the day. As such, it would be a further example of the tendency, noted elsewhere, for explanations to be given to suit the etic questioner in anticipation of their expectations. Notwithstanding, Martha Roden's Tuppeny Dish are not the subject of this Case Study, and it remains to examine how the Shropshire Bedlam's repertoire was constructed given the paucity of detailed source material.

Although it is apparent that creativity and rewriting occurs during the histories of vernacular performance, most cannot be pinpointed and it is often (deliberately) left to the observer to conclude

that contemporary performance is the same as, or at best a natural evolution of, what was performed historically. This is not the case with the Shropshire Bedlams, and Kirkpatrick has been candid - although at times self-mocking - in ensuring, through his 1979 article, that the facts are on record. Short paragraphs analyse his approach to aspects such as energy, speed, costume and music and are a mixture of æsthetic considerations set against his previous experience of morris dance. Given the apparent diversity of dances in the Borders area and the fragmentary nature of the historical record, Kirkpatrick decided, whilst out walking the dog, to:

> '... impose a unity of step and style, and then fit the information to that, rather than start with the collected material and work towards some kind of synthesis of all the disparate elements.
>
> 'I hit upon a system of stepping taking up two bars of music, so that four steps, twice off each foot, filled eight bars. In terms of the evidence available, this has no justification whatsoever in the morris of the Border Counties, nor anywhere else come to that, although I did notice recently that the step occurs fleetingly in one of the Bacup Coconut Dances. As a regular feature in these dances it is totally my invention.
>
> 'This stepping had a spacious rhythm of its own which naturally affected the pace of every movement and figure. The whole process slowed right down. It was open, rolling, flowing. It made Cotswold Morris seem cramped, frantic, and jerky. It was a deliberate move away from what already existed and it needed time to instill itself in the blood before any specific dances were attempted.
>
> 'The dog thought I was bonkers. In order not to lose sight of him altogether, the first dance that arrived was a processional. It was based on sword dance figures and I put it to a tune from Regency Brighton. Qualms of conscience decreed that in future perhaps a little more attention might be payed to local information.' (Kirkpatrick.1979)

The costume of the Bedlams did pay more attention 'to local information' - at least on the upper half of the body:

> 'For a while I wasn't sure what to wear on our legs, until one of the keen young lads came to practise wearing his [top] hat and [tatter] jacket with blue denim jeans and white pumps. It looked great. And it was just the fusion of new and old that I was searching for. It symbolised the whole approach of the team.' (Kirkpatrick.1979)

It is not the intention to digress from the focus of this Case Study into management, administration and change, but the above quotations are included to demonstrate something of the nature of the intentions and approach behind the creation of this team which, initially raised in the questionnaires with reference to motivation (IQ:Q16), will be commented upon later in this study, and to further demonstrate the role of pragmatism and chance in the development of vernacular performances.

Although the creation of the team's performances was essentially the realisation of one man's vision, both ideas of democracy and individual professional commitments mitigated against a dictatorship developing. The selection of which booking enquiries to accept is conducted by the usual method of seeing if there are enough performers (from both Bedlams and Martha Roden's) who wish to undertake the booking.

Development and Changes

Like other teams, the Bedlams adopted a management structure and although (as in many other aspects of the group) there were efforts to avoid received conventions, pragmatism again came into play and John Kirkpatrick, as the leader of the group, almost inevitably became 'Squire':

> 'I'd got us organised as having a Treasurer, [and] a Secretary. I think we must have had a Secretary and a Treasurer fairly early on - just because morris teams always have them [but] I deliberately didn't use the word Bagman. I think it was because when we were dancing out somewhere people would come up, if we were with another team, they'd say, "Who's your Squire?" whereas people never come up and say, "Who's your Bagman?" If you're trying to organise the logistics of a dancing spot you ask for the Squire, don't you, so I suppose it probably came about that way. I don't think I consciously decided to be, or to have, a Squire. I think people just realised that's what the boss was called. I know that the term 'Bagman' was invented by, I think, Kenworthy Schofield - he just thought it was a nice name - in the early days of the Morris Ring. I was anxious to not go along with the conventions of the Folk Revival, cause I think a lot of it is just absurd.' (Kirkpatrick. Int:014)

John's function as Squire and 'oracle' for the team was to be inhibited by his professional commitments when he was asked to join a band over whose work pattern he had no control. His role changed:

> '... very specifically because I was invited to join Steeleye Span. A lot of my spare time was suddenly not there. When I was doing folk clubs all the time, to a certain extent I could say, "Well I'll leave so many Tuesday nights" - that's our practice nights - "free and I just won't take gigs when I know the team's working." Then because of that - it was only for just under a year - I had to be fully available, which was quite frustrating in a lot of ways, 'cause the team was just getting going really. It was two years after the team had started. So somebody else became Squire and... I was around enough to share my 'wisdom' but from that point on really I didn't have much of an administrative role and I was quite happy about that. Something like this should be self-sufficient. I think things do depend on individuals - I'm sure that's right - equally I think, to a certain extent, if they *only* depend on individuals, you've failed.' (Kirkpatrick. Int:014)

The sources of the initial personnel have already been examined above, but the evolution of the make-

up of the team is also worthy of note:

> 'A lot came along for a few weeks and gave up. A few stayed. A few got their mates along, people who'd just left school - friends of friends and by the time we danced out in the following year we must have had - there must have been twenty in each [i.e. Shropshire Bedlams and Martha Roden's Tuppeny Dish] group. Very quickly had big numbers, and they've stayed big, almost without exception. Enormous turnover. Still a very few of the originals left - people move away or have too many injuries to carry on. A fairly regular influx of kids from the school for the first ten years or so, but that's died away a bit now. But we've got sons of, daughters of. I've got four kids, the fourth one joins this year, he'll be twelve. I started when I was twelve you see!

> 'There's also a lot of oldies - I'm 48, there's several people around my age, and there's a fairly wide range down to about 30, 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. At least younger people are happy to come and have a go, and the group's big enough to accommodate that sort of age range without any problem.' (Kirkpatrick. Int:014)

The age spread within the surveyed groups was examined in Ch.7. Although the obvious reason for gaps in the '20s' age band, as exemplified above, was not evident there, it is a situation which may apply in many groups. The role of family in the continuation of traditions is considered in Ch.10

The repertoire has developed little since the initial creative phase and a close artistic control is kept over the performance, although:

> '... if somebody thinks something isn't quite working... and they're encouraged to say "What about if we try turning right instead of left at that point"... I'm very open to people suggesting, I think it's great. A couple of the blokes have made up complete dances. One of them didn't work at all, but one of them did and we continue to do that. Everyone's made a little contribution even if it's quite small... I still do the teaching of the Bedlams now when I'm there, and other people take over for the weeks when I'm not there, but it's still my pigeon artistically - although other people have made up dances and have made contributions - but I still sort of edit everything.' (Kirkpatrick. Int:014)

The creative impulse amongst the dancers is, however, given an opportunity for expression in the individuals' interpretation of the dance itself. This approach also derives from Kirkpatrick's previous personal evaluation of morris. He describes it thus:

'Even Cecil [Sharp], bless his socks, he actually said himself that when he saw a morris team, they were all doing something slightly different, he looked at what he thought was the best one, and wrote down what they were doing. Then you get a team of six doing the same - already it's not traditional. But he did say it was very difficult to get it down - and that's been lost totally.

'I actually try and encourage that a bit in the Bedlams. Now if people want to do something just slightly different, that's great. Whether it's just a twirl on the spot, if you get to your place and there's time to twirl around, and the way we do random things with sticks and random arm movements, I positively encourage that, and in fact we practise doing that. Just so that when I say, "Be random", they can be random. I love the idea of appearing to be in total chaos, if everyone's doing something different, and then all of a sudden you come together for one precise moment, it's so exciting! I work on that. I work on making it appear more chaotic than it is - just to confuse onlookers. I try to create moments of, sometimes, extreme looseness.

'Artistically I think the moments of chaos are more chaotic. As the team becomes more certain of what it's doing then once you know exactly what you're doing and you know how not to do what you're doing - whereas when you're learning you have to do it right, don't you? I think the team still dances well, I'm still pretty happy with what the team do although every time we do anything I think, "Oh God! Well he always does that". But I've unleashed a bit of a monster. I'll bring people to heel if I think it's important to the dance, but if it's just them being themselves I'll keep quiet.' (Kirkpatrick. Int:014)

There is a lower age limit of twelve to dance with Bedlams, which appears to derive from the fact that John Kirkpatrick first danced at that age - otherwise it might be higher - and the oldest member is 52 (in 1996). Although the original membership came from a fairly small geographical area, the 'fame' that Bedlams achieved led to many people wishing to join from further afield and:

'There's still a lot of events where we can't get a team, because gradually, geographically the catchment area has spread out quite a long way. Initially it was fairly compact - it's huge now. Some people travel 30 miles to practice. In the past, some people have travelled more than that.' (Kirkpatrick. Int:014)

Like the Brittania Coconut Dancers (CS/2) and the Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers (CS/9), the Shropshire Bedlams are a 'prestige' side for many individuals within the Folk Revival and could be in danger of attracting individuals wishing to dance as part of the team just for the glory of being able to say they have done so. Unlike the Brittania Coconut Dancers and Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers, however, the Bedlams have not so far found it necessary to find ways to exclude such people although the difficulties in getting a team for some events is as likely to be for this reason as purely because of the catchment from which people travel.

Further commentary

This Case Study tends to be dominated by the personality of John Kirkpatrick. Given his rôle in the creation and development of the Shropshire Bedlams, and the fact that he is almost exclusively the sole information source, this is not surprising. The Case Study demonstrates, even more clearly than previous ones, the degree to which an individual can shape and influence *all* aspects of a team and its performance if permitted to do so by the group.

Æsthetics, vision, pragmatism, creative drive and a wish to create a contemporary, exciting performance all combined to become the Shropshire Bedlams and yet these were still linked by back-reference to the historical record and thus, even here with an admittedly 'new' invention, some link with the past is established. In the case of the Shropshire Bedlams the result was undeniably successful. At folk festivals that they attended in the early years they never failed to excite and attract large audiences. The Folk Revival had not seen the like before and inevitably they caused some controversy amongst staunch members of the Morris Ring who objected to performance not done 'by the book'. John Kirkpatrick had, it seemed, achieved all of his objectives.

Although the style and practice of the Shropshire Bedlams has changed little since the group was first created, the influence of the group on the wider morris 'scene' throughout the country has been significant. Bedlams were not alone in trying to create exciting and contemporary morris, but other teams were trying to improve or update recognised Types. Within only a few years there were several new sides in Shropshire itself and many of these copied the Bedlams' style and, in some cases, their dances and even stepping as well. This was also true of sides throughout the country - a 'new' style of morris had been created and was now being copied in a similar pattern to the way that Northwest morris spread in the second half of the 19th Century within the North-West and again throughout the country in the 1980s, or of the 'boom' in sword dance teams a matter of decades prior to Sharp's collecting, as a result of peripatetic teachers like Willy Worthy and Dandy Jack. History shows repeatedly that quality innovation amongst the vernacular performing arts was rapidly copied and fashions created. Novelty has always been seized upon, and copyists abound.

CASE STUDY No.9

ABINGDON MORRIS SIDES & THE MAYOR OF OCK STREET

This Case Study concerns one of the four Cotswold type morris traditions which are generally regarded as having survived in continuous performance across the boundary of 1900[38] and which exemplify the perceived centuries-old continuing tradition of Cotswold morris dancing. The side is known as The Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers (ATMD). Inextricably linked to the ATMD, and maintained by them, is the calendar custom The Election of the Mayor of Ock Street. The Case Study also considers a second morris team in Abingdon - Mr. Hemmings Traditional Morris Dancers (Hemmings). The recent history of these sides has been controversial:

> 'Far less historical analysis has appeared in print than is theoretically possible.
> Perhaps the chief contributing factor of late has been the existence of two separate
> dance sides in the town since 1978... A good deal of the perceived historical data has
> become contentious, and this tension occasionally surfaces in the pages of the local
> newspapers. Faced with this internal problem, most outsiders have refrained from
> making statements or value judgements.' (Chandler 1993c)

The Case Study is not primarily concerned with the controversy although, as will become evident, much of it has been generated out of team members' responses to the attitude and verbalisation of one particular officer of A.T.M.D. These have been at the root of several aspects of the changes recorded in the Case Study. As with the other Case Studies, the focus is the mechanics of the ways in which the sides operate, and how and why things are as they are.

The interviewees were Chris Bartram (Int:008), long-standing musician for, and Honorary Member of ATMD and Keith Holloway (Int:013), former member of ATMD and one of the founding members of Mr. Hemmings Morris Dancers. These two men work together as professional musicians and both have little time for continuing arguments over internal politics between the sides, although each has their own point of view. Like Chandler's 'most outsiders', I too refrain from making value judgements on the controversy and, as with other Case Studies, the text has been discussed with the informants. Other information in the study has been taken from Chandler (1993b&c).

Current performance

Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers

ATMD have, essentially, five arenas of performance which are to some extent interlinked. They are, in no order of priority: Morris Ring activity (visits to and from other sides, Ring Meetings, etc.), local event and pub performances (in season), international visits, civic performances and, for one day each year, the Election of the Mayor of Ock Street (also referred to as 'Mayor's Day'). Chris Bartram says of the civic performances:

> 'There's enormous local pride - both in the side, and in the town. One of the other reasons for keeping the whole thing going is the link between the morris and the Town Council. For instance, the Council has a pub-games night where they actually play [against] the morris. Various vice-presidents of the side, for instance Joe Jackson and Ewart Hemmings are both local politicians.

> 'One of nice things about the side, the way it is now, is that it represents the town - as I say - a surprising number of professional people - that's partly because of the presence of Harwell and Didcot power station. We have scientists, engineers, we have a complete range - gardeners - we even have a local vicar - but his wife doesn't like the idea 'cause she can't [i.e. is not permitted to] dance.' (Bartram. Int:008)

If the link between the ATMD and the Town Council is 'one of the *other* reasons' (my italics) for the morris's existence, its prime reason is undoubtedly Mayor's Day. Bartram again:

> 'The most important thing is the Mayor of Ock Street; he must be the only guy in the world who's elected, as the head of an organisation, who's actually elected by an open ballot of anyone who's moved into Ock Street, and yet he becomes the head of the morris dancers which is effectively a private club. The morris dancers also vote. The morris can vote and anyone who lives in Ock Street - and people who work in the street too.' (Bartram. Int:008)

This mechanism, of an open election to select the head of a private club, does seem to be unique. Certainly I have found no comparable mechanism elsewhere and it seems even more peculiar when it is realised that, apart from being elected and 'chaired' in procession on the day itself, this mayor's function for the remainder of his year of office is solely to be the head of the morris. The accretion of activity around the election, which constitutes the calendar custom of Mayor's Day, is evidently sufficient to have maintained what is otherwise an anachronistic event. The desire to maintain Mayor's Day is even given as a reason for ATMD to undertake some of its other performances, for:

> 'Mayor's Day's the most important thing. One of the reasons we go out to dance at other things is so we can make enough money to pay for Mayor's Day. Mayor's Day costs us little short of a grand to put on and so we have to actually go out and earn that money - mainly just local fêtes and occasional go away places - and also we'll go for instance to France or to Belgium.' (Bartram. Int:008)

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It may be noted that, despite the close links between the morris and the Council, the cost of Mayor's Day is not subsidised by the Council and is entirely paid for by the morris's self-generated funds. The close link between ATMD and the local council is, of itself, unusual and the only other two examples of a side being regularly used by their local council, amongst the surveyed groups, is that of Cockleshell Clog (Southend-on-Sea, Essex. IQ:004) who are used in connection with twinning events, and Royal Borough Morris (Tunbridge Wells, Kent - see C/S:12), but neither of these relationships approaches the intimacy of ATMD with its local council.

Mr. Hemmings Traditional Morris Dancers

In contrast to ATMD, the Hemmings side operates more widely within the Folk Revival sub-culture but, formed in the mid-1970s:

> 'The initial prime intention was to dance out around Abingdon, but if we were invited farther afield - great, we would go.' (Holloway. Int:013)

Invitations from further afield are accepted, or rejected, as is the case in nearly all the teams covered in this survey, according to whether a sufficient number of the side (dancers and musicians) are willing and able to fulfil the engagement.

As examined later in the Case Study, Hemmings was born out of conflict within ATMD and this may account for both the higher percentage of 'Folk Revival' bookings which Hemmings undertake - as they do not have the 'civic' connections of ATMD - and for the fact that they do not have a calendar custom of their own to maintain. Asked whether Hemmings had considered having their own version of Mayor's Day, the informant said:

> 'Oh yes, we did. There was all sorts of ideas came up, most of them quite fanciful - that we would start our own traditional ceremony, etc., but none of us really wanted to do that because none of us wanted to cause conflict. There was some talk about getting our own set of horns[39], and that was fairly quickly vetoed because it would have caused more conflict.' (Holloway. Int:013)

The Hemmings pattern of performances remains very similar to that of most sides created within the latter half of the 20th Century.

Historical background

Keith Chandler's exhaustive searches have failed to provide evidence of a morris side in Abingdon prior to the 1780s although:

> 'Oral tradition prevalent in 1825 ascribes morris dancing activity in Abingdon as early as 1700'. (Chandler. 1993b - from an article in the Berkshire Chronicle of 25/6/1825)

The same article also linked the morris dancing with The Election of the Mayor of Ock Street since 1700. Certainly there are local press items throughout the 19th Century, and although there have been lapses in the annual performances of the Abingdon morris dancers they have, at least from the mid-19th Century onwards, only been brief, and when performance again commenced it was almost certainly with virtually the same personnel. It is therefore difficult to choose a point at which the historical record becomes the contemporary record. Chandler concludes from his researches in the local press that morris dancers had appeared at the time of the Abingdon June Fair in 1886, 1887, 1888, 1890, 1892, 1893, 1899, 1900 and 1901. In 1891 'the Ock Street dancers' had been 'conspicuous by their absence' (Chandler.1993c) and:

> 'Two of the old dancers claimed in 1910 that it had been '10 or 12 years... [since the dance performances] went out in regular style'.' (Chandler.1993b p.38, from Cecil Sharp's field notebook 1)

During this period:

> '...the title and position of Mayor of Ock Street, had by 1900 became so inextricably linked with the morris dancers that it was tenaciously passed on to three of Thomas Hemmings's sons in succession, until the third of these was formally elected by the residents of the street, in a revival of the voting process during 1938.' (Chandler.1993c)

The Hemmings family have long been at the heart of morris dancing in Abingdon. Chandler (1993b) has traced confirmed dancers by the name of Hemmings back as far as a Thomas Hemmings (b.1815) and of the nine confirmed Abingdon dancers in the 19th Century, eight had the surname Hemmings. Like many performing groups, there does appear to have been intermittence in the annual performances and, also in common with many other groups, the First World War was to have a profound effect on the continuity, for 'the regular dancing lapsed probably in 1914' (Bartram. Int:008). Although dancing out was certainly absent during WW1, that does not itself mean that no dancing took place at all:

> 'There was dancing. Whether it was in public or not I don't know, but it is

documented that dancing continued probably at private parties and such like and, although some of the more radical ATMD members wouldn't admit it, it's also documented that it was mainly the women that carried on the dancing.' (Holloway. Int:013)

As noted in earlier chapters, the Folk Revival became a significant factor in the continuation of many traditions in the early decades of this century. In particular, the formation of the Morris Ring in 1934, with its emphasis on the nobility of Cotswold morris, meant that the Abingdon side were bound to be influenced:

'In about 1935 the Morris Ring actually came and expected men to get up and dance, which was great and in fact Abingdon - the morris side - then actually changed its name to the Abingdon Morris Ring Dancers. It was one of the earliest sides in the Ring. But it was still locally based but with a little bit of paternalistic input from outside - someone used to come and play for the side and [say], "Come on chaps, let's go dancing!"' (Bartram. Int:008)

This relationship with the Ring continues to the present. If the Ring were happy to have a continuing traditional side as members, no less were the Abingdon morris fraternity happy to have their tradition recognised:

'From ATMD's point of view, it's seen as something important to belong to the Ring. I guess it goes right back to the '30s. It's something which gave some, I think, legitimacy to the guys who were at that time involved in the morris. It's like the visit by Mary Neal - Mrs Clark was [still] talking about that in the '60s, and that's 70 years before that. And it gave the morris a bit of kudos. It was a case of, "Oh, you're just doing the old morris dancing" - "Oh, no, we've got these guys who are really interested in it".' (Bartram. Int:008)

This relationship may have strengthened the morris in the town and, as in other places, added more drive to the continuity of the tradition, but it was not easy to maintain a local side and:

'Basically, the side would have gone under in the late '60s, because one of the things the old fellows had to do to keep the side going in the early '60s was to get people from Oxford University Morris and [Oxford] City Morris involved. In fact, at that time one or two guys - Abingdon guys - were also dancing for Oxford City... including Les Argyll, the Mayor of Ock Street. ... anyhow, as I say, the basic morris has carried on. It carried on and almost, *almost*, became an offshoot of Oxford City Morris. It got very close to it, and it's not something which is spoken about very much.' (Bartram. Int:008)

Quite apart from the cross-over of members with other Oxford (city) sides, ATMD also suffered from the tendency that has already been noted in regard to the Britannia Coconut Dancers (C/S:2), for

individuals from the Folk Revival to add traditional sides to their CVs:

> 'In the late '60s, we suddenly noticed there were people coming from outside, staying for six months and saying, "I've danced with Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers" and then we'd never see them again. And this wasn't very satisfactory. The old fellows particularly [Johnny Grimsdale, Jack Hyde, Charlie Brett] - they're the people who'd been dancing since the '30s - thought that we should do something about it.' (Bartram. Int:008)

Chris Bartram, who had 'got involved in '67', was one of those who addressed the perceived problem:

> 'We sat down and said, "Look, if this team's going to continue, it can't continue the way it is; it's actually got to be organised." We said, "Look, we've got to stop people just coming," and we sat down and actually wrote a constitution. The main thing was to say a) if you dance with Abingdon Morris, you don't dance with anyone else. b) you've got to actually live here.' (Bartram. Int:008)

The constitution has gone through several revisions, as need arose, since it was first adopted. In addition to Chris Bartram, other new blood came into the side at this period. One was Keith Holloway:

> 'I joined Abingdon [i.e. ATMD] in 1969... [at] 19 [years of age]. I was probably one of the youngest at the time. After I joined there were several 'sons' of existing dancers who came in and joined. So the [average] age started to drop then - but the average age of the side was fairly old because you still had Johnny Grimsdale, Jack Hyde, Charlie Brett - the three old-stagers who were well into their late seventies at that time.
>
> 'I'd always known that the morris dancers were there... [I was] Abingdon born and raised - seventh generation. So I'd always known they were there and I happened to get talking to somebody that I knew in the side and thought, "Well, yes, tradition is a wonderful thing but it doesn't exist unless people do it," so I went off and joined the side - to keep it [i.e. 'the tradition'] going.' (Holloway. Int:013)

Formation of the second side

Another new recruit was a man who was to have a profound effect on ATMD and on morris in the town:

> 'There was a guy called **** *****, who was a Liverpudlian. How he got involved in the side I don't know. About 1970 I think. Jack [Hyde], by that time, was well into his seventies. Basically, **** started getting quite a lot of power and another reason for having the constitution was to have a way of holding him back. I think I see this

also in Bampton in a way - Bampton is driven by other things. Bampton is much more driven by what they see as their position in the Revival. We're actually driven very hard by the idea that we are very old and traditional. **** was a bit mysoginistic - his marriage broke up and the papers actually cited morris dancing - I joke not! I feel he actually got the side very strong anti-women dancing anything - not just morris - but anti-women dancing...

'He was also the major reason for Mr. Hemmings [Morris Dancers]. He lived in Abingdon. He was Bagman. He also brought a lot of mumbo-jumbo in as well - like women dancing - and would actually try to make up folklore to justify his point. And he was really quite good at doing that and the trouble is there are guys in the side who believed him. They just didn't know.' (Bartram. Int:008)

The unwelcome power of this individual was a major factor in Chris Bartram's decision to 'drop out' of the side in 1978, but by this time several others had dropped out for similar reasons. One of these was Keith Holloway:

'I left because I was absolutely pissed-off with the Bagman's militant domineering attitude. He couldn't allow that anyone else had a life outside of the morris and it really all came to a head when the opening of the old gaol came about. They converted what was the finest badminton courts in the South of England into a sports centre and screwed it all up, and they had this big opening ceremony and the morris were asked to dance there as they normally were for town functions and I said, "Well, I'm sorry guys, I can't do it because we've already been booked" - with a folk group I was with at the time to play there - and that had been pre-booked before the Morris was asked. I was committed to that - and that just brought it up to a head, you know - I'd got no respect for the side or anything else, blah, blah, blah, which was a total load of old bull-shit. So I said, "Well, if that's the way you feel about it, here's my bloody resignation." And the Bagman at the time said, "Well, I don't accept it," and I said, "Well, tough, I'm off anyway." So officially I'm still a member of the side.' (Holloway. Int:013)

It was this pool of ex-ATMD dancers who became the core for the new morris side in the town - Mr. Hemmings Morris Dancers. Keith Holloway, a founding member, described its creation thus:

'Hemmings started, it must have been about '76. '75 at the very earliest.... It started because several ex-ATMD members were fed up with a) not dancing, b) not seeing the dance done the way we felt it should be done.

'When I left the side [i.e. ATMD] I went off... towards the end of the summer season and I knew some people from another side in the area, so I danced a winter practice with them and learned some dances other than the Abingdon tradition. And it would have been some time around the following spring, [or] early summer that Hemmings was conceived.

'Myself and a friend were sitting in the White Horse in Abingdon one night saying general grumblings like, "Isn't it a pity we're not dancing?" "Why don't we start

another side?" So - there was another side!.. It [i.e. ATMD] was not fun any more - it was getting to be a chore to go and dance. Partly because of the Bagman's attitude and partly because there was a very limited number of people dancing at the time. I think the season before I left there was something like eight of us that were 'out' every single time. Mind you, having said that, we were *good* - we would knock the spots off anybody else and were quite prepared to do so. Any six from eight dancing continually for a season is going to be good, and we were. But we were being dictated to.

'How did we go about it? We sat down with a pencil and paper and said, "Who do we know who has been in the morris or would be interested in joining the morris?" - this was specifically Abingdon [people] at the time. About four names instantly leapt to the paper who were ex-Abingdon [ATMD] men... They'd left over the years for various 'political' reasons and were quite happy to come to a new side which was set up primarily to take the dances out to the public. This was still maintaining the integrity of 'the tradition', because none of us had any objection to 'the tradition'... The name was arrived at simply by looking at the history of the side. The fact that two of the people for the new side were directly members of the [Hemmings] family and I think two other people were related to the family made it an obvious choice. So we went back to the family and said, "We would like to start a morris side. We would like to call if Mr. Hemming's Morris Men. Does the family have any objections?" - and the family said, "No, we don't." ' (Holloway. Int:013)

The new side practised through the winter and first danced out the following spring. There were now two sides in Abingdon with the same repertoire of dances. Although it is evident from the above that an opinionated individual and his management style had been the primary cause of several dancers leaving ATMD, the formation of the new side was also supported by additional criticism. Keith Holloway pinpointed a view amongst the defectors from ATMD that they thought:

' "Why can't they dance it the way we think it should be danced?" We felt it [the dancing] was too fast. It had been getting that way.' (Holloway. Int:013)

And when Hemmings first performed, they had adopted a style which was:

'... slower and a little bit more relaxed than the way ATMD were doing it. They got up to what appeared to us a very quick pace in the dancing which detracted from the performance.

'There was a very conscious decision at the beginning to dance it the way it used to be danced [as defined by] the period that the [Hemmings] family told us about in living memory.

'The rationale for setting it up was to dance the dances the way it used to be done, and the way we wanted to see it done, but I don't think it can be described as being set up as a museum side because we did write new dances to go into the repertoire. So it was an evolving thing.

'... the new side was a reaction to everything that was going on - being danced in a way we thought was incorrect, the dictatorship that was going on, that it wasn't fun any more.' (Holloway. Int:013)

Chris Bartram, however, felt that the 'justification' of pace and style tended to be exaggerated - perhaps to allow a down-playing of the personality issues:

'I always felt that was a little bit of a fiction. I don't think the style of dancing changed significantly at all - if you look at Hemmings and you look at ATMD there's very little difference.' (Bartram. Int:008)

However, he does concede that ATMD had speeded up, but offered a different explanation in that:

'That was because, at the time - and it was really Brian Clarke (whose mother is Tom Hemming's daughter) - at that time was starting to get - you know - he was twenty years or more older than the young guys who were dancing very well, and the young guys could dance the dances a bit faster.' (Bartram. Int:008)

It has already been noted that, in the 1960s, the ATMD had only survived because it had involved dancers from outside the town. History was to repeat itself for Hemmings some two decades later:

'The other thing you've got to remember is that Hemmings also was - at the beginning it was actually set up as a side for locals. For the people who wanted to be "more Abingdon than thou", and in fact, to survive as a side like that, they had to bring people in from much further outside than ATMD does - well, did at that time; it doesn't now. A lot of people have played and danced for Hemmings who have no links with Abingdon at all.' (Bartram. Int:008)

The existence of the two sides, and the circumstances which had led to the creation of the second side, were bound to cause problems within the morris fraternity despite Hemmings intention to avoid conflict by, for example as quoted above, deciding not to replicate Mayor's Day. Costume was another potential area of conflict, and Hemmings decided to wear:

'... a [diagonal] sash as opposed to a baldrick[40] which I believe was red, orange and blue, and a waistband which was red, orange, blue and green. We were trying to keep the town colours but not clash with ATMD kit. We were never out to cause any form of conflict but we did it by existing.' (Holloway. Int:013)

ATMD's reaction to the formation of the new side was:

'Absolute horror. Not initially. Initially there was a certain amount of curiosity, but

it certainly turned to complete horror - "What are these guys up to?" I don't think they'd do it now, but Hemmings several times tried to join the Ring and ATMD said, "No way do we want them in." I think that was a silly thing; it would be much better to have them in the Ring and have some control over them. It was certainly a very difficult time. A lot of the guys who went over to Hemmings tended to be people who had slightly lapsed anyhow - probably because they weren't enjoying it - didn't enjoy being ruled over by **** *****.' (Bartram. Int:008)

The Hemmings view of ATMD's reaction was described thus:

'There were several [ATMD] people who were very much in support of the Bagman and said, "We're not having anything to do with you, you shouldn't be doing this, we're *the* side and you're not", which didn't concern us in the slightest because they could get on with what they wanted to do and we were going to leave them alone, and we expected them to do the same to us. But there was an awful lot of backbiting went on for some considerable time.' (Holloway. Int:013)

Towards a cessation of hostilities

Much of the above descriptions are, obviously, the views and perceptions of the interviewees from either side of the divide. They have been quoted at some length, not so much because of the actual content as for the ways in which they illuminate the dynamics and rationalisations behind the outcomes that have occurred within this culturally embedded group of performers. Before considering aspects of management and practice, it is therefore reasonable to continue and record the summary views of the informants and to bring the history further up to date, as the situation continues to develop.

Keith Holloway's summary of the man who precipitated the 'split' is that:

'He was the one that really kept things boiling and stirred up the more easily led members of ATMD. The fact that he was a bloody foreigner in the town himself - you know - really upset most people.

'This, as far as I am concerned, was not a benevolent dictatorship. I don't say that he was out for his own self-aggrandizement - I don't think he was that intelligent. In a lot of ways he had the best intentions of the team at heart - he just went about it in totally the wrong way and put too many people's backs up. (Holloway. Int:013)

Chris Bartram expressed a very personal view:

'I'd like to see them come back [to ATMD] - I mean most of them are mates of mine - and that's one of the other reasons I came out of playing the morris. I had really split loyalties. I think they were wrong to do what they did; they should have stayed and fought and got rid of ****. Everyone knew what **** was.

'It might have hastened the departure of **** *****. [He's] become a bogey man - he did do an awful lot of good work, but he was very misguided. He actually did a lot of damage and, I think in retrospect, he did an awful lot more damage than we realised was happening at the time.' (Bartram. Int:008)

The apparent cause of the problems has, however, (at the time of writing) now gone from ATMD. As the informants each described his departure:

'Having worked himself into a corner which he couldn't get out of - I wasn't going to support him. He worked himself into a position he couldn't honourably get out of [so] he resigned eighteen months ago and there's a lot of bridge building going on in the side - trying to say to people, "Look, it's not us, it's just him," - which we actually need to do.' (Bartram. Int:008)

'**** resigned and there was an EGM which ratified his resignation. It remains to be seen whether he'll stay away or not. But, I mean, I've got no problem with the rest of the side and I know members of the [Hemmings] side have been invited to various functions that they've [i.e. ATMD] held.' (Holloway. Int:013)

Several men have now gone back to ATMD from Hemmings and it remains to be seen what will happen in the longer term.

Organisation and management

The two sides in Abingdon present an interesting contrast. The senior side, historically run on a very informal basis, when presented with a series of problems, sought to resolve or contain them by the introduction of a formal constitution and rules. When this failed to contain one individual's approach, men left the group - ultimately forming the new side which deliberately sought to avoid formality and hierarchy in the way in which it operated.

Before the introduction of the constitution, it appears that one man bore the brunt of ATMD organisation - although perhaps 'organisation' is too aggrandising a word for his style - as Chris Bartram described it:

'At that time, they used to practise in the winter, and they used to collect a bit in the summer. All the admin. was done by one person - Jack Hyde - all his records still survive. Anyone could turn up - and they could dance. The most important thing

was obviously the Election of the Mayor of Ock Street - that's why the side existed, basically. And then you could go and do pubs, occasionally you'd go to Ales - particularly if they were given by Oxford City [Morris Men]. [We'd] usually go to Bampton on Whit Monday. But it was all very informal. Jack would go and knock on people's doors and say, "You're coming [dancing] tomorrow, aren't you boy?" And it was partly, I think, the enthusiasm of Jack which kept the side going. In terms of organisation at the time, it was very, very, very informal indeed.

'Obviously we elect the Mayor of Ock Street. That used to happen... [It] almost seemed to be magical the way that happened, to me, at that time. It was all organised - that's *partly*. At that time that was done by the family, the Hemmings family, particularly by Mrs. Clarke who is the mother of Brian Clarke who was the Foreman-cum-Chairman of Mr. Hemmings Morris, the splinter side. And I think the family actually, with the help of two or three dancers, organised the ballot. The papers were actually delivered at that time by Charlie Brett, the postman, which was how he got himself to be elected Mayor of Ock Street - he used to go out canvassing - he was the first non-Hemmings to be Mayor of Ock Street for three to four hundred years.' (Bartram. Int:008)

After the introduction of the constitution, for the two reasons described above - to curtail power and to prevent people 'who would just pop in, say, "I've danced with a traditional morris side," and disappear again' (Bartram. Int:008), things became more organised. Chris Bartram again:

'Basically the rules were: you turned up, you didn't get too drunk and you didn't do anything too stupid - and you danced as well as you could. And we actually found, later on, that we had to actually put some rules in. The side actually now finds having that constitution a very useful thing. We're required to formalise a lot things that used to happen informally. [For example] it always used to be John Grimsdale [who] looked after the Ock Street horns - and we now formally elect someone who's a Horn Bearer.

'And it's been very successful. It is used, very sensibly, all the time [as a reference document]. People will wave the constitution before they think sometimes. I think it [the constitution] came in fits and starts. It started off as a sort of oral thing. I can't really remember when it went onto paper. I think it was probably 1970, '71. Then it became an important document.' (Bartram. Int:008)

Under the constitution, the officers of the side are: Secretary, Treasurer and Bagman. The latter is:

'... a Morris Ring term which we picked up on the way. Jack always used to call himself the Secretary. We try to have Deputy Bagman, but the deputy is not necessarily the bagman elect. It's just someone there with a pair of hands. We have an Annual General Meeting and they're all elected each year. We elect the Fool and the Deputy - so we've got two people who can fool.' (Bartram. Int:008)

One further office is filled at the AGM:

'We elect the lead dancer who actually calls the dances as we go through them. [Confirms he would be Foreman in any other side.] Although he doesn't have that sort of power that the Foreman has in other sides. In other sides, the Foreman is more of a teacher whereas teaching a dance in ATMD is much more a co-operative thing.' (Bartram. Int:008)

As one of the reasons for introducing the constitution was to prevent 'temporary' members from joining, it is not surprising to find that becoming a member of ATMD is an elaborate affair:

'If someone comes along and wants to learn, the first thing [is] they'll come out with us and watch them, probably for a few months in the summer. Then in the winter they'll go to practices and they'll be encouraged to learn the steps - 'cause Abingdon steps are basically fairly simple. And then they'll be encouraged to join in the sets in practice and we actually have a sort of Novice Dancer - it's formalised to make sure people don't come along - again this whole thing of people coming along and think they're going to do it all straight away. They will have to do at least nine months usually before they're allowed out. We tend to pick up a lot of new recruits actually on Mayor's Day in June and so if they come along and just get to know us during the summer, if we don't know them already - and then they'll go through the winter, and by the end of the winter, they will be able to dance in public, and probably get their baldricks and become a full member of the side in the following spring. [So] there is a formal induction.' (Bartram. Int:008)

It has already been noted that the head of the morris - The Mayor of Ock Street - is elected by a wider constituency than the ATMD membership. As for decision-making, 'normally it's all done by a lot of talking' (Bartram. Int:008) and it is then down to the officers to carry out the side's decisions, for:

'Officers get appointed to do all the work. You do it. The rest of the side don't want to know. They do everything.' (Bartram. Int:008)

The constitution does, however, allow for ad hoc committees and these are formed:

'Mainly for things like events like this 300th anniversary of the Horns [in the year 2000]. It'll be for that sort of thing - 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.' (Bartram. Int:008)

These ad hoc committees do not necessarily include any of the appointed officers and it tends to be 'the same people each year' for Mayor's Day.

It is evident that, like many of the groups surveyed, the ATMD operates by joint discussion and then

action by individuals, either from a 'sub-committee' or by one of the elected officers. The decision-making - here yet again - is not delegated. It is also apparent that the officers deal with the everyday and the mundane: for important regular or unusual events a special ad hoc 'committee' is formed. These will, inevitably, have decision-making powers. This is despite a formal constitution which 'is used, very sensibly, all the time' (quoted above). Thus the constitution is, in everyday management, relegated to a reference document only - to be called on as required. Even then, it contains a rule which allows rules to be suspended (which is how Chris and Keith have been 'allowed' to perform together and even record tunes from the Abingdon morris tradition) and another which states that previous decisions cannot be taken as precedent.

The organisation of Hemmings, in contrast, sought to be democratic and minimal. Decisions are made:

> 'Very democratically. We had a Chairman and the rest all meshed into a lump underneath the Chairman. Decisions were generally made by the side - a majority decision would carry it.' (Holloway. Int:013)

The Chairman is elected by the members of the Hemmings side at an Annual General Meeting which is held:

> '... always the Sunday lunchtime that Abingdon Fair moved into Ock Street. The Chairman, by default, became Squire of the side and there was a Secretary - we had a Treasurer as well but we didn't have a designated Bagman. The Squire was also Foreman.' (Holloway. Int:013)

The avoidance of the office of Bagman, which is so common amongst Cotswold morris sides, appears to be quite deliberate as a reaction to the then Bagman of the ATMD. The Foreman equates to the Lead Dancer in ATMD and, like his counterpart, he does not have the more usual Foreman's responsibility of teaching dances for, again like ATMD:

> 'The dances were taught by anybody who knew the dance - bear in mind that most of us came from a common tradition - we knew the dances anyway. They were taught to newcomers by whoever happened to be there at the time. Practice nights, if we got two novices, someone would take one in one corner, someone would take the other in another corner, and the rest of the side would get on with whatever.' (Holloway. Int:013)

Without the 'very legalistic' (Bartram. Int:008) constitution of ATMD, the actual organising in Hemmings is rather like that in most sides and described by Trevor Stone as decisions which were

made by the people who actually did the jobs - rather than by the officers or as a result of group discussion.

> 'I think that's fairly common in most democratic sides. I know when Hemmings organised, it was either those that were 'pressed' or 'volunteered' that did the organising, but things, in their usual fashion, manage to get done.' (Holloway. Int:013)

In creating Hemmings, Keith Holloway was quite clear in his own intent, and says:

> 'I was quite conscious to maintain a democracy rather than the dictatorship that ATMD had turned into. It was a reaction to the dictatorship. Those that were involved with ATMD were sick to the back teeth.' (Holloway. Int:013)

The selection of which events to attend, following an invitation, is the same in both sides and is the usual group discussion and a decision based on whether there are enough members willing and able.

> 'The Secretary would be notified by whoever that an event was taking place and we were welcome to go. It would be brought up at the next meeting, be it a practice or a dance out, and... Given sufficient men, yes, we'd go.' (Holloway. Int:013)

> '[Invitations are received] by the Bag[man]. Availability? "Is it something we want to do?" Several years we've been asked to go and dance in West London on Whit Monday, and everyone said, "No. We want to go to Bampton." ' (Bartram. Int:008)

Despite the distinct backgrounds to the two sides, and the expressed differences in attitude to constitution. rules and organisation, it is evident that there are more similarities than dis-similarities in how the groups function and make decisions - both apear to conform to the ubiquitous 'group discuss - officers implement decisions' pattern while the individuals who actually do the job create the performances and the team's own activities.

Further aspects and commentary

In order to compare the two Abingdon sides, the quotations drawn thus far from the interviews have been selective. As explained in the introduction to the Case Studies, the intention is to allow the tenor and concerns of the interviewees to reveal themselves in full. It is therefore desirable to review other matters covered in the interviews but not so far recorded. Chris Bartram spoke extensively about the position of ATMD within both the Folk Revival and the culture of the town of Abingdon, and also of the continuing relationship between town and morris as the town itself is evolving. Keith Holloway

was also concerned with evolution, but of the Abingdon morris dance tradition itself.

ATMD and the Folk Revival

Like the Brittania Coconut Dancers (C/S:2) and the majority of participants in The Hunting of the Earl of Rone (C/S:3), the members of ATMD are not *also* members of the Folk Revival sub-culture described by Boyes (1993a). As Chris Bartram says:

> 'There are no professional folkies in the side. It's a very un-folky morris side. The morris side exists because it's a natural local thing. It's not because of folk people. This is the difference between Abingdon and Bampton - or even Headington Quarry. It's *not* there as a vehicle for people - some people - to base their folky persona on. I'm very pleased about that.' (Bartram. Int:008)

There is also an implicit criticism of the way in which the Folk Revival sub-culture makes assumptions about continuing traditions in Chris's comments about the dancing tradition in Abingdon:

> 'There are two things about Abingdon Morris which people find difficult. The dancing is by no means spectacular - it's quite unlike Cotswold morris because it's very simple, it could be thought of as boring. A lot of people see Abingdon morris and think, "Is that all?" And you've got to remember it's part of something else. ... People do seen to have an expectation of what a traditional morris side is, and it's not fulfilled by Abingdon in many ways. And I don't care - we do what we do - we're not there trying to make people's expectations come true. It's not part of the Folk Revival.' (Bartram. Int:008)

Chris concedes that, occasionally, ATMD sets itself up to be contrary as far as the Folk Revival is concerned, but their attitude to what are perceived as other groups like themselves is unequivocal - as demonstrated in their selection of guest teams to invite for Mayor's Day:

> '[Bampton Morris] come across, usually just for the evening. We have had some nice days when we've had ourselves, Chipping Campden, Bampton and [Headington] Quarry [i.e. the four 'continuous' Cotswold traditions] all there for the day. There's always formal invitations - nobody comes to Mayor's day on spec. If they do, they don't get asked to dance. On Mayor's day, we normally invite one other traditional side from among the continuing traditions. So, it could be Manley [Northwest Morris], it could be Handsworth [Longsword], and this year we're going to have Minehead Hobby Horse.' (Bartram. Int:008)

Nor is there a total disregard for the Folk Revival itself. ATMD's relationship to the Morris Ring has

already been mentioned and the side is not averse to honouring individuals from the Ring who have rendered a service to the Abingdon tradition, as shown in the following:

> 'Last year we decided as a gesture to some people who had done a lot for us - Bert Cleaver and Ivor Allsop - decided that we needed to actually formalise honorary membership a bit more. [They gave us] support - and support in the Ring - the whole thing - you know that Abingdon refuses to have its dances published. [For] actually standing up and saying, "Look, these guys have got a perfect right to say they don't want their dances published," and the reason we don't want them published is because we think - although the dancing is fine on its own, you know, you can't publish the Mayor of Ock Street and the morris is actually very much part of that rather than something on its own. *The* reason it's survived really is its association with the Mayor.' (Bartram. Int:008)

This is not an ambivalence of attitude such as encountered in Dixie Lee at Whitstable or Jack Tomes of Campden Mummers, rather it is a straightforward and consistent view of what the Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers are about - a part of the local culture. From that standpoint, ATMD are happy to share their Mayor's Day with groups they view as like-minded, and to honour individuals who support them and their views irrespective of whether or not they are part of the Folk Revival sub-culture.

ATMD and the town

The relationship with the town is of far more importance than any position ATMD may hold in the Folk Revival - and that relationship is cultivated, as shown in the following:

> 'The interesting thing is the honorary president and vice-presidents and honorary members. The honorary president and vice-presidents are nearly all Abingdon politicians. It's all part of our way of keeping friendly with the Town Council and the Vale of the White Horse District Council as well.' (Bartram. Int:008)

The town politicians also use the morris as an expression of Abingdon, as evidenced by their frequent use of the Morris in connection with twinning events:

> 'It's [i.e. the morris] important to the town - to the twinning. Abingdon's been very heavily into twinning. We're going to France this year to celebrate forty years. And that side's very important - something that's unique to Abingdon. It'll be very interesting 'cause we've got the 300th anniversary of the Ock Street Horns coming up.' (Bartram. Int:008)

As explored in the introductory chapters, there is a tendency for traditions such as the Abingdon

Morris and, more particularly, calendar customs, such as The Election of the Mayor of Ock Street, to be viewed by sociological folklorists as an expression of community identity. Whilst enjoyment of Mayor's Day may be *shared* by the populace, the event is not viewed by ATMD as being conducted *for* those people:

> 'It's not done as a mark of community - on the other hand, it does that a little because it brings people in to the Ock Street community. It's one thing that holds what was. You see even Ock Street's changed a great deal. In the early [to] mid-60s, there was an awful lot of quite poor quality housing in Ock Street - some of it's been replaced with flats. But Ock Street's become very much more a commercial than residential road. So a lot of people who lived in Ock Street moved to new estates in a place called Saxton Road - which actually runs more or less parallel to Ock Street, about 600 yards away - and a lot of those people would still say the morris dancers are important to us. In certain parts of Abingdon you'd find that sort of feeling but in other parts you wouldn't, and that's partly because of the way the town's developed. But it certainly is there, [in places] it's very deeply embedded. They can no longer vote, though, which is a pity, but - unless they come and join the morris dancers. The residents of Ock Street still care about it and want to see it there. It's about 60-70% of [ballot] papers that go out actually come back.' (Bartram. Int:008)

The return rate for voting papers of '60-70%' is higher than for many 'proper' elections and although this may be another indicator of local involvement, in the election at least, it may also be a reflection of the fact that candidates are known personalities in the town:

> 'The reason why Charlie Brett got it is because everybody knew him 'cause he's the postman. The reason now is that a lot of people know Stuart Jackson quite well, 'cause he's a guy who's well known in the town. Whereas Les Argyll used to be quite well known 'cause he used to work in the baker's but no longer does, and I guess that's one of the reasons he hasn't got the vote - I don't know. People do say who they are with the voting papers. It pretty formal. It's all counted properly. In the old days it wasn't counted as well.' (Bartram. Int:008)

There can be no doubt that ATMD and Mayor's Day are culturally embedded in the way discussed earlier, but this does not mean that the customs and traditions are the servants of the people. They are firmly held and controlled by the morris group alone and, although they do cultivate their relationship with the town, they retain the sort of independence that seems to be symptomatic of such non-institutional culturally embedded calendar customs.

The Evolving Tradition

Mr. Hemmings Morris had set out to perform in what they viewed as an earlier style of dance than

that then performed by ATMD. This means of moving forward, by copying an earlier form of a tradition, has been noted already and further examples will be given. Without the close town contacts that already existed with ATMD, Hemmings found their own performance niche closer to the Folk Revival, but still very much with their own local tradition in the forefront of their thinking:

> 'I do know they've [i.e. Hemmings] put at least two new dances together - dances that we wrote, we created in the Abingdon style - because we felt they were necessary. One of them was named 'Lord of the Dance' and used that tune[41] and was written in honour of Jack Hyde when he passed on. Jack, as far as a lot of us were concerned, was The Gaffer. He was '*it*'.

> 'Personally, I believe that tradition by definition is a living process. If it's not a living process, then substitute 'museum' for 'tradition'. This [i.e. the two newly-written dances] was not done as any form of novelty, this was done quite deliberately and specifically. This is how things started. A repertoire of dances for a morris side, let's say for the sake of argument, starts with four dances. And then somebody says, "Well, let's do this - Sid's just brought himself a new carthorse - let's write a dance for it." - and before you know where it is, it's part of the "tradition". They have to come from somewhere and it still happens now.'   (Holloway. Int:013)

For both the informants, the continuity of 'The Tradition' is important. The tradition in Abingdon has evidently absorbed changes in governing structures, re-creation of earlier styles, the addition of new material, influxes of 'outsiders', changes in the social milieu in which it operates and even the creation of new groups without the concept of a continuing tradition being impaired. It has adapted and survived since, arguably, at least as early as 1700 and seems as strong and culturally embedded now as at any time in its known history.

The concept of 'The Tradition' is evidently wider than either the group who sustain the performances or the community in which it operates. 'The Tradition' itself appears to be a series of connective links that join the present to the past - although what those links are may vary from time to time. It may be the dancing style, the fact of an event taking place, the transmission of metafolklore across generations, the relationship between the activity and the larger local community - or any other aspect that becomes incorporated, by the concensus of the contemporary group, into the concept of 'The Tradition'. This is an exceedingly amorphous way to define a tradition, and yet it seems appropriate. 'The Tradition', then, is whatever the people who currently maintain it agree that it is - always providing that those elements link the present to the past. The extent to which this idea pertains to other groups and whether it is actually sustainable as a form of definition of tradition is considered further in Ch.12.

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THE BURY PACE-EGGERS (LANCASHIRE)

The town of Bury is in the Eastern side of Lancashire, in the hills and valleys North of Manchester and between Bolton and Rochdale. Pace-egging is, in this Case Study, the practice of performing a hero-combat mumming play at Easter time, although the term has also been identified locally as a) Easter luck-visiting by children asking for eggs (or money or anything else that might be proffered) and b) a reference to fooling or messing around. Information for the Case Study comes from the Initial Questionnaire (IQ:199) and from an extensive interview (Int:018) with Alan Seymour and his wife Jean ('AS' and 'JS' respectively in the quotations). Alan is the prime mover of the team and has also published, on behalf of the Bury Pace-eggers, a booklet (Seymour.1994) which examines the custom of pace-egging with the intention of answering, as far as is possible, many of the questions the team are regularly asked about what they do. Further information comes from a variety of short articles on pace-egging and from references to pace-egging in more general works on Lancashire, its speech, folkways, history, etc.

Current form of the Custom

The Bury Pace-Eggers perform, as is traditional, during the week before Easter. The response to Q5 of the IQ indicated that their 'own town/village' was the most important area of performance. The 'local area' was ranked second and no other rankings were listed. Their itinerary is described in their own booklet, thus:

> 'The team turns out on the Saturday before Good Friday, performing in The Square in Bury town centre shopping precinct at noon... After the mid-day show, some town centre pubs are visited interspersed with other outdoor performances around the shopping centre until mid-afternoon when voices begin to tire. The Sunday lunchtime marathon begins around noon at the Duke William, Ainsworth, and visits are made to pubs in Starling, Tottington, Affetside, Hawkshaw and... Summerseat. We used to venture forth on six occasions, but now take Monday and Tuesday off, then Wednesday evening sees us in Nantgreaves and Ramsbottom, and finishing at the Dungeon Inn, Tottington.

> 'On the evening of Maundy Thursday is our walking tour through Woodford, starting at the Royal and visiting all the pubs, with our final show of the year in the Oddfellows Arms... In all we do about thirty performances a year, the collection being donated to local charities.' (Seymour.1994)

Occasional excursions have also been made, out of season, to Folk Revival events as far away as

Oxfordshire but, apart from these rare one-off appearances, the team and its play exist only for the annual six-day season:

> 'Then the jackets are hung up and the dragon, club, swords and all thoughts of pace-egging put away for another year.' (Seymour.1994)

Background and history to the Pace-egging

The texts of pace-egg plays are essentially the same as those of the more widespread hero-combat plays most usually performed around Christmas or New Year. The performance of these plays at Easter-time appears to have been quite closely confined to a geographical area in the north-west of England centred on Lancashire. In their geographical index of English ritual drama (Cawte, Helm & Peacock. 1967) the authors list 40 references to Easter plays in Lancashire from a total of 44 in the county - the four others refer to the Christmas period. Nearly all the references to plays in the former county of Westmorland also refer to Easter performances (10 out of 11), but elsewhere they are rare: two records from Cheshire and two from Cumberland, but several from the west of what was formerly the West Riding of Yorkshire, particularly in the Calder valley (see Brennan. 1976) which is adjacent to the Lancashire border. One early writer obviously considers the performances of the play to be more properly associated with Christmas, and writes that:

> 'Though from its title [i.e. The Pace-egg Mummers] this piece of rustic pageantry and mumming apparently belongs to Easter, it is evident from the fourth, fifth, and sixth lines of the doggrel that it was a piece written for and enacted at Christmas. The writer has seen and heard it performed in the open air, before country houses, at both seasons.' (Harland & Wilkinson. 1882)

The text given in Harland & Wilkinson is of a more literary type that than usually collected, either as a Christmas or an Easter play, from tradition early in the 20th century and has similarities to the Minehead (Somerset) play. It has three fight sequences, the last being with Hector, and boasts both of the hero-combat plays' traditional final characters - Beelzebub and Little Devil Doubt. However, it has no Dirty Bet or Big Head both of which are common in the Easter versions and the function of Father Christmas in the Christmas plays is taken by the Fool.

The antiquity of mumming plays of all types has been examined elsewhere on numerous occasions (e.g. Tiddy (1923), Cawte, Helm & Peacock (1967), Brown (1991)) and remains a source of disagreement between students of folklore. From his own researches, Alan Seymour concludes that:

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'No-one can say how old the pace-egg plays are, the words historically having been passed on by oral tradition. Then about two hundred years ago, chapbooks containing texts of the plays began to be published, although the earliest known in Lancashire dates from around 1840. Directly or indirectly, this was the way many teams learnt the words.

'The play was widespread in the Manchester area, where printers such as Abel Heywood and Son published *The Peace Egg or Saint George, an Easter Play* in the late nineteenth century. The firm of Edwards and Bryning in Rochdale printed their last chapbook, with the same title, in 1959.' (Seymour. 1994)

Pace-egg plays are, however, known in Lancashire before the 'earliest known' Lancashire chapbook and Seymour cites Louisa Potter's *Lancashire Memories* (1879) to locate a play 'on the Stand side of Radcliffe in about 1820' (Seymour. 1994). The science fiction novelist John Brennan, writing on Pace-egging in the Calder Valley area (Brennan. 1976), concluded from comments made by local people who would have been the young men pace-egging in the inter-war period (1918-1938) that

'There was no script to learn from, and about a week before Easter they would gather together and make their costumes and learn the words from older brothers and friends.' (Brennan. 1976)

It may well be that some teams learnt orally as Brennan suggests (as do the young people who maintain the Tup play tradition - see Russell. 1979) while others learnt directly from the printed texts. Certainly in Rochdale, Alan Seymour is convinced that the chapbooks had a significant effect, saying:

'The other element is the chapbook that continued to be published in Rochdale by Edwards and Brynings. I think the chapbooks, they definitely did make it more popular. We contacted people there who'd used the chapbook. That was through writing to the Rochdale paper... What they did in Rochdale, the lads bought these books that had the full play in them with, I think it's about nine characters in it, and they pruned it down to like about four or five or something, and doubled up on the parts or even missed some of the unimportant parts out. And it's one of these where they had two or three fights anyway, you know, so I think they pruned that down. Basically, they were just out for the money, and they wanted the money to... spend on Good Friday. They went on Good Friday to Hollingworth Lake and spent their money there. So the chapbooks were still going. We contacted several people in Rochdale who'd either had the chapbooks or learnt the play from their elder brothers or something like that.' (Seymour. Int:018)

Whatever the source of the specific plays which were performed, Pace-egging appears to have been a thriving tradition over a protracted period of time continuing from generation to generation.

After WW2 there is little evidence of a continuing tradition of Pace-egging although it would still

have been well within living memory. In the 1950s a revival of the Midgeley play was made by the 6th form of the Calder High School in Mytholmroyd and this 'new' tradition continues annually to the present. Subsequently a number of revival teams have been created including the group who are the subject of this Case Study - the Bury Pace-eggers.

The group and performance

The Bury Pace-eggers came into being through a process of evolution. The interviewees described the process as follows:

> AS: 'The thing that inspired it was that, in the [19]60s - in the late '60s - there was this revival of interest in Lancashire dialect and so on. A lot of it was spurred on by Harry Boardman and people like that who sort of pointed the way that there were local things other than singing Irish and American songs and that type of thing.' (Seymour. Int:018)

Among those who responded to this stimulus was an acapella singing quartet called The Valley Folk which emanated from the Bury Folk-Song Club. Jean Seymour was a member of this group:

> JS: 'We asked Harry [Boardman] to come along and sort of M.C. and sing and things like that, but we put it together. We contacted local councils to see whether they would back this and underwrite it basically, and we called it 'Lancashire Folk' or something like that. They were Lancashire nights, and we had a local morris team and we had Harry Boardman and we had The Valley Folk singing as much Lancashire stuff as we could put together.'

> AS: 'This was before the days of the Lancashire morris revival - it was a boys' team from Mostonbrook High School that had been got together by a fellow called Jim Mainland who was a dancer with Manchester Morris Men. Jim Mainland was a Lancashire dance enthusiast, and Jim with the help of one or two others got together this boys' team, Mostonbrook Dancers, so they were the morris part... There was Julian Pilling who did a solo clog dance, The Valley Folk singers, and part of the thing was a mumming play.'

> JS: 'They were basically people from Bury Folk Club, some of whom we collared and they're in the Bury Pace-Eggers now.'

> AS: 'That was just known as the Bury Mummers. So one day we're in a pub down in Bury just having a drink and talking, and one or two of the fellows who'd been involved in this were sort of reminiscing: what a good time it was, [that] they only did it occasionally, [the] travelling round, and so on. The text that they used was the Oakforth version that Pete Nalder put together, so I was criticising the thing without having seen it, and I would say, 'Well, it would have been far better if you'd done the authentic thing and found a proper text.' So they said, 'Oh well, you're that clever so

go and do it.' So that was how the thing started... we missed out Big Head, and I did the dance, and we had no musician [so] Saint George played the concertina for what bits of music we wanted, and that was it. So we went out then, and then that year, I don't know, we seemed to do a few other things that year besides just Easter - we did one or two of these Lancashire nights.'

JS: 'The folk club used to go to all the churches and the dance club would put on a demonstration and get them up, and anybody from the song club would get up and sing a song, and the Pace-eggers were involved in that.'

AS: 'By the next Easter a few more people were interested, and then we got the costumes a bit more organised... I don't think it's really changed since then.' (Seymour. Int:018)

The Bury Pace-eggers gave their first public performance under their new title on 22nd March 1970 (Seymour. 1994). Their play is a local one:

AS: 'The text came from Ratcliffe which is about... two miles from here. I found it in a book by a chap called Barlow Brutes who was actually born in Bury, but went to live in Ratcliffe. The book was called *Lancashire Bred*. He basically started off as a weaver, but ended up as a vicar in Headington [Oxon.]. So he wrote this book of memories and... thankfully, he put the whole of the text in.' (Seymour. Int:018)

The cast of the play, in order of appearance, is: the Fool, Saint George, Slasher, the Doctor, Beelzebub, Big Head and Johnny Jack. In addition there is a musician and sometimes a collector. The IQ revealed that the group is eleven strong but:

AS: 'All those people may not turn out with us. At any time you'll get someone who can't come one night and will come another, and this kind of thing.' (Seymour. Int:018)

The variation in personnel, however, tends to be confined to certain parts only, for among the major parts:

AS: 'There's three of us... I do the Fool, and Saint George and the Doctor are still with is. The Doctor had one year off altogether. One year he didn't perform. Saint George has been with us every year, but has missed occasionally - very occasionally - for the sword [i.e. because of his commitment to a sword-dance team]. I've not missed anything at all until this year. I took my thousandth performance on the Saturday this year, and on the Sunday we were singing at a wedding so I had the Sunday off, and that was the first day I'd had off in twenty-seven years.'

'JS: You still went to video them first in the morning before we went to the wedding!' (Seymour. Int:018)

With individuals' personal circumstances affecting which nights they perform, the personnel filling the

smaller parts have to vary but even when there is a full complement, some parts can be alternated:

> 'AS: Very often, we'll go out with a spare man to collect, and the collector, if they're both experienced people, will change, so he'll be Johnny Jack in one and the collector in the other. Johnny Jack is the collector anyway, you know, he's the man who's saying, "We've come for your money", but if you're working in a pub, then you need two collectors at least.' (Seymour. Int:018)

Some of the other cast members come and go, and there is a casual process by which people may join and become inducted and ultimately come to play a part:

> JS: 'People ask questions, and [may say] "Oh, I fancy that." So Alan will say, "Well, come along and give it a go, come and have a listen to us".'

> AS: 'Yeah, I mean, [if] someone's genuinely interested, then let them. Anybody who's not done it before... they'll come round and collect, and then perhaps on the second night, they'll let them have a go at probably Johnny Jack.'

> JS: 'Anybody who comes in is given the two-line part on a piece of paper. 'Learn that for tomorrow night' job, you know.'

> AS: 'The small parts have tended to be |inter|changeable, virtually.' (Seymour. Int:018)

When asked why people joined up with the Pace-eggers, Alan's wife Jean was quite clear in her own mind:

> JS: 'Because of Alan's enthusiasm! 'Cos they've heard him enthusing about it.' (Seymour. Int:018)

Some of the younger members of the cast have actually taken over their fathers' parts:

> JS: 'The three lads, similar sort of age, they're twenty-five now, are sons of the Pace-eggers.'

> AS: 'We've got three small parts. We've got Beelzebub that Sean's more or less cornered, hasn't he? He's the lad whose father died. His dad did that, so he's more or less taken over that, and he's not for moving.'

> AS: 'We've had Neil... I think he's appeared almost every year, hasn't he? I mean, when he was young he used to get dragged around, he used to wear a sash and so on. He's performed one of the smaller parts for most years, and then the last two years, he's actually stepped in as Slasher, because the chap who's done Slasher for the best part of twenty-five years, you know, he did Beelzebub before, but he's done Slasher for well over twenty years, he's finally thrown the towel in this year... Part of the problem... for the last few years he's been on shifts, so that's buggered things up.'

JS: The Doctor's son joined us this year [1997], and did the Doctor's part, didn't he, and his father sort of stepped into the background. He's the other youngster. He's twenty-five, you know, or he might be twenty-four.' (Seymour. Int:018)

The part of Slasher is, in fact, not one of the small parts: the third small part is that of Big Head, but:

AS: 'Big Head does a little clog dance, so that's not something you can throw anybody into, so they tend to be left with Johnny Jack.' (Seymour. Int:018)

The pattern then is that those individuals who play major roles tend to stay with that part consistently for many years but may ultimately hand it on, and the minor roles may be exchanged between the other players, not only from season to season but even from performance to performance. A second generation, notably including the sons of earlier Pace-eggers, is now beginning to come through and, although the 'original' cast of the Bury Pace-eggers was drawn from the membership of the Bury Folk-song Club, subsequent recruitment has been more from the local community through individuals who have expressed an interest. In any case, the Folk-Song Club (and indeed the folk-song revival movement in general) is not as strong as it was in the 1960s and even the first generation of actors are no longer involved in the song club.

JS: 'The older chaps not any more, and the younger ones never really have been.'

AS: 'I think it's the fact that so many of the people who are involved nowadays are not particularly folk - have any folk interest, you know. And other people have come in from other sources, haven't they? You know, like Ralph, and people like that.' (Seymour. Int:018)

Thus, although generated out of the folk-song revival club, the Pace-eggers have, over the years, become more closely related to the local community. When the initial research for the new Pace-egging was being undertaken, it became evident to Alan Seymour that large numbers of local people had either done, or remembered, Pace-egging - either the play form or, more commonly, the luck-visiting. As he said:

AS: 'Well, yes, I mean, I'm talking about sort of, you know, the end of the '60s when I was gathering this information, and all this came about from letters to the paper. And the response was tremendous... It took our breath away, the response to the enquiries about pace-egging. I mean, literally there were letters coming every day. In the late '60s, 1970, thereabouts, when we were collecting pace-egging information, there were lots of people around... [who had done it]. I'm sure you wouldn't get that kind of... [response] now [because] there won't be too many people around who can offer information - 'cos most people will be our kind of age at least.' (Seymour. Int:018)

With Pace-egging still established in the general metafolklore of the community it is not surprising to find the Bury Pace-eggers, as they now are, an accepted part of the 'everyday' as well and they do not need to be categorised as a separate 'folk' activity. Alan Seymour again:

> 'AS: Oh yes, I think so, yeah. I mean, in almost every pub we go in, you know, the locals will know somebody who's in the team, won't they? You know, I mean these are people you're working with. Well, I mean, the other week I was walking up to paper shop, and a fellow was weeding his garden, and, 'How were Pace-egging collections this year?' You know, I mean it's just everyday conversation really, isn't it? I mean, we're not actually doing it all the time, but people often ask about it or whatever.' (Seymour. Int:018)

The Bury Pace-eggers may be regarded, in the terms discussed earlier, as culturally embedded in the local community, but their movement - from the Folk Revival to the (admittedly seasonal) everyday of the community - is a phenomenon that can also be seen to have happened in other Case Studies, such as The Hunting of the Earl of Rone or the Whitstable Jack. This subject, which may be an important aspect of the development of vernacular arts performance in the last few decades, is discussed more fully in Ch.12, but there is one further aspect of cast composition which recurs with parallels in other teams evidenced in other interviews. The interviewees made a point of explaining that one cast member lives in Telford (Shropshire) but nearly always comes out Pace-egging. As they put it:

> AS: 'He was born in Bury and so on, but... he's just moved again - he's in Shropshire.'
>
> JS: 'Yes, basically Telford area. For work.'
>
> AS: 'Oh yes, he was born here.'
>
> JS: 'And he comes up.'
>
> AS: 'Yes, most nights. He has a brother who still lives in Bury, so he'll often come up... He'll probably come up say Saturday and Sunday, and go back home.'
>
> JS: 'And Thursday he usually makes it. He may well miss the Wednesday evening.' (Seymour. Int:018)

There is no coercion on the part of the rest of the team or the leader for him to do this, nor is there any need, other than perhaps his own. In conducting this study there have been several examples of individual members of groups who simply do not leave the organisation or the activity even when, for whatever reason, they now live at a considerable distance. This subject also is discussed further in later chapters.

Organisation and Practises

Notwithstanding the various changes of personnel that have been noted above, the cast of the play is broadly similar every year and the Bury Pace-eggers reported that they do not rehearse their play before going out to perform each season. However, in recent years they have added performances in Ramsbottom before the 'proper' start, as Alan Seymour explained:

> AS: 'No, we sail straight out, and it's there. Well, that's partly why we started going to Ramsbottom. We always regard the twelve o'clock one [i.e. Bury town centre shopping precinct] as being the *real* first one. We go to Ramsbottom, we probably do two in Ramsbottom, actually, so it's really a rehearsal in a way, but you're in front of people in the market, aren't you? No, I mean, they've been doing it long enough that there's never any major problems.' (Seymour. Int:018)

The consistency of the cast undoubtedly allows for this approach to work: even individuals taking on a new part in any given year will have been out with the Pace-eggers in previous years, as a collector perhaps or filling in as one of the minor characters, and will have adsorbed not only the part they are to play but in all probability the entire play. Lack of rehearsal is not uncommon among mumming teams with a regular cast: the Marshfield mummers [Gloucs.] perform only on Boxing Day each year and their only rehearsal is a 'quick run through' while they are getting dressed up on the Boxing Day morning (Doc Rowe. Int:023), and a similar situation was reported by the Symondsbury Mummers (T:001)

It has already been demonstrated in Ch.8 that, particularly in mumming teams, the entire enterprise may be organised by one individual - this is certainly the case with the Bury Pace-eggers, although Alan Seymour claims that:

> AS: 'It's only because nobody else wants to do it. It's one of those things, you know, without getting bogged down with committees and meetings and... You know, you could have the damned thing organised by the time you've...'
>
> JS: 'We have one meeting a year. We meet in the pub at... what?...nine or half-past, and about quarter-to-eleven, we say, 'Well, shall we have this meeting then?'
>
> AS: 'Basically, yeah, I phone them up... I phone round a couple of weeks before, and say, "It's that time of..." "Oh, bloody hell, not again is it?" "It doesn't seem two minutes", you know. Some of them, you know, we're in touch with... well, every few weeks I bump into some... I think over the year, I see most of them sometime, don't I. There's perhaps Neil and Francis are the two I don't see too often. But basically, I phone round and and just say, "It's that time of the year again. See you in The Dungeon on Monday at nine o'clock'", or something. And basically it's just a case of

"Are we doing it? Yes or no." And "No, we've had enough", and all this kind of stuff. And then finally we get down to the nitty gritty, and "Is there any pubs we want to change?" I mean we keep a note of the collections that we've taken in each pub - we have separate numbered bags for every collection, really so that we can analyze it. It doesn't always mean anything, 'cos what's normally a good pub can have a... the darts team can be playing away, just odd things like that.'

JS: 'I mean, you've got to put the memory of the event on top of the actual collection every time.

Thus, the prime mover contacts the cast a mere 'week or two' before Easter, convenes a meeting - itself apparently a very casual affair - and the year's itinerary is discussed together with which charity will benefit from the collections:

AS: 'That's one of the things we decide on that first meeting. Basically: are we going out? and where's the money going? I need to decide that [decision] to put it on the sheet that we send out: we put the name of the charity on it. And it's usually a different charity every year. You find that many local charities tend to be only a branch of a national one, so where we can send it to be spent locally, we will do - we prefer that.'

Having established that the pace-egging will take place again, the prime mover can then get on with other preparatory jobs such as contacting the public houses where they intend to perform:

AS: 'I mean, whilst this list [of performances] won't change too much hopefully, I leave it until two Fridays before... I usually do it on the Friday, or I try and arrange a day when I'm at home, I'm not working, because it's a case of catching them at the right time, because, I mean, phone them up now [i.e. mid-evening], saying, "Can we come Pace-egging?", you'd get a rude answer, so it's a case of trying to time them right. I do some phoning sort of late morning, and then leave it for the lunchtime, then some late afternoon. Yes, I phone round them all, and usually I can do all that in a couple of hours or so. And, usually says, "Oh, hello", you know, "It's Pace-egging time again. Alright if we come in?" "Oh, yes, aye, of course you can", or it's "What?" So usually I sail in saying, "Is it alright to come in then?" assuming it's the same man, and then give the explanation later. So I phone round on the Friday, and then the same day, I write out a separate little thing saying something like, it's basically, 'This will be performed on these premises at such a time.' So I just fill in the time, and actually go round and drop one of those at every pub, and one of these itineraries at some pubs. Or more, if there's a big pub where they have more than one room, and so on. So I try and do all that that weekend, on the Friday or the Saturday if possible, so that the posters are in the pub for a full week before we actually turn out. So... people tend to have a weekly cycle, don't they, you know, if they go in like every Wednesday night or something, they can see this.'

It is very obvious in our conversation that Alan Seymour *is* an enthusiast and, despite his claim that he only does it 'because nobody else wants to', it is difficult to see him not undertaking the

arrangements. The Pace-egging season is short and it is relatively easy to concentrate a lot of effort into that short period:

> AS: 'No, I mean basically they [i.e. the rest of the cast] just want to be told, appear here, do that, and that's all they want to know. I curse a little bit at the time, and there's quite a bit, but it's all squashed into a fortnight, I suppose, or three weeks.

However, having everything organised for them does not mean that the players have no responsibilities at all, for in terms of costume:

> AS: 'That's their problem. I tell them what they should have, and you know, hopefully they'll do it.'

The amount of advance planning that has to be done is limited, and having only one individual making the arrangements is probably easier than trying to split the preparatory work between the cast members: the one individual can plan it all from from his own diary:

> AS: 'First thing in the diary when I get my new diary - I must get them together *then* - I've got to do the phone calls *that* day - the posters have got to go out *that* day, we're doing it *that* day. Then after that it's just a case of just round up the money, send it off, get a receipt from the charity, send a copy of the receipt off to the local Council.

The reason for sending a receipt to the local Council is that this is a condition of the collecting licence that they issue - another job for Alan Seymour:

> JS: 'It's a condition of being allowed a permit to collect in the [Bury town centre] precinct.'

> AS: 'You've to go through all this hassle of getting a permit, and actually we don't need the damned thing except for... - how many performances do we do outside? Only about six or something like that - which always strikes me as a bit unfair. I don't know what the rules are just at the moment, but the Local Authority used to have only thirty permits a year or something like that, and it always struck me as a bit unfair that we could be taking one of those permits when we were actually only performing six times ten minutes whereas another charity could have been making use of it for the full day.'

Although the annual charitable donation is formally reported to the Council, the financial outcome overall is not reported anywhere outside of the group. Like many of the teams in this study who did report information about their finances, the Bury Pace-eggers donate all they collect over and above legitimate expenses - and in their case legitimate expenses include 'a couple of pints for each man'

(Seymour. Int:018).

In addition to organising the itinerary, dealing with the collecting permit and producing promotional literature, Alan also seeks to interest the local press and tries, like Michael Jackson of the Royal Lancashire Morris Dancers (see C/S:7), to find a 'hook' by which to attract their attention:

> AS: 'Yeah, we send them a rehash of the same stuff we send to the pubs.'
>
> JS: 'Call it a press release. They usually send a photographer, well, they often send a photographer, I don't know about usually. This year, the trigger was the thousandth performance, so of course Alan had to be featured.'
>
> AS: 'It is difficult finding a new angle every year, isn't it, to sort of spur them into it?' (Seymour. Int:018).

The organisation of the Bury Pace-eggers evidently suits those involved, and there appear to have been virtually no unforced changes since the group started. There have been minimal changes in the play itself although 'certainly nothing deliberate' and:

> AS: 'I think if you did a tape-recording and compared it with the [original] text, it'll have changed a little bit, but not consciously changed it, no.' (Seymour. Int:018)

But a few of the venues have, inevitably, changed - variously in style, ownership and even existence:

> AS: 'You know, it doesn't have that sort of friendly local club atmosphere that you used to get. I mean, we used to go in the... well, The Princess is now an Italian restaurant, isn't it, so you lose some pubs because they close down and these days, the landlords are changing, you know, more than once a year. Sometimes, so you can't even say, "Do you remember us from last year?", because they're [different people]. [But] we haven't changed the pubs very much.'
>
> JS: 'No. The odd one that's sort of changed over and become a karaoke-type pub every night, type of thing, has got knocked out, but we've put new ones in too.' (Seymour. Int:018).

The pattern of performance through the week has also been modified over time for pragmatic reasons:

> AS: 'We used to go out Saturday, we'd do the Sunday one and then a Sunday evening as well, and then Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. We turned out Good Friday only once, and it snowed. It's [traditionally] regarded as bad luck to turn out after noon on Good Friday. This was the story that we were given, weren't it? I think basically the reason for that was that Good Friday afternoon they wanted to be either at Poker Mill or Hollingworth Lake or somewhere, all the places where these

fairs were going on, you know.'

JS: 'Spending the money. That was a nasty rumour started by Pace-eggers basically.'

AS: 'Monday and Tuesday nights were not very well patronised, were they. The pubs were nearly always empty. So that was it really, that was the main reason. The folk wanted a night off. It did get a bit... [too much] when we went out every single night. We carried on... it's only within fairly recent years we've not... Which other night have we knocked off?'

JS: 'Monday was knocked off recently. Tuesday went a long time ago. (Seymour. Int:018).

Additional notes and summary:

Alan Seymour has driven the Bury Pace-eggers for nearly thirty years and his own views about Pace-egging and why he does it are illuminating:

> AS: 'It's one of those things that just becomes habit, doesn't it?... The thing with Pace-egging and Easter is that they slot together. I can't imagine doing a mumming play at any other time than Easter, 'cos the two... It's knitted in with nature. Before we start pace-egging, there's no blossom on the trees or daffodils in the garden, and within that week or two of me sort of planning it, doing it and sorting the whole thing out, you know, the world's changed and... you do feel part of it. You know, you can see that that is the real new year.' (Seymour. Int:018).

Habit and a feeling of sympathy with the season are two distinct aspects. The latter is one of those more ephemeral types of motivation identified in Ch.8, but Alan also gave a more immediate explanation of why he does it:

> AS: 'I suppose everybody has this "Oh no, not again" thing, and yet when you get out there... it's just the odd remark that people make that sort of makes it worthwhile. You know, some old lady comes up and says, "Eh, me dad used to do this". Just odd memories and just odd remarks like that boost you - somebody's just recognised it for what it is. Sure, it sails over the heads of most of the people, but simply because you've come in and, like I said, most of the people are in the same pubs every time, the fact that they come in... They recognise it as something that... they don't know what the hell's going on, but they recognise that you come in at that particular time of year, the money's going to charity - half of them are reciting the words as you're doing it anyway. They've listened to it that often.' (Seymour. Int:018).

This third motivation places the Pace-egging in Bury firmly in the local community: as already noted, these performances, and this group of mummers, are culturally embedded. Nevertheless, the leaflet

produced to promote the performances describes it as an ancient luck-bringing ceremony and as the death of winter and rebirth of spring 'as symbolised by the death and resurrection of one of the characters' (Supp:199) - the familiar Survivalist interpretation of origin and meaning of such customs. These reasons or motivations did not appear in Alan Seymour's list quoted above and Jean Seymour suggested that this sort of text was:

JS: 'Really to intrigue the punters I think, is that.'

In the subsequent discussion, Alan again emphasised the strong association he feels between Pace-egging and the season - effectively that doing it was a celebration of the season: that there was a 'rightness' and almost a need to do it, but also agreed that it wasn't done, by any of the cast, because of any belief in pagan origins and concurred with Jean's earlier comment by saying

AS: 'No, that's true. Well, part of that poster was deliberately designed to intrigue people and, of course, if you analyze any of these things, if you read any references to morris or whatever, they're always regarded as old, they're always ancient, aren't they?'

This distinction between belief in celebration of a season and belief in celebrating a pagan custom has not been so clearly articulated in other interviews for this study. It is an aspect which is discussed further in the concluding chapters of this study and commentary is deferred to that point. Other matters covered in the interview largely consisted of stories from the metafolklore of the group: about occasional difficulties in including someone who could perform the clog dance, about injuries, about encounters with the Morris Ring, etc.

Bury Pace-eggers are an example of a small group of people, essentially driven by one individual, who maintain, at a certain season of the year, a customary performance which has a local history of up to, perhaps, two hundred years. Although the present performances started out of the Folk Revival and took advantage of local Lancashire pride, they are now a local group, performing a local play, donating their proceeds to local charity and, apparently, accepted by the wider local population as part of the norm at Easter. In a sense they have, perhaps, moved back to the kind of modus operandi and function that Pace-egging had before it became a rarified 'item' of folklore within the Folk Revival canon. If this is true, the Bury Pace-eggers are certainly not alone: Gash (1995) shows a similar function for the Heptonstall Pace-eggers (from interviews with the mummers and audience survey) and both the Whitstable Jack and The Hunting of the Earl of Rone, among others, can be seen as having made the same movement from Folk Revival to culturally embedded performance.

This is a trend of the later 20th century which is is considered later in this study. Within the Bury Pace-eggers, the prime mover (Alan Seymour) has a tendency to underplay his role in both the organisation and in the Pace-egging itself, and said:

> AS: 'I don't know really. It's one of those things that just becomes habit, doesn't it? (Seymour. Int:018)

SHREWTON MUMMERS (WILTSHIRE)

Shrewton is a village near Stonehenge, on Salisbury Plain, some 10 miles north of Salisbury. The informant, Christopher 'Prof' Applebee, is a resident of the village, the prime mover in the current mumming and the instigator of the present revival of the Shrewton Mummers. He may best be described as the leader of the group. He was interviewed formally about the mummers on 03/01/98 (Int:015) although he had been giving me information on the revival since he instigated it less than a year after moving to the village in 1988. He also completed IQ:016 on the mummers, having previously filled out a draft (DQ:016) in the initial stages of this study.

Current practice

The Shrewton Mummers are a single-play/single-season group. They perform a version of the usual mid-winter Hero-Combat (St.George) play for a short period before Christmas in most years:

> 'We normally go out a week to ten days before Christmas. We don't go out after Christmas. We do have the right from George the First - or is it Charles the First? - Charles the First I think, can't remember - but we have this right to go out up until, I think, the 10th of January, and mid-December. But, because it's so seasonal, it's best done in the ten days up to Christmas... and that's not just my opinion, that's the opinion of the whole crew, that that's when it should go out, that ten days, that week to ten days before Christmas. And normally quite successful getting it out three or four nights.' (Applebee. Int:015)

The 'right' to perform is a piece of the Shrewton Mummers metafolklore inherited from performers of earlier revivals. There is no documentary evidence to substantiate such a 'right' but it is a firmly-held belief and certainly older than any revival this century.

There are some problems getting a cast committed for the whole season - albeit a short one - and in two recent years the mummers have not turned out in public. By way of explanation, my informant said:

> 'I arranged for a |rehearsal| meeting on the 1st of October, and myself and one other turned up, which was ridiculous. So I rescheduled it for a month later, and then there was me and two others turned up. Eventually I got everybody together, and one of the main characters is the Turkish Knight, who announces, "Oh, we're going to Morocco on the 20th of December." So, anyway, I did get everybody together, and there was only one day I could get everybody together; that was a Wednesday night.

So I rang the pubs, and said, "Yeah, we're coming." And - waste of time. So what I actually did, I had a rehearsal to make sure it was actually done. I got... somebody in from Salisbury, Dave Robinson from Salisbury to do the Doctor, and Eddie Harding, who's one of White Horse Morris, to come and do Little Johnny Jack, I wasn't going to drag them that distance for one performance in an empty pub, effectively. It didn't seem fair. But we did do the rehearsal, we did it a couple of times, so it was actually done. But it's very difficultt to get seven people together on... it's one night.' (Applebee. Int:015)

Although the leader was prepared to draft in people from outside the village to 'make sure it was actually done', the cast is normally drawn entirely from within the village:

'I'm the only outsider. Having said that, some of them are outsiders, but long-standing. I mean, I've only been here ten years - I'm a foreigner - and what I've been trying to do is to keep as many people from the original crew, that was put together ten/fifteen years ago, as possible, but if necessary next year I'll bring in a lot of other people to do it, 'cause it's got to go out. I believe it's got to go out anyway, I don't care who does it, 'cause it's Shrewton.' (Applebee. Int:015)

The annual itinerary can vary, although:

'We try and do all the pubs in the village; Tilshead, which is the next village up; then there's Orcheston which is over that way - it's a smaller place - it's a hamlet really - they've got a pub there. We go into Amesbury, which is a small town - we go to The Antrobus Arms in there. We've been to Chitterne, which is another village in the middle of the plain... [but] we always end up in the village.' (Applebee. Int:015)

History and background to the present group

The Shrewton play is known to have been extant in traditional performance up to the latter half of the 1930s. Cawte, Helm & Peacock (1967) list its most recent date as 1936 (p.62) and a photograph taken of the mummers in that year was published in Helm (1965). The text of the play at that time was also published by Eric Howlett (1936). A performance of the play can also be found on BBC record nos. 21495 and 21496 dated 6.10.1954 (Cawte, Helm & Peacock. 1967) although it is not clear whether this was the actual recording date.

Prof. Applebee had come to hear about the existence of the Shrewton play through the Folk Revival and an involvement with the Quidhampton Mummers. He describes it thus:

'When I came here, I got involved in the folk club, and I got involved in the [White

Horse] morris, and I knew Knotty Ash, Peter Ashdown in Chitterne; I was asked if
I'd like to do Quidhampton Mummers - Little Johnny Jack. I said, "No problem."...
and then there was a big party afterwards, and Knotty said, "Do you know there's a
Shrewton mummers' play?" I said, "No", and he said, "There is. We collected it."
So I spent two years tracking it down. I eventually found it with a woman called
Janet Cross. Now this is where the story really starts to conflict because the people
in the village say that Janet Cross collected it from Fred Perrier.' (Applebee. Int:015)

Fred Perrier was one of the old (1936) mummers and may have performed later, but the play was
certainly defunct by the 1970s. It is unclear whether White Horse Morris received their text from him,
or from Janet Cross but, whichever it was, they revived the play in the late 1970s:

'[If] you talk to Knotty and the White Horse Morris, and they were the people, as I
understand it, who collected it and put it together. They then gave it back to the
village, and said, 'Here's your mummers' play'... What then happened is the drama
club was formed out of the mummers. The mummers then slid into oblivion once
again, till I came to the village and tracked it down and found it. And it wasn't easy
to get it, you know, it was sort of, "Well, I don't know..........." Anyway, eventually
I got the words and once I found one of them, Peter Sweet I think it was, he said,
"Oh yes, so-and-so used to do it, and so-and-so used to do it, and so-and-so, so-and-
so." So I got on to these people, a couple of people didn't want to do it, one guy two
years came up from... I don't know, came down from up country to do it, played
Little Johnny Jack, so he came down, but after that he wasn't really interested, but at
least it was back on the road.

'I got [talking to] a chap in the garage, Chas. Williams. We were talking about folk
and stuff, and he said "Oh," he says, "I've got a programme for the Mummers in
1936." [I said] "I'd like to see that." It wasn't a programme - it was a script... and
it was published in '36, collected from the same guy, Fred Perrier, who it was
collected from in the '70s.' (Applebee. Int:015)

Despite the uncertainty about performance after 1936, it is evident that the play has lapsed in
continuous annual performance more than once this century. The local 1936 cast provided a version
of the text, but not the personnel, for the late 1970s revival by White Horse Morris - themselves
purely a product of the Folk Revival. White Horse Morris performed the play for an unspecified
number of years before they, in Prof.'s words, 'handed it back to the village'. The village cast then
let the play lapse again until Prof. Applebee, an outsider, moved into the village and revived it once
more - this time using as many as would of the previous (1970s) team.

Of this most recent revival, Prof commented that:

'For the first two or three years, four years, it went very well, and then it started to...
had the odd problems with people saying. "We-e-ell...". "Put the dates down." "Oh,

well, I'm actually doing something that night." - the night before, and without spares it's very difficult, 'cause it's such a small village. It's not actually - it's three thousand people, but getting people to do it is very difficult, very difficult.

'I'll find somebody else from somewhere and if I have to next year, I'll get a completely new crew. I mean, there's a couple of stalwarts: there's Peter Sweet next door who plays St. George - he's a lovely fellow, and the Turkish Knight, who's Alan Thwaites - he's very enthusiastic, but the Doctor's dropped out, "Commitment of work, you know."

'As I say, if I don't get a commitment from people by October next year, then I'll pull people in from elsewhere, to make sure it's done. It's a shame really, but...' (Applebee. Int:015)

As noted previously, intermittence in performance is not uncommon, particularly in the mumming tradition, but Prof. is determined to keep the play alive as long as he can, and says:

'I have made it my job to be the keeper of Shrewton Mummers and, while we're [living] in Shrewton, I shall make sure I'm the keeper of it, and it will go out as much as possible. And then, if we ever do leave, I shall make sure it goes to the right person, so that they will then take it to move it on, but once we move on, there's nothing I can do about it. Once you hand it over, you don't really have any claim on it at all.' (Applebee. Int:015)

Changes in the performance tradition

Changes of cast have been noted above in the history of the revivals, but changes in both text and costume can also be traced in the progress of the Shrewton tradition. The present costumes:

'...have been handed down for years. I suspect they were made when the play reformed. I think what happened is when they reformed in the late '70s they made their own costumes. They're full face masks, apart from Father Christmas who you can't see for whiskers anyway, but everybody is unrecognisable. I mean, I've been doing Father Christmas, and people don't know who Father Christmas is.

'They're all hand-made. Most of them, I suppose, are tubes of cardboard, cut out sort of across the shoulders, and then ornate ribbons around the bottom. St. George's is silver, and the Turkish Knight's is quite elaborate with a big half-moon and a star and a big moustache on the outside. The Valiant Soldier - it's got a square piece in it... Little Johnny Jack, yes, - he's got a sort of cloth hood with a gauze piece in the front of it. The Doctor sort of sneaks in in white shirt and bow tie and bag, and sits in - without his hat, but blacked up - in the audience... We try to maintain the tradition that people aren't recognised within the mummers.' (Applebee. Int:015)

The masking of faces in the Shrewton play appears to originate with the 1970s revival, for it has been

observed that:

> 'Traditionally, as story has it, it was nearly all military uniform, 'cause it was through the wars, and then when they wore out, they went into tatters [i.e. tatter jackets], and now... ' (Applebee. Int:015)

The 'military' uniform' had been mentioned by local people remembering earlier mumming, in particular:

> '... there was old Jessup Smith - he must be a hundred and ten now, he's got glasses like jam-jar bottoms - and he remembers it when he was a boy, and he remembers it being done in military uniform for costumes.' (Applebee. Int:015)

These military costumes were certainly in use after the First World War. A photograph, dated to 1912, in Prof.'s possession shows the Doctor wearing a dress suit, the rest of the cast wear suits and ribbon tatters and the group is accompanied by someone in a bear costume. The 1936 photograph of Shrewton mummers shows all six of the cast in a different costume again - more akin to that of Overton (Hampshire) mummers of the same period: gaiters below the knee to which are attached ribbons hanging to the ankle, a tabard-type surcoat tied round at the waist with a string also bearing ribbons hanging to the knee, a broad head-dress some 18" high bearing rosettes and long ribbons hanging to the waist. Four of the head-dresses are then topped with feathers and the other two with emblems presumably denoting the character.

These costumes and the 'military' costumes no longer exist but, in traditional fashion, the modern:

> '... costumes are handed down. I mean, the costume I wear was made by Bill Ryder - he's dead now, is Bill, bless him. His wife had it, and we had to buy it - cost us 25 quid, but, I mean, the money went to charity. But she wouldn't let it go. Other than that, if characters change, then the costume goes with it. The characters themselves, whoever is playing the part, looks after the kit. I mean, Ron Lock was doing Prince Albert for years; he then started work away. Colin Mills, local councillor, he took on the rôle, bless him, and the costume's passed to Colin, so he modified it and changed it, and looks after it. Yeah, I mean, that's how the costumes are - they're handed down. Whoever's the custodian of the character at the time looks after the kit, and it's their responsibility. I mean, if they get out of hand, if they get really tatty, then I'll say to people, "It needs tidying up a little".' (Applebee. Int:015)

It seems that the costume may have changed radically at least four times this century - mainly with changes in cast and revival, i.e.: the pre 1912 costume, military uniforms, the 1936 costume, tatter jackets and the post-1970s costumes. The same may also be true of the play text.

Text changes

Textual changes in mumming plays, across time, have frequently been noted (e.g. Barley.1953; Harrop.1980b; Fees.1988; Tiddy.1923) and in Shrewton, as in other places, the text has changed both historically and in contemporary performance:

> '[A script] was published in '36 - collected from the same guy, Fred Perrier, who it was collected from in the '70s - but in the intervening forty years he'd scrambled it a little bit.' (Applebee. Int:015)

The current revival, having utilised many of the cast from immediately before the lapse, had used essentially the same text as collected from Mr. Perrier in the 1970s. Subsequent discovery of Mr. Perrier's 1936 (published) text presented a potential problem:

> 'We actually had quite a debate as to whether we should go back to the 1936 original or keep it as it was, or as it is, and the general consensus of opinion was to keep it as it is now, for all its flaws and faults.' (Applebee. Int:015)

Despite the decision to keep the 1970s text - which could be viewed as a decision to preserve (or ossify) the tradition - the text has not remained static. Prof. said:

> 'I mean, I've put some extra bits in because there was a lot missing out of the Doctor's reactions with Father Christmas[42]... I've had the ECUs, and fighting bad men, and Jacques Delores and things like this, and nobody's objected to that at all. That's fine, they're quite happy to go along with that.' (Applebee. Int:015)

The insertion of lines, usually humorous, concerning contemporary issues has not been uncommon, as I have noted elsewhere (Brown.1991), at least since Napoleonic times. Some of these contemporary additions may only last as long as contemporary interest in the issue, but sometimes they become a fixed part of the text for long after they are relevant. This may be what will happen to one subject that Prof. is considering re-introducing to the current text:

> 'I hadn't seen the original [when the current revival took place] and what I think I might do is just modify a little bit, because there's some really good... I mean, there's some of the lines about the 'Number Nines' in the original script. The Number Nine was a pill the Army used to give, about the size of a golf ball apparently - [to cure] just about every ailment you can get. That's been lost, but it's in the original. It's little bits like that that I'd like to bring back in.' (Applebee. Int:015)

The progress of the Shrewton text may be a mixture of back-reference to a previous state of the play

mixed with the addition of contemporary material. Changing the text is a continuous process and, in this play, deliberately contrived by the leader. Despite the difficulties of securing a full cast he is always thinking of development. Of the group's itinerary, again with back-reference, he said:

> 'They used to go into Salisbury; they used to do it in the streets. I have looked at taking it into the Arts Centre in Salisbury if I can get, one year, enough crew to take it down there, maybe, Sunday lunchtime when they have all sorts of things going on there. It would be fun to do it in Salisbury, because Salisbury doesn't have a mummers. We have to look at it diplomatically, because Quidhampton [Mummers] really has had the run of most of the work for many years, but because I know Knotty and Pikey and a lot of the other people in the Quidhampton Mummers, we can negotiate. If I say, "Look, are you doing such-and-such a pub this year?" or "Have you done this place?" and they say, "No, we haven't done it for a couple of years," and we say, "Can we take it on?" and they say, "Yes, you can." (Applebee. Int:015)

Future development always seems to be mixed with reference to the earlier tradition and, despite the aspiration to perform in Salisbury, he also stated that:

> '... because it's Shrewton mummers' play, I feel it needs to stay reasonably local, and so do the rest of the people who are involved. It's peculiar to Shrewton, and it's called 'The Shrewton Mummers' Play'. It's not actually - 'The Wiltshire Mummers' Play from Shrewton' is the actual title I think.' (Applebee. Int:015)

The development of a tradition through this mixture of contemporary new aspects and back-reference to an earlier state of the tradition - apparently contradictory approaches - has been demonstrated several times during the course of this research, and the subject is considered more fully in the next chapter.

Additional aspects to the mumming

Some indication of the leader's motives in trying to gather a cast annually and take the play out around the village pubs has already been given above, but he was asked specifically why he did it, and replied:

> 'I think the thing was, I'd done it with you in Barnstaple, and came up here, got involved in the folk scene up here, and got introduced to the morris, and then introduced to the people involved in the mummers, and said, "God, I really enjoyed it in Barnstaple." And then I got roped in then to do this bit... and then somebody said, "Shrewton has its own mummers' play," and I thought, "We'll have some of that. We'll have some of that." So it just sort of grabbed me, and said, "Come on, buster,

this is where we're going." And the thing is, if it's not done, it's lost.

'But, yes, if I didn't do it, it wouldn't... it would die a death, and I don't want that happening. So, so long as I'm here, and in reasonable mental state, it'll continue to go out, even if it's only one night a year, it'll go out. It's got to be done, Tom, it's got to be done.' (Applebee. Int:015)

This personal motivation is reinforced by the reaction of people in the village, both as a tradition in itself and because it is being done for charity. With regard to villagers and the tradition, Prof. said:

'They like to see it back. They like to know it's going out again, 'cause they remember it as kids. I think it was Gordon's dad it was collected from - I'm not sure - he's an old boy - we did actually offer him a part for a couple of years, and he said, "Yes, I'll do it," and then bottled out at the last minute. But he remembered the lines, remembered people doing it, and it was all male then. And he did it, but he must have been quite a young man then.'

'We invaded the bingo [at the British Legion club] one night. Somebody called, "House," and we all piled in and did it, and there was Rose and a couple of others said that they remembered it being done in the war years... But she said, "It's not like it used to be." I always remember her saying that because she, obviously... because by that time it had changed - from 1936 to 1992, or whenever it was, and of course, it had been re-collected and some of it lost. But she remembers it going.' (Applebee. Int:015)

As tradition demands (and the text itself decrees) a collection is made at the end of each performance and this money is given to charity:

'Always Shrewton charities. Yes, we decide afterwards. We've given to the local Riding for the Disabled, there was the Sue... It was a local charity, the family had had a personal misfortune - the father, and then the mum died, and it was to go into a trust fund for the children. We've given to the local old people... the local day centre. In fact this year we were asked if we'd give to getting a hard park for the kids to skateboard on, and if we raised any money, could we give some to that. And that's the kind of thing we would give to, rather than the major charities. Oh, yes, the special toy library in Salisbury, but if we can find a charity within Shrewton or just in Tilshead, we will give to that, rather than outside, because it's a local play, local people get the money, and rather than go to a national charity, it goes local... and we've had free beer, and the landlords normally shove in a fiver anyway, the pubs that we go in, they say, "Fine, here's a fiver".' (Applebee. Int:015)

All the collection is donated:

'People tend to look after their own kit. What we try to do, at the end of each year, is get rid of as... literally a few bob out of the kitty, because we don't have to pay for hire of halls, 'cause there's the British Legion we can use, there's people's garages and

houses and what have you, so there's no expense as such.' (Applebee. Int:015)

and, unlike some groups, not even a drink is taken from the collection (the 'Bag'):

'No, no. I don't think we've [even] paid for beer very often. I think there's one pub we went into [where] the bastard wouldn't give us any beer, so we had to buy it ourselves, but no, nothing comes out of the Bag. When we put the box round, we say it's for charity, and that's where it goes, so we take no expenses... No, beer we buy ourselves, but mostly the landlords give us... If you want more than one, then, yeah, pay for it.... But all the pubs we go, the landlords are very generous, they always... 'cause, you know, we take the kit off and we pile back in again, and they always give us a beer.

'On a good year, we've raised a hundred pound, which isn't bad, which isn't bad. On a bad year, we've raised twenty/thirty, but doesn't matter.' (Applebee. Int:015)

The decision for each mummer to bear their own expenses seems to be one of principle (and perhaps to encourage people to give), for even 'on a bad year' for collections, it 'doesn't matter': money is not a primary motive. When pushed on motivation, the leader commented:

'It's got to be done. It doesn't have to be that at all. I enjoy it. There's two things here. If you go anywhere new, you are going to meet people at folk clubs and the morris - you're bound to, people who think the same way, and a lot of local people as well, and it's a way of getting acquainted with local society. I enjoy doing it, otherwise I wouldn't do it. And the other thing is that I believe that traditions have to be kept alive, otherwise they'd just disappear off the face of the earth, and somebody discovers them in footprints in the sand in six million years' time, and says, "It must have been a funny dinosaur." It wasn't actually; it was a morris man - but, you know, unless they're kept alive, they're dead, finished. So that's why I do it. But I think primarily, it's fun. The guys who do the mummers do it because it's fun. It's a chance to get together once a year and have a few beers and just let go really.' (Applebee. Int:015)

Further aspects and commentary

The current mummers are not a cohesive group other than when actually mumming. When Prof. Applebee revived the play, he sought out those individuals who had been involved when White Horse Morris passed the play back to the village, but only a few of that cast agreed to, or could, resume the mumming. Several of them were now involved in amateur dramatics. Prof. commented that:

'We do see some of them socially. Alan Thwaites we certainly see reasonably regularly. And Colin Mills. I mean, we bump into them in pubs, but they're not...

A lot of them have had a lot to do with the drama club, so they are socially interlinked anyway, and these were the people who were probably involved in the first place in the formation of the drama club. But the whole crew together socially only happens once a year. You might meet... bump into the odd one occasionally to say hello to, and occasionally you'll meet one of them in the pub and have a beer with them, but... Some of the mummers know each other very well, and they socialise a lot more than the whole group together.' (Applebee. Int:015)

Although a village population of three thousand might suggest that it should be easy to recruit new members of the cast when a player needs to be replaced, it has already been suggested that this is not the case. The village itself is not a cohesive community and the mummers' leader observed that:

'The village is split anyway. You've got up that way, which is old Shrewton where you get The George and The Plume, and there's one community lives up that way, and then there's another community lives round The Royal Oak as you come into the village, and then there's this end, which is the British Legion and sometimes The Catherine Wheel. I mean, people do drift round the pubs, but it was three villages and to an extent it still is.' (Applebee. Int:015)

The 'three villages' are not simply geographic, they are also cultural, and this was a point the interview returned to on several occasions:

'Those people that are prepared to do any kind of leaping about like an eejit [i.e. idiot] are involved in the drama club, and of course, around this time of year there's all sorts of going on with the drama club anyway, or people are between a production and the pantomime and don't really want to commit themselves, but that's one of those problems.

'There's a lot of commuters, well, not only for Salisbury - for London - London, Bristol, because, as you know, it's a hop and a skip to the [A]303, Basingstoke, even down into London, or the train, down to Salisbury - a lot of people work in Salisbury, shop in Salisbury, socialise in Salisbury - that's a problem.

'I would say, probably seventy per cent [of the village residents are in-comers]. I mean, there is a percentage of native, and they're all very incestuous. You can't say anything about anybody round the village, 'cause you know, "My great-uncle's father's grandmother..." you know. So within the indigenous population, yes, it's quite close-knit.' (Applebee. Int:015)

It is interesting to note that, despite these different cultural 'sets' within the village, the mummers are well received whichever 'set' they are playing to. In Shrewton, as with other mumming gangs, and indeed, as implicit with the other Case Studies, customary traditions can and do cross cultural boundaries. This is not to suggest that these different audiences necessarily receive the play from the same perspective (for commentary on this aspect, see Brown.1991), and the mumming tradition could

not claim to be a unifying force in the community, but each audience does, in its own way, find entertainment and enjoyment from witnessing the performance. The mummers will also make a point of playing to sections of the community that might not normally have the opportunity to see them: the Old People's Home has already been mentioned and Prof. also made point of saying that:

> 'We actually do Appleford School, that's a dyslexic school, a slook up the road, which is residential, and we like to go in there for the kids on their party night. The kids think it's great. We use it as a dress rehearsal [i.e. in full kit]. So they see it... We have done twelve performances in four or five nights, but it gets a bit... that's enough.' (Applebee. Int:015)

As with Bury Pace-eggers, and other mumming groups quoted in C/S:10, rehearsal for the Shrewton play is minimal:

> 'Normally only two [rehearsals]. We've always had at least one, but the Turkish Knight, myself, St. George, Valiant Soldier and Prince Albert know the lines so well now, that we have rehearsal just to get the movement right. When we get newcomers in, and maybe have a couple more if someone's offered to stand in, just so that they know basically what's going on and where to be... We try and get a rehearsal in, but it doesn't always work... and this is where Appleford School comes in handy, because it's a dress rehearsal - because we don't [otherwise] put the kit on for rehearsals - we just do the business and chop each other to bits with swords, and get it wrong, and then go out with kit on. Because people have been doing it for so many years. But for the Doctor this year - a new Doctor this year - then it'll be a case of, I think, certainly from his point of view, to do a dress rehearsal, because when Father Christmas spouts off about, "How comes thou be a Doctor? Blah, blah," and during this time, he has to put on - it's one of these top hats - get that on, the frock coat on, and his bag and so on, before he comes forward and I turn round and say, "How comes thou be a Doctor?" So there's a little bit of play there that has to be done while he's getting ready. So that timing-wise, he needs to get used to doing that, although, as I say, his face is already black, but he's got to get the kit out of the bag and put it on. But the rest of it, because we all go in together anyway, and it's just a matter of [rehearsing] where you're standing.' (Applebee. Int:015)

Rather like the Bury Pace-eggers (C/S:10), the Shrewton mummers are driven by one individual: he recruits the cast, arranges the venues, reviews and revises the text, attempts to organise rehearsal, etc. The maintenance of costume is down to the individual mummers, but otherwise Prof. organises it all. Nevertheless, this is done in consultation where he feels it should be a collective decision - for example, where the collection is to be donated. He attributes the motive of fun and enjoyment to himself and the rest of the group, but it is also evident that he personally has a commitment to the idea of tradition and continuity - not only of the specific local tradition, but of traditions more generally. It is a position and attitude identifiable in all the interviewees in the Case Studies. Perhaps

because of this commitment, there is also a sense in which this is not a totally voluntary exercise - Prof. feels driven, or destined, to his role as keeper of the Shrewton play for the present. As he said:

'It's got to go out. I believe it's got to go out anyway, I don't care who does it, 'cause it's Shrewton.

'It's got to be done.' (Applebee. Int:015)

CASE STUDY 12 : A KENTISH COMPLEX

Previous Case Studies have focused on individual groups and their particular circumstances. This case study differs in that it examines the interplay and development of a number of groups within an area. This development has, at least in part, been due to: common membership of groups, the growth of popularity and interest in the traditions, and new groups being created by drawing on existing interest within extant groups. Several examples of this sort of development were cited in Ch.6 but, with a starting point prior to the First World War, it has been possible to trace some of the developments in Kent, the diversification of performances and the creation of new groups across most of the century.

Informants

An initial interview with Simon Evans (Int:005 - attended also by his wife Sharon), a broadcaster, long-time member of Hartley Morris Men, founder member of White Star Sword and performer with one of the Darent Valley[43] Champions mumming crews, indicated that the histories of several groups in Kent were closely interlinked. Simon also holds extensive archive and research material on early morris teams and other EFDSS activity in the county from early this century. A further interview was conducted with Peter Collins (Int:022), a long-standing member of Royal Borough Morris (Tunbridge Wells, Kent), who joined Hartley Morris in 1982. He is also a mummer in three different local plays, a folk singer and caller for country dancing. Other information comes from the Hartley Morris Men's questionnaire return (IQ:163).

The Case Study on the Whitstable Mayday (C/S:1) reveals some of the folk activity and its history in Kent. That will not be repeated in the main body of this text but is included in the chronology of development in Table 4.2 towards the end of this Case Study.

Some history

Traditional mumming, in the form of Christmas hero/combat plays, had been extant in the Darenth Valley of Kent before the turn of the century and lasted up to the First World War:

> 'The First World War was the general watershed [in continuous performance]. They did revive it after that - the Brasted and Westerham [Plays] - but it wasn't quite the same - more like for old times' sake - so [they were] done a few times in the early '20s. After that it didn't really work.' (Evans. Int:005)

Morris dancing, certainly in modern times, is not indigenous to Kent although two references dating from the second half of the 18th Ccentury are quoted by Doel & Dean (1995) and Simon Evans stated that there were also 17th Ccentury references but, even before the demise of the mumming tradition, Cotswold morris was introduced into Kent by the early missionaries of the EFDS.

> 'It transpired that there had been a team of the Meopham Morris from about 1909-1911 and it was run by the local schoolteacher, Mr. Windows. It was obviously one of those things that came through the education system, a la [Cecil] Sharp. They disbanded about the First World War.' (Evans. Int:005)

This early thrust by the EFDS, paralleled in many locations throughout England (e.g. see C/S:4), was halted by the First World War, but resumed thereafter:

> 'Then in the inter-war period, [in] two villages down the road, there sprang up the Fairseat Folk Dance Society. I'm not sure if there's a connection or not, [between the Meopham and Fairseat groups] but they're certainly within a few miles of each other. Out of this folk dance society a morris team came - again very much that inter-war folk dance scene. There was a bloke called Galliford who was a fiddle player, and Thorn who was a member of the EFDSS[44] show team, with Sharp and that. They came and taught and [Thorn] was a member of it. They danced all around Stansted and Hartley. They disbanded in 1939.' (Evans. Int:005)

This team of morris dancers, part of an EFDS dance group, would perform in the usual style: the men would perform their 'ritual male morris dance' and then be joined by their partners for the whole group to display social dances. In their own right, the local men's team was referred to as the Stansted Morris Men, and the Second World War proved to be only one of those now familiar pauses in the tradition of performance.

> 'When they came together - the same people after the war - in the early '50s, most of them lived in Hartley, rather than Stansted, so they became known as the Hartley Morris Men. At one time there were five members who met once a month in someone's garage in Hartley just to keep going.
>
> 'The young men in the Stansted team were later the middle-aged men who started Hartley, so they were dancing them then. Another curious thing happened. They joined the Ring and did all the bizz and went to Thaxted [Morris Ring meetings] and all that stuff and then... the side started to decline and became totally cut off from all the other morris dancers. I used to work as an engineer in Chislehurst and in the workshops there was a bloke, who was a paint-sprayer, called Bob Henson. I found out later he used to play for Hartley but the tunes I got him to play to me sounded nothing like proper morris dance tunes.
>
> 'What had happened in the interim, when they had been divorced from the folk world,

they'd been a local team dancing and they'd half-remembered them [i.e. the dances] and they'd changed them. Made up a bit to fit in, and they'd actually evolved dances and styles all of their own.' (Evans. Int:005)

The Hartley Morris Men - reformed in 1952[45] from members of the pre-war Stansted Morris - had, by the early 1960s, developed a personal style and had also declined to a mere five men practising once a month 'just to keep going' (Evans. Int:005).

Bob Tatman, who had been involved with the Morris Ring in the immediate post-war period, dancing with London Rodney and other sides, moved to Kent:

'He sought out Hartley Morris. [He] heard there was a team down there somewhere, and he found these blokes doing these dances all wrong and taught them how to do them properly - which may have been the worst thing that ever happened to Hartley Morris.

'So this way of dancing which they'd evolved was being replaced by Morris Ring standardisation again during the mid-'60s.' (Evans. Int:005)

One of the sources for Bob Tatman's redirection of Hartley Morris was the side from Chanctonbury[46]. As Peter Collins described it:

'When Hartley reconstituted in '52, one of the things that Bob Tatman did was to actually go down to Chanctonbury, and get some of the lads from Chanctonbury to come up and demonstrate some of the dances for the lads to learn.' (Collins. Int:022)

There was a further influx of members into Hartley Morris in the late 1960s:

'..in the late 60s there had also been a wave of people coming into it which included several people who'd previously been with the Blackheath Morris, notably Barry Lang, Pete Currie, Pete Hicks - all Skinners Rats and Crayfolk people, Dartford Folk Club people - again, they were quite dynamic and inventive people - and so when we went out to dance on a Thursday night, Skinners Rats would always be with us, because they were all in it as well. Then they found this disused coach-house in Farningham. The [Hartley] side refurbished it, rebuilt it - John Barker was another leading light at that time, and was also running the folk club - so you had the Farningham Folk Centre. In there was the Folk Shop, Sunday night - singers night, Tuesday night - beginners Morris, Thursday night - Hartley Morris, Friday night - folk club, and the occasional Saturday night ceilidh. That was from '69.' (Evans. Int:005)

This complex inter-relationship between folk-song clubs, morris sides, dance bands, etc. is not atypical of many locations in England at this time and the enthusiasm generated by this explosion of activity

led to wider local research in traditions generally:

> 'What happened was that in the mid-'60s, we researched all these plays and we found that the whole of the Darent valley was covered by plays from one end to the other. We were all in Hartley Morris; we got teams together after the morris, which was about forty strong at the time. We had one group doing the Westerham play, one group doing the Shoreham play, during the '70s'.

> 'We found that [the] Brasted [gangs had] covered the whole of that area - Westerham, Brasted, Sundridge - and actually covered the patch that belonged to Otford. And then the Shoreham play took over from that, through to Shoreham along as far as Farningham where the Sutton-at-Hone play started along to Dartford. When we revived it, we made three teams - Sutton-at-Hone, Shoreham and Brasted. The Brasted play - we would go to Brasted, Sundridge and Westerham. And the Shoreham blokes, instead of doing Shoreham one night, they started to do other villages other nights. They'd go and do Otford. The bloke who was running the Sutton-at-Hone end of things, Dave Masterson, left Hartley [and] joined another team, and took the play with him. But that's still going. The blokes out of Wadard Morris now perform that play. We've lost that play completely - but it's still being done and in that area. The Shoreham play is still done by people who are all Hartley Morris members. The Brasted play - half of us have drifted away from Hartley anyway, 'cause we've moved on to do other things like do some sword dance - don't stand still.' (Evans. Int:005)

These plays, as noted at the beginning of this Case Study, had last been performed in a half-hearted revival after the First World War. They were now revived by three gangs all originating from Hartley Morris and all calling themselves 'Darent Valley Champions':

> 'We actually do the Brasted play, but in a curious sort of way the Darent Valley Champions then becomes everybody who does the Champions along the Darent Valley. And so the blokes from the Shoreham play call themselves Darent Valley Champions as well - they put out leaflets and have different names on the bottom - so we've got two groups who do two different places called by the same name - 'cause they're still Champions in Darent Valley like we are.' (Evans. Int:005)

Peter Collins confirmed the continuing changes in the performances of the Darent Valley Champions when he was asked about continuing Hartley Morris involvement, and said:

> 'Most of them started with Darent Valley Champions as Hartley Morris men, but when they moved on... I mean, for instance, one of the fellas moved down to South Kent [and joined] East Kent Morris; [he] still comes back and does Father Christmas in the Shoreham and Otford play. Simon [Evans] is hardly ever out with Hartley any more, but he would still do the Brasted and Westerham play.

> 'There are two or three people in each side that are regularly connected with the play but not with Hartley Morris any more. And in fact, the Brasted and Westerham play

fell foul of the town sort of syndrome in a pub if you like, you know - we just got to the point where we were not welcome in more than half of the pubs, and it became a drag to have to do it. Brasted was still fine, and we did it in Brasted on its own for a couple of years after we stopped doing it in Westerham, but it's stopped altogether now[47].' (Collins. Int:022)

Hartley Morris was still growing in numbers and, with more new members in the early 1970s:

'...that's when we took the whole thing by the scruff of the neck really, and actually started to do things like go and dance at dawn on Mayday, and start building Jack-in-the-Greens, and having three-day-long Ales. A friend of ours kept buses - he used to have this open-top bus to go away for weekends. A great amount of developmental work in the side rather than just pottering about the villages.' (Evans. Int:005)

This expansion however could present problems both within the side, and for other sides, as Peter Collins observed:

'When I was secretary of Royal Borough, we quite often had conflict between the two sides because our areas of dance overlapped quite considerably, and they considered themselves to be the senior side. So we had one or two disputes with them, shall we say? But at that time, they were going round in double-decker buses, full, and I talked to some of them - I mean, even though we had disputes with them, I still knew most of them - and I would talk to some of them and they would say, "It's bloody difficult on a full day's dance to actually get to do a dance", because there were so many people in the side, and they had a waiting list.' (Collins. Int:022)

As well as the size of the team, and the addition of peripheral activities, the dance repertoire of Hartley Morris also grew:

'But also, as a team, we did increase the repertoire quite a bit. When we were firing on all cylinders - it was late '70s - we had up to seventy or eighty dances, which was quite a lot, and we were competent in all the major traditions as danced by Morris Ring-type sides. It was always Bob teaching 'cause he'd been involved. Bob had spent time in Ring instructionals in his younger days - up at C.S.H.[48] - the outdoor life and going on trips to Germany with Rolf Gardiner and all that sort of stuff.' (Evans. Int:005)

The Hartley Men, a strong Ring side, would tour with their bus - but without their partners and spouses. Simon Evans considered that:

'For a lot of the fellas it was the great escape. When we went away for weekends [or] on a day tour, they wouldn't allow women on the bus because it was a Hartley Morris tour. It got to the stage where they'd be cruising along in the cars behind and always

be there, but couldn't come on the bus because they were women. It was like a big escape from the wives and kids. On the other hand I think, "Well, what's wrong with that?" There are relationships which women have together, and men have together, and that men and women have together. They are different genders. I don't like it when it's too gung-ho, or 'scout-ish' or 'rugby club-ish' - I used to enjoy the fact that on a Friday night you could slip your mind into neutral and a bus would come and pick you up at home, and you could engage the brain [again] some time on Sunday night or Monday when you went to work - it's like being in the army - it's all worked out for you. The whole morris tour was mapped out in advance and you could coast for the weekend. It was all organised in advance. We'd all organise it but by the time it happened - done.' (Evans. Int:005)

This explanation of the appeal of the male 'great escape', fundamental from the start of the Morris Ring, serves to demonstrate how it could survive from the 1930s through to the 1970s. Peter Collins, no more an advocate of morris as a male preserve than Simon Evans, also recognises the attraction that such segregated touring could have, and observed that:

'Those weekends, when the men were taken away on their own, made a world of difference to their standard of dancing and the standard of their enthusiasm. You'd come back and have a buzzing, and wanting to go, you know... There is definitely a buzz that you get from those weekends.' (Collins. Int:022)

The relationship between the sexes in wider society continued to change and by the mid-'70s, advances in the women's movement were overtaking even Hartley Morris. From the time Simon Evans had joined Hartley:

'It took about ten to fifteen years [to realise] well, actually, there's always empty seats on the bus.' (Evans. Int:005)

In 1974 a new morris side, without an earlier history like Hartley and with a very different philosophy, started in Tunbridge Wells. This was Royal Borough Morris - one of the earliest mixed-sex sides. Peter Collins again:

'Royal Borough was started by Julian [Wilson] and a couple called Colin and Sally Herriet, really as a reaction to sides like Hartley and Ravensbourne and Beaux of London, who were all seen to be very stuffy and staid, and danced by old men, you know. Hartley were a bit of an exception to that, but still had this very strict, formal outlook on everybody else.' (Collins.Int:022)

Julian Wilson had danced with Ring sides before moving to Sussex:

'He was ex-Hammersmith [Morris Men], ex... various sides. Blackheath [Morris], I

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think, at one time.' (Collins. Int:022)

The new Royal Borough Morris:

'... was Cotswold. Totally irregular, completely mixed, and a lot of made-up dances... but made to work from the little bits that he [i.e. Julian Wilson] knew of original dances, and if he couldn't remember them, then he put in the bits that would make it work.

'I think that was part of Julian's attitude when he thought, "Well, I can't think of how the dance used to go, but we'll make it up anyway," because he didn't want it to be a Ring side. He wanted it to be free and able to do as it pleased.' (Collins. Int:022)

The idea of mixed morris, however, was not to last long in this case because:

'It was about six months, I suppose, before almost everybody in the side realised that it didn't work, and we split up and had two separate sides... We still had one club, all combined finances, but we danced as two separate dancing sides, apart from things like 'Bonny Green' at the end of the set, you know.

'I think mostly because it was very obvious that men and women dance in different ways. The women were dancing in a very precise, dainty, very accurate sort of way, and our men were particularly unruly - shall we say? and tended to be a little bit flamboyant and not very precise. And so both benefited from splitting the two of them apart, you know.' (Collins. Int:022)

Royal Borough continued thereafter as joint sides and is still extant. Hartley, as a Ring side, would not consider women dancing with them, but for some wives and girlfriends there was a desire not just to follow their men around on a bus, but to dance the morris as well:

Simon: 'Invicta Ladies [Morris] was also an offshoot of Hartley Morris - five or six wives in '76-'77.'

T.B.: 'What's the Hartley view of the existence of Invicta?'

Simon: 'They've taken a long time to come to terms with it. They were very antagonistic to women dancing - they wouldn't even dance at a place or festival which had women dancing at it until Broadstairs [Folk Week] forced them into it. But it was all Hartley Men who taught Invicta how to dance. We didn't really care if women did it or not.'

Sharon: 'It was only a small clutch of you who didn't care. You almost got excommunicated!'

Simon: 'We'd only known about the male morris and been inculcated into that way. We were taught it was a male thing to do - and believed it all. Then the women said

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"We're going to do it - we're not going to stand and watch you - we'll have a go ourselves." We came to the conclusion, "Well, if you're going to do it anyway, then we might as well be involved and teach you what we know about it" - 'cause we'd seen some women's sides that really were pretty dreadful.' (Evans. Int:005)

Although forced, by Broadstairs Folk Week, to be performing at an event which also included women's sides, Hartley still took a long time to really come to terms with the development of women's morris. Peter Collins described the circumstances which finally made then change their attitude:

'They were invited to go to L.A. [Los Angeles in the USA], and there were always perhaps a forty/sixty split between people who were very adamant that... I mean, for instance, at Broadstairs [Folk Week], if there were women's sides in the procession, then several of the members of Hartley would step out of the side and not join the procession; they were that strong about it. But there were also people who would go away on weekend camps and dance quite happily in mixed sets with women, but they were not allowed to do so in Hartley kit. In 1992, one of our members - ex-members - had gone over to Los Angeles, and formed Sunset Morris...

'Martin Harris, who in fact used to run Radio Kent folk programme before Simon [Evans] took over, he went over there and started, or was part of the source that started, Sunset Morris. It was their turn to host the American 'Ring' meeting, if you like - I mean, there's not such a thing - but because there's so vast distances involved, what they tend to do there is not have an Ale every year, but each side takes it in turn to have an Ale and then all the sides travel to them. And it was Sunset's turn to host the Ale for that year, and invited Hartley. So we then had to, somehow or other, scrape together lots of money, and that's when we made the tape[49] and so on. And the side went out there, and, of course, when they got there, they found that about sixty per cent of the sides that were there were either mixed or women's sides.

'Not only were they forced into it because, having got there, there's no way they could just walk away and leave it, but they were forced into the situation where there was mass dancing, it was normal for all the sides to get up and dance together, but also, more than half of the people [from Hartley] who went to L.A. were the anti-feminist group, and so from that tour onwards, you know, the whole thing just collapsed, and now Hartley will dance with anybody and they find it very difficult with mixed sides or [Morris] Federation sides who have known Hartley in its traditional guise - they don't invite them because they know they won't go, so they are finding it difficult to sort of go to these sides and say, "Why don't you invite us now? We're different now." (Collins. Int:022)

The growth of women's morris in general was commented on briefly in Ch.6, but the issues surrounding sex politics in the vernacular arts are not a focus of this study. There is insufficient evidence from the present research to analyse the development and politics, but the subject is ripe for detailed study, particularly in parallel to the contemporary developments of the women's movement in the wider social milieu.

Royal Borough had started as a mixed team but had soon become two sides, of different sexes, within one organisation: a mixed-sex group with segregated dancing. Development of the side's activities did not stop there, however, and Royal Borough, like Hartley, also spawned a mumming group:

> 'With Royal Borough we had researched a play which came out of Leigh which is near Tonbridge. We had a chap called Jack Medhurst, and Geoff Evans had actually sat down with him in The Fleur de Lys in Leigh and taken most of the play from him, and when we then sat down with Simon - I sat down with him to sort out the Darent Valley thing - he had actually spoken to Jack Medhurst years before that, and the play that we had got from him as the Leigh play was very similar to the play that he'd given Simon [Evans] as the Brasted play. There were differences though, you know. And we did that for, oh... in fact, we still do it every Easter... almost as it was done.' (Collins. Int:022)

At about this time there was some interchange of personnel between Royal Borough and Ravensbourne Morris. After six years as Secretary, Pete Collins had become both Foreman and Squire of Royal Borough and:

> 'A lot of that time, I was having to do a fairly delicate balancing act. We had two or three members, who had originally been members of Ravensbourne, had fairly staid ideas about how the dances ought to be done accurately, how the dances ought to be done in a formal setting, and how people ought to behave. And we had a lot of very young kids; I mean, I, at one point, had doubts whether I ought to be a member of the thing, 'cause I was ten years older then anybody else in the side. But these young kids were very enthusiastic, extremely athletic, danced all over the place, you know, but were not prepared to be too disciplined, and not prepared to follow what, I think most people in the morris would call Ring lines.
>
> 'For about two years, I suppose, Geoff Evans and Paul Burgess were dancing with both sides, and eventually gave up dancing with Ravensbourne. The strange thing is we had two or three people come and dance with Royal Borough, find they liked it, [but] preferred the more formal setting, and went and danced with Ravensbourne, so there was a migration backwards and forwards most of the time.' (Collins. Int:022)

These migrations between sides were because of style preferences and not politics, but there were also tensions over attitude within Royal Borough which were, eventually, to lead Peter Collins to leave the side and join Hartley. As he put it:

> 'I was doing this sort of balancing act between the staid people, who, to some extent, wanted to be very formal but also wanted it to be a social club, where they do an evening class on a Thursday and learnt how to do this funny thing called morris dancing, but didn't want to go to any festivals, didn't want to go out at the weekends, didn't want to do anything else but come along on a Thursday night for two hours. We seemed to be getting more than fifty per cent who wanted it that way, and that

was putting off the young kids who were really enthusiastic and... I mean, complete slobs, to be honest, but they were such wonders to watch when they were dancing, 'cause they enjoyed it so much. They very rarely turned up with ironed trousers and things like that, you know, but when they danced, it was the real spirit of the thing, as I saw it. And as Secretary and then Squire for twelve years in total I suppose, I just had a constant juggling act to keep that enthusiasm and that energy that needed to be there.'

'Unfortunately, by that time, I was fairly heavily, well, very heavily involved in Broadstairs [Folk Week], and so I'd been exposed to a lot of the Hartley activities, and - this was in September '82 - I'd been with Hartley most of Broadstairs week, simply because they were lads that I enjoyed singing with and that sort of thing. And on the last Friday they had started dancing around the town at ten in the morning. They'd danced through until twelve; they'd come into The Neptune [public house] and sung until two [o'clock] or later; at half-past two they'd gone out and danced around the town; at half-past three they'd danced in the [display arena folk-]show; at four o'clock until five o'clock they were out dancing around the town. They then went back and had a meal and then at eight o'clock they were in the show; at half-past nine they danced all the way down through the procession. They then ran from there to The Neptune in time for a drink and a sing, and then they danced outside the pub until twelve o'clock at night. When I got back to my local side, and they were all saying, "Oh, we don't know whether we want to do anything this week", I thought, "I give up, and unless I actually leave the side, you know, if I'm simply there and available..." Then I sat down with them and said, "Look, I organised your programme, I went to every single pub, I went and put all the posters up, I've taught you all your dances, I've arranged every single practice, I've changed your practice hall during this year. You know, somebody else has to do something and somebody else has got to want it all to work. You've got to put some enthusiasm into it, and if I'm here, you're going to leave it to me again, and I'll do it again. I know I will." I said, "I'm leaving. Full stop. Clean break," which was quite hard. Especially when I then got to Hartley and found that their style of dancing was totally different to anything I'd ever come across, and I had to unlearn fifteen years of really enthusiastic dancing. Amazing. [Hartley dance] very, very quickly: no time whatsoever to do stylish steps of any sort. They entirely relied on very brisk action for style, so that the detail of how a step was performed was almost lost in the speed of it being done.' (Collins. Int:022)

By the time Peter Collins left Royal Borough and joined Hartley in 1982, Hartley were past the peak of their membership and repertoire. Pete was asked why he thought that Hartley had been so popular. He replied that it was:

'Because Farningham Folk Club was very popular, and that funnelled enthusiastic people into the morris side.' (Collins. Int:022)

However:

'Hartley had a waiting list, and a very strict method of entry. You know, you had to

apply, and then you became an apprentice, then you... And you weren't allowed to participate in the activities until you were a full member, and all this sort of thing. So that deterred a lot of the casual moving in and out that happened with a lot of other sides.' (Collins. Int:022)

Such practices, not uncommon among 'serious' teams (c/f Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers - C/S:9) certainly proscribed casual movement in and out of Hartley and may have had a positive effect on the commitment of members - but by now Hartley was past its zenith and, according to Pete Collins, actually in decline:

'Hartley had, as I say, its source of people coming in through the Farningham Folk Club, and it was when they fell out with the Farningham Folk Club that they started to decline. The people amongst the Hartley people who stayed with Farningham Folk Club... formed Wadard Morris, and they are still connected with the folk scene - whereas Hartley isn't. Hartley have very little contact with the local folk clubs, for instance, at all. And to my mind that is why it's declined in terms of numbers, and declined in terms of musical content. Whereas some... I mean, Royal Borough, for instance, had seven or eight musicians, all of whom were reasonably competent, and four or five of whom formed a band which is still going now - has been going ever since. And, as I say, when I'm in this country, that's my band.' (Collins. Int:022)

Notwithstanding the reported move into decline, in the 1980s, Hartley Morris again proved to be the pool of interest and skill from which further development took place:

'We felt that the people who'd joined since [the late '60s], were doing what had been done in the past and not continuing to develop the thing. We were getting a bit bored and running out of energy for it because so much inertia had come into the side. Brian [Tasker] had been off with his job in the North for a couple of years and joined a Longsword side in Castleford, then he joined a Rapper side in Newcastle where he was working. [He] learnt the sword up there from these traditional teams and came back down and taught it... When the Hartley practice finished, we started ours in the same hall. The nucleus was the same people who joined Hartley in those early days.' (Evans. Int:005)

Peter Collins takes up the story:

'[He] tried to teach people to do it on the Thursday night practice, and it was just rejected, you know, so he said, "Well, we'll do it separately," particularly because he wanted to do Longsword rather than Rapper. A lot of people, even White Star, now embrace rapper with great enthusiasm, but found Longsword very boring, and it was longsword that Brian tried to introduce to Hartley as a contrast during their tours. And when he couldn't have that, he said, "Right, come on. Some of us, let's go off and form a side".' (Collins. Int:022)

White Star Sword had started from among the Hartley men, but as a separate team. In time, their membership expanded beyond just Hartley men, as Peter Collins explained:

> 'Tony Petto and Brian Tasker both live in Speldhurst so that eventually they have taken two or three lads who live in Speldhurst, and encouraged them to join, so that it's now expanded beyond the circles of Hartley completely... The five or six people that started White Star from Hartley are probably still there, if not full time, certainly on an irregular basis, but what's happening is that, with the extra lads they've had from locally, they've had a very strong side that goes up North to the strong sword-dancing areas and goes to their meetings, and now what's happened is they've got probably three sort of regular sword dance people who've moved down to the South-East, who've come and sought out White Star, because they want to keep on sword-dancing. So they've gathered recruits because of that as well now, and that's great.' (Collins. Int:022)

White Star are the only sword team in Kent although Bishop Gundulf's Men[50], a Cotswold morris side, do an annual winter sword-dance tour including both Longsword and Rapper. Despite the generation of so much spin-off activity, both in their hey-day and since, Hartley Morris have, as suggested by Peter Collins above, remained fairly isolated from the general explosion of the Folk Revival in Kent, much of which is regarded by both informants to this Case Study as being of poor quality. With this 'separateness', and the emphasis on Ring teaching and repertoire, one might expect the Hartley dance style to have remained 'by the book' but the morris has, to a degree, still become localised in style. The initial localisation of style by the Stansted/Hartley side as a result of isolation in the early years of this century has already been noted, but then it happened a second time.

> 'In spite of all that, we did have a bit of a style of our own anyway. We'd go to Ring meetings and watch other people dancing. There were times when you found things didn't quite work out - like snatch downs[51] - and Hartley became known for having snatch downs in everything even when they weren't supposed to be there.
>
> 'It amuses me that when I see some of the dances that Invicta [Morris] do - like *Bonny Green*, that Bampton dance - they still dance in Hartley style even now.' (Evans. Int:005)

The same is true of the sword dances as performed by White Star Sword. The team perform the single dances collected from the villages of:

> 'Boosbeck, Newbiggin, High Spen and Winlaton. Mind you, it's interesting when we get new people move to this neck of the woods and come to join. We don't do it like them. "What? Bloody Southerners!".' (Evans. Int:005)

Such localisation of style may be inevitable, even when a team seeks to be 'authentic' and replicate

a former style as collected. Whilst the morris and sword forms are not indigenous to Kent, but introduced as explained above, the mumming had been a local tradition, and the revival gangs certainly sought to be authentic. Commenting on the mid-1960s, Simon recalled that:

> 'It was a great time to be accurate. We'd recently discovered all this folk stuff - twenty-five years ago - we must be very careful to do it as it used to be done. That was one of the motivations in the research - how exactly was it done? What did they wear? What were the words like? What were the parts like? But what we started to find, in the process of that research, was that different people started doing different things - we started to get confused. You go out and speak to one person - "Oh, the words went like this" - we talk to someone else and it's, "Oh, no, no, no, that's not quite right and *he* was never in it anyway - it was like this..." And it turns out that that fellow was in it ten years before the other one. He'd grown up, got married, and left before the other one came into it.' (Evans. Int:005)

The desire to be 'authentic', so prevalent from the very start of the Folk Revival and symptomatic of looking backwards, apparently could not survive the (conscious or unconscious) drive to change, develop and to move forwards - which has repeatedly been noted both in continuing traditions and in the various more recent revivals exemplified in the Case Sstudies. In the same way as lapses in performance are not perceived by the tradition-bearers as breaks in the on-going tradition, so too development of a style is not seen as distinct from the 'original': Hartley would certainly not accept that they were dancing improperly and do claim their dances as being of the village traditions that originated them.

Not all the dancing in Kent harks back to styles of the last century: in addition to the introduction of morris and sword, the revival of mumming and the appearance of (the then new) women's sides, Kent has also seen the creation of a new form of Molly dancing:

> 'For instance, from Royal Borough - ...a fella called Chris White - ...he was part of Royal Borough when we first started, but he totally disagreed with any sort of standardisation of the dances. And then got involved with a fella called Dave Dye and they formed Seven Champions, the black-faced lot, who reckoned that if there were dancing in Kent at any one time - [that] originated in Kent - that it would be more like the East Anglia Molly dancing than it would be Cotswold, and so they went off to start that side.' (Collins. Int:022)

In the same way as Shropshire Bedlams (C/S:8) reinvented Border morris, so the Seven Champions (IQ:327) created a Kentish Molly style which, like the Bedlam's Border style, has been widely copied by new sides. This is a long way from the situation in the 1960s, of which Simon Evans observed that it was 'a great time to be accurate' (Evans. Int:005). On the outcome of this rapid expansion of

activity in the late 20th Century, Peter Collins commented that:

> 'The more traditional sides were East Kent, Hartley and Ravensbourne, but then you started to get all sorts of others. You had Thanet Men, the Canterbury lads - Wantsum. They had all been going for some time. Thanet started in the '70s, Oyster started in the '70s, and all those sides... all sort of spawned half a dozen sides each, all of whom were only sort of seven or eight people, but went off and started another side, then another side - you know, it's unbelievable.
>
> 'And then from [Seven Champions] there were people who wanted to do Cotswold, so they formed... but again it was only six or seven men, and it just went on like that. "I don't like how you're doing it; I'm gonna form a side of me own", and they went off and found another village hall, and it just went on and on.
>
> 'The impression I got was that the thing you needed most was enthusiasm and energy and a need to show off, and nothing else - no skill whatsoever. You needed a bloody great drum, and a lot of people who could shout and scream a bit, and then that formed a side that could go to a pub and have a bloody good time, with really no sense of tradition or accuracy of reproducing anything apart from the atmosphere - maybe.' (Collins. Int:022)

Peter Collins is not alone in this thought: one informant stated, after a visit to one particular Kent 'May Day' event, that he had 'never seen so many bad morris sides' (Malcolm Woods - personal communication). Groups' reported concerns with standards of performance has already been considered in Ch.8 (Q16) and the matter is discussed further in the next chapter.

The growth in the number of sides in Kent in recent decades has been no more extraordinary than in many other parts of the country. During his period as Secretary for Royal Borough Morris, from 1974 to 1980, Peter Collins had tried:

> 'To get an association of Kent [dance] groups together and, at that time, we knew of twenty-eight clubs in Kent - which was far too many.' (Collins. Int:022)

The number of sides in the county has increased again since then, with many of the new sides performing in a style approximating to the 'new' Border (see C/S:8) or Molly styles. The specific stimulus for the creation of one of them was identified by Peter Collins as being Hartley's resistance to performing at fêtes. In C/S:4 it was noted that Kirtlington Morris disliked performing at fêtes because 'they don't like being the one that's filled in between the police band and the dogs' (Berry. Int:001) and a similar feeling pertains among Hartley Morris Men. Peter Collins explained that:

> '...so far as dancing out in public, they [i.e. Hartley Morris] dance from the 1st of May

to the first week in September, and pretty strictly on that, apart from private bookings. I mean, for instance, for most of December they dance at Leeds Castle and doing that has given them the funding to be able to refuse to do fêtes, which every fête organiser doesn't understand, but every morris dancer hates - loathes it... It wasn't so much the police band as the fairground organs round our way. There were all these steam rallies and things. The organisers just could not understand why we couldn't dance in front of a steam organ that was playing, you know; just could not understand. The other thing... I mean, our secretary and general organiser... Have you come across these organisers of big events, charity events, you know? "Will you come along and dance?" "Yes." And at the time I think we were charging fifty quid or something. "Oh! It's a charity. We thought you'd do it for free." "Is the man who's coming to open your charity event doing it for free?" "Oh, no, no. We have to pay him".' (Collins. Int:022)

Royal Borough evidently share Hartley's feelings about fêtes, for:

'There's a general instruction to the secretary in both Royal Borough and Hartley to avoid fêtes at all costs. There are exceptions; there are some villages which we have a particular connection with.' (Collins. Int:022)

In one case Hartley's position led to the creation of a new side:

'That happened, in fact, in Southleigh, which is sort of between Dartford and Hartley. They asked Hartley to go and dance at their school fête so many times when we refused, that they formed their own side from people within the village, which is probably how it was done in the first place, but they are real crap.' (Collins. Int:022)

Another new side derived from a very different stimulus:

'Lewes Rugby Club decided they needed to do something during the summer to keep fit, and formed a morris side. Yeah, William Webb Ellis, and they used to go out Sunday lunchtimes only, and they were great fun... I think a couple of their wives were [from the women's side] Knots of May, so they learnt, oh, only two or three dances, but they would go out on a Sunday lunchtime [with] two or three dances and a play, and the play was very modern and topical, but along the lines of a mummer..., but with shades of 'That Was the Week That Was'... It was very sharp and educated, you know, and great, great fun. And they used to dance in rugby caps with the... braid and tassel, and in long shorts and striped jumpers.' (Collins. Int:022)

Few of these new groups have connections to the wider communities in which they operate. In response to a specific question, Peter Collins explained that the Hartley side have a relationship with one of the Kent breweries, with one particular village and with the bus company whose buses they use for summer tours:

'They have always had a good working relationship with Shepherd Neame, although it's not a formal sponsorship arrangement. If Shepherd Neame have any sort of corporate entertaining, hospitality do, want some entertainment at their stand in the Kent Show, things like that, have tours round the brewery, then Hartley are the ones they call. And we have an account with Shep's and when we have an Ale or a Ring meeting, then they are always more than helpful. But it's not a formal sponsorship.

'Wrotham has a couple of events: they have an early summer festivity, can't remember what it's called now, and they have a Christmas switching on of the lights, which is quite pretty. And because we are based in Wrotham, practise in Wrotham, practically live in Wrotham, we try and accommodate those sort of events for them. The fellas who provide us with all the vintage buses and coaches have various events with rallies of vintage buses, for instance, and so we try and sort them out. (Collins. Int:022)

Royal Borough, on the other hand, are more closely involved with the civic side of life in Tunbridge Wells, for:

'A lot of its activities are part of the social activities of the town. For instance, tomorrow there will be Pace-egging in the main park and the mayor will come along and judge it and officiate at it, and it's supported by the local leisure group and things like that... they don't put money in. They provide a lot of facilities and provide services for us and things like that... When they have a celebration or a festival or a street party or whatever, then they get in touch with Royal Borough. If they want to go over to Wiesbaden [a German twin-town], they get in touch with Royal Borough.' (Collins. Int:022)

This relationship is similar to that which Cockleshell Clog (IQ:004) enjoys with the local council in Southend-on-Sea (Essex), and that Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers have with their local council (C/S:9). They appear to be similar to the relationships which existed between the northern industrial towns and the local Northwest morris teams in the 19th Century. These organisations have relationships, which often have reciprocal value, with, variously, local civic administration, companies or informal village organisations, but retain their independence and exercise it when they wish. The situation is discussed more fully in the next chapter which reviews such themes across the case study groups.

This Case Study has only detailed a part of the developments of the Folk Revival in Kent, concentrating, inevitably, on the sides with which the interviewees were best acquainted. A chronology of the developments noted above and in C/S:1 (Whitstable Jack-in-the-Green) is shown in Table 4.2.

pre-1900	Darent Valley plays and Whitstable Jack in traditional performance.
approx. 1909	Meopham Morris forms under auspices of education system and EFDS.
1912	Last traditional performance of Whitstable Jack.
approx. 1914	Cessation of the Darent Valley mumming tradition and Meopham Morris.
post-WW1	Creation of Fairseat Folk Dance Society under auspices of EFDS.
	Stansted Morris Men form out of Fairseat FDS.
	Unsuccessful attempts locally to revive Darent Valley plays.
1939	Stansted MM disband at outbreak of WW2.
1952	Stansted MM become Hartley MM and meet monthly.
mid-1960s	Bob Tatman revitalises Hartley MM and teaches Ring dancing.
late-1960s	Influx of new blood to Hartley MM - from Blackheath Morris & Dartford FSC.
	Hartley members research Darent Valley plays.
	Creation of Farningham Folk Centre.
1967	Wantsum Morris formed.
early 1970s	Hartley MM create three mumming gangs doing Darent Valley plays.
1974	Julian Wilson starts Royal Borough Morris as a mixed-sex side.
1975	Royal Borough becomes joint sides.
1976	Oyster Morris form as a women's team. Invicta Morris form from Hartley MM partners.
	Dixie Lee & others research Whitstable Jack-in-the-Green.
1977	Hartley leave Farningham Folk Centre. Some stay & form Wadard Morris.
	Sutton-at-Hone play stays with Dave Masterson in Wadard Morris.
	Oyster Morris become joint male & female sides.
	Whitstable Jack revived with song club, Oyster Morris & Wantsum Morris.
	Seven Champions Molly group started by some ex-Royal Borough dancers.
1980s	Darent Valley play gangs effectively independent of Hartley MM.
	Some ex-Seven Champions form new Cotswold side.
	General growth in number of sides in Kent.
1986	White Star Sword group formed by some Hartley MM.

Table 4.2: Chronology of developments from Case Studies 1 and 12

The interview with Simon Evans is entirely covered in the Case Study text above and the interview with Peter Collins is mostly covered. Two additional points from the latter interview need to be recorded in order to fully represent that conversation.

The first concerns Peter's wider perspective of male and female sides and the differences between joint sides and separate 'partner' sides. He said:

> 'Invicta was mostly Hartley wives. That was the big argument we [i.e. Royal Borough] had with them [i.e. Hartley]. You know, we brought our wives into the club, and said, "We're proud of the fact we've got two sides; we've got a ladies' side." You've got Hartley and Invicta, you've got Chanctonbury and Knots of May, you've got Broadwood and Magog, all of whom were separate clubs - were separate sides so that they could become Ring sides, but basically tour together, and dance together and

were husbands and wives.

'We had an association of Kent morris sides [and] an association of Sussex morris sides, primarily put together to try and avoid clashes or try and avoid over-dancing at popular places. We would meet about the time that everybody was gathering their summer programme together to try, when that was still at draft form, to see whether we could avoid some of those. And it always used to amuse us, as a joint side, that, when we went to these meetings, Hartley and Invicta would have clashes, because they were trying to dance at the same place a week apart or on the same night sometimes. Broadwood and Magog would have clashes. Knots of May and Chanctonbury... But we never had a problem 'cause we turned up the same night always.

'They weren't joint sides. They were husbands and wives of the opposite side, but they were operating as separate clubs, completely separate clubs. You know, practising in different places and different finances, different officers. We had joint officers, joint finances, practised on the same night in a building with two rooms.' (Collins. Int:022)

The other point concerns his attitude to localisation and tradition, such as that mentioned above in respect of Hartley's and White Star's dancing styles. Peter was challenged as to why he felt that a sense of history or traditional 'properness' was important when he was talking about dancing and the new 'enthusiastic' but 'rootless' groups. The conversation went as follows:

Peter: 'I think there's a balance to be struck between the two. I don't think you can have one without the other, if it's to have any sort of validity somehow. But I find it very difficult striking that balance, and it's something I've always struggled with, because, I mean, the tendency is to have a bloody good time and get pissed out of your head and to hell with it, you know, but I seem to want some sort of framework, some sort of guideline, some sort of validity that says, 'This is genuine.' It's still, to my mind, got to be primarily enjoyable and energetic, because, if it's not enjoyable, nobody wants to do it anyway, and it ought to die.'

TB: 'O.K. Let me be Devil's advocate. If it's proper and traditional and so on, why are we dealing with Northern sword-dancing in Kent, or Cotswold morris? How can you claim that that is valid in Kent?'

Peter: 'I suppose I would treat that in the same way as I would treat learning a song. I will take a song that in some way has a relevance to me, even though... I mean, I sing a load of songs which are whaling songs and mining songs and things that... I've never seen a whale personally, but what I'm really trying to say is that I will take a song that somebody else is singing because I want to sing it, but I will not slavishly copy it. And I know from experience that, after six months or a year maybe, it has become a completely different song, a different shape, a different rhythm. It's still valid and it's still the same song, but it's become mine. And I think the same thing happens with the dances. You take a Cotswold tradition and do it in Tunbridge Wells, in Royal Borough, and it becomes a Royal Borough dance. We had a classic example of Barry Care, with Moulton [Morris Men] doing a dance called *Knuckles*

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Akimbo, and Geoff Evans, one of our fellas sat with Barry, over a pint of beer in the pub late at night, and learnt this dance with two biro pens - the stick-clashing. [He] came back all enthusiastic, showed us how to do it, and it was not desperately accurate I don't think, but a wonderful dance. What came out in Royal Borough was a wonderful dance... Now, if you called that dance, everybody wanted to do it, and if you went to a pub, they'd say, "Oh, can you do that one where you all smash one another's knuckles?" It obviously caught the public's attention. But then, when we danced it at Ravensbourne's Ale, with Barry's permission, one year, he said, "That's nothing like what we do." - and it wasn't. I mean, they then did what they do and it was totally different, but so far as we're concerned, it was *Knuckles Akimbo* from Moulton, and we would still credit it that way; I mean, it's still the dance that Barry Care put together, as far as we're concerned, but it's totally Tunbridge Wells' now.' (Collins. Int:022)

This reply raises apparent contradictions within a singular attitude. Such apparent contradictions have already been noted in other Case Studies and the matter is discussed in the next chapter.

The Case Sstudy has demonstrated only some of the developments in Kent across the present century. Kent is by no means atypical of other counties in England with: early EFDS groups contemporaneous with other types of indigenous local performances; the effect of the two World Wars; the post-war explosion of activity and diversification stemming from the Folk Revival; the growth of women's involvement; and latterly the further growth in numbers of small casual teams.

Each of the other Case Studies also fits into the overall schema of the vernacular arts in this century, and the next chapter reviews them all.

CHAPTER 12 : Review of Case Study Themes

The Case Studies in Ch.11 have, whenever possible, each been reported in a manner sympathetic to the tenor of the interviews given by the informants. A number of similarities between groups has already been noted within the Case Studies' texts, and various aspects of each group's operation can be seen as placing it in the context of the various models identified in Ch.10. These will be discussed towards the end of this chapter, but there are a number of themes across the Case Study groups which bear comment first.

Leadership

Some of the common themes to emerge from the Case Studies concern the leader and the leadership of the group (whether or not the leader actually carries that title). Several of the Case Study interviews were conducted with such a person (e.g. Shrewton, Bury, Whitstable, Coventry) or one formerly in that position (e.g. Kirtlington, Shropshire Bedlams) and in most instances that individual has also been a prime mover (if not *the* prime mover) in the creation of the group. Alone, a potential leader cannot just create a group - a number of aspects need to come together. At Kirtlington, the current morris side started from the combination of a core group (the Scouts), an activist (the Scout-master, Len Berry) and an appropriately skilled tutor (Paul Davenport). These same three elements are evident in the way the Shropshire Bedlams started: the core group (6th formers), the activist (their schoolteacher), and the tutor (John Kirkpatrick).

Performing groups come into being when these three elements coalesce. Thus, when the Whitstable Jack was recreated, the core group was formed from members of the local folk-song club together with Oyster and Wantsum Morris, the activist was Dixie Fletcher and the necessary skills came from within the core group. In The Hunting of the Earl of Rone the skills resided with the activists who were already members of the core group which was, once again, drawn from the local folk-song club. When White Star Sword was created, the members of the common interest group were already members of Hartley Morris and the activist and tutor was a member who had learnt sword dancing away from the area. In some instances the tutor (as at Kirtlington) or the activist (as in the case of White Star Sword) will seek a core group with whom to work. The tutor may come from within the group or from outside, and in some examples the activist is also the tutor. Every permutation of these three elements has been found during the research - but the three elements are always identifiable. Their occurrence in the Case Studies is summarised in Table 4.3.

C/S	Example	Core Group Source	Source of Tutor	Activist(s)
1.	Whitstable Jack-in-the-Green	Whitstable folk organisations	Within core group	Local folk organiser
3.	Hunting of the Earl of Rone	Local folksong club	Within core group	Within core group
4.	Kirtlington Morris Men	Kirtlington Scout group	Skilled outside researcher	Scoutmaster
5.	Kirtlington (new) Lamb Ale	Village acquaintances	Resident visionary	As tutor (Scoutmaster)
6.	Coventry Mummers	Folk work-shop group	Visionary member	As tutor
7.	Royal Lancashire Morris Dancers	Members of other groups	Local researcher	As tutor
8.	Shropshire Bedlams	Local sixth-form	Skilled incomer	Sixth-form teacher
9.	Mr. Hemming Morris Dancers	Former members of another side	As core group	Within core group
10.	Bury Pace-eggers	Local folksong club	Local researcher	As tutor
11.	Shrewton Mummers 1970s	Local morris side	Former performer	Within core group
	Shrewton Mummers 1988	Village acquaintances	Skilled incomer	As tutor
12.	Hartley Morris 1920s	Local EFDS dance club	EFDS teachers	As tutors
	Hartley Morris 1952	Former members	Skilled incomer	As tutor
	White Star Sword	Hartley Morris Men	Skilled member	As tutor
	Darent Valley Champions	Hartley Morris Men	Within group	As tutor

Table 4.3: Activist, tutor and core group sources in Case Study groups.

General discussion about the creation, life and cessation of groups is deferred to the next chapter, but here one can make some observations on the leader (either activist or tutor) within the group as exemplified in the Case Studies.

At Kirtlington, and in the Shropshire Bedlams, the leader was several years senior to the other dancers at the inception of the group. At Bacup it is the longest serving member of the group who is the Whiffler, i.e. Leader. It is also evident from both informants to the Case Study on Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers that the leading position of the 'old boys' (Johnny Grimsdale, Jack Hyde and Charlie Brett), the inheritors and custodians of the tradition, was not questioned. Seniority, in age or experience, rather than election have placed these individuals. Expertise without necessarily an age superiority, but coupled with drive and enthusiasm, can also place an individual in the position of leader - this appears to be the case with the Whitstable Jack, Shrewton, Coventry and Bury Mummers. The correspondent for Royal Lancashire Morris Dancers reported how, similarly, Richard Boswell had initially led RLMD due to the expertise gained from his own researches.

Particularly in the case of mumming groups (Bury and Shrewton in the Case Studies) - once a year, short season, single item groups - the leader may 'do it all' and, with an individual willing to do so, their position as leader seems unlikely to be challenged. The IQs yielded several examples of individuals 'doing it all'. However, Trevor Stone was quoted in Ch.8 as saying that, from his own research on Longsword sides:

> 'If you actually found out who made the decisions... [then] the person who actually went away and organised it made the decisions... they created the event.. They were not usually members of this ruling cadre: they were not team officials.' (Stone. Int:003)

This is the situation discussed in Ch.9 where individuals willing to undertake tasks simply assume them, make the decisions and organise the event without further reference to any 'governing group' that there may be. Certainly with the Bury and Shrewton groups, the leader is leader-by-default - the remainder of the team being happy to have arrangements made for them. This is reminiscent of Simon Evan's comments about having the Hartley Morris Men's tours organised for them, that they could:

> 'Enjoy the fact that on a Friday night you could slip your mind into neutral and... you could engage the brain [again] some time on Sunday or Monday morning when you went to work. It's like being in the army - it's all worked out for you.' (Evans. Int:005)

As was demonstrated in Ch.9, although titular leaders may be elected, the sorts of jobs undertaken are not necessarily specific to particular titles and, as in The Hunting of the Earl of Rone, there is a distinction to be made between leader(s) of the group and its management, and leading figures in the event and performance itself. Leadership of a performance, and the conduct of that performance is, typically, ascribed to set individuals within the group, as shown in Q13 of the Initial Questionnaire, usually those with expertise in that area. The remainder of the tasks necessary to organise what the group does is, again typically, a matter of collective discussion followed by certain individuals, appointed (elected where a group does elect) or otherwise, actually going and doing it. It is therefore perfectly possible for effective leadership to be carried out by individuals other than the titular leader(s) and for decision-making to be by individuals through default without their even being one of the leading group - let alone the actual leader. Comparison of leadership in the study groups with leadership in management theory is revisited in Ch.13.

Consensus

During performance itself, Bacup, Kirtlington and Coventry each commented on the necessity of having one person in charge. This may be a titled officer - either the titular leader or another officer appointed to the task - or, as described above, not by an officer at all. The successful individual is the one who always works within a common consensus. This was particularly noted in respect of Coventry Mummers, Bacup Coconut Dancers and The Hunting of the Earl of Rone.

If a leader exceeds his or her authority, in the view of the group, this will not necessarily result in deposition: at Bacup the view was that the team simply would mutiny and this was also noted as happening in The Hunting of the Earl of Rone (and there, subsequently, the leader removed himself). However, if only one, or a few, individual(s) feel that the leadership is not in accord with their views, there is evidence from the questionnaires that that individual (or those individuals) will simply vote with their feet. Examples of both individuals leaving and of the leader leaving were exemplified in the text of the study on Royal Lancashire Morris Dancers, and it was the people who had individually left ATMD in Abingdon who later became the core group who formed Mr. Hemmings Morris Dancers. What is expected of the individual in charge of performance will, inevitably, vary from group to group and there will always be a balance between the common consensus of the membership and the personality of that individual. This is what Peter Collins referred to (C/S:12) when he described his incumbency as Squire of Royal Borough Morris as 'having to do a fairly delicate balancing act' (Int:022). These leaders have no employment hierarchy, job description or disciplinary

code to back up their decision-making: they have to have an understanding of the views of the membership and know when they can push and when to hold back.

Northwest morris was described in Ch.1 as being 'highly disciplined' and 'performed with almost military precision' and this is particularly true among the older male teams in the Northwest. From anecdotal evidence during the research, it seems that a general expectation of a high standard within these teams allows for a greater tolerance of autocratic leadership than may be present in other Types. (It may also account for the higher percentage of Northwest teams reporting an official responsible for discipline in Q13). The Case Study on Royal Lancashire Morris Dancers considered the effects of its founders reported autocracy and, in another Northwest morris side interviewed for this study, the Foreman told me, with some glee, - 'I crack the whip. You've got to have someone who'll keep the lads together' and the Squire of the side, Richard Hankinson, confirmed that the team accepted the Foreman's strictness, 'Cause he's got the respect of the side - otherwise he wouldn't have been voted in.' (Saddleworth. Int:016). Once again, expertise determines the leader in performance.

I have also witnessed the Foreman of Manley Morris (another Northwest team) stop a dance in the middle of a public performance, harangue the dancers and start again when he felt the standard was not good enough[52]. In a further example, Michael Jackson, the informant for RLMD, recounted that:

> 'Another [Northwest] team, perhaps 20 miles from here tended to be dominated by one man... wanted to enforce very high standards in the team. A new member to the team... bought himself a new pair of clogs and nobody had mentioned to him that - he was sold clogs that came with natural coloured soles - he was supposed to paint them black before he showed his face in public. [He] turned out to a booking with clogs with wood coloured soles and was made to sit in a corner with a black felt-tip pen and he had to colour the soles in before he was allowed to dance. That was that team at its most autocratic!' (Jackson. Int:017)

In contrast, the other controls quoted in the Case Studies are somewhat less authoritarian: the use of the constitution at Abingdon; quoting 'rules' at Kirtlington; giving the "Pratt of the Year" award in Coventry Mummers; and Prof. Applebee at Shrewton observing, in respect of costume, that 'if they get really tatty, then I'll say to people, "It needs tidying up a little".' (Applebee. Int:015)

It may be noted that all these examples of discipline within the metafolklore are concerned with performance standards - of appearance or execution. In fact, no examples of disciplinary matters have been found in any of the interviews, or in the questionnaire returns, except those that relate to performance standards.

Ambiguity of attitude

There is another recurrent trait among the people interviewed for the Case Studies: they often have apparently contradictory attitudes.

Hartley Morris developed their own dance style, and are aware of it, but regard themselves as dancing in the traditional way. Peter Collins has no difficulty with new or changed dances but seeks what he refers to as a 'properness' in performance. Prof. Applebee, at Shrewton, wants to delegate but still 'does it all'; he writes new text for the play but wants to restore bits from the older text; he does it for fun but feels he's obliged to be custodian of the tradition. At Whitstable, Dixie Lee wants the custom to be recognised at a civic level but does not want it beholden in any way; she wants the custom to develop, but not alter; she wants to both delegate work and keep control of what is done; she emphasises the local but welcomes visitors; she enjoys the growth of the custom but wouldn't worry if it reverted to its earlier, smaller scale.

This way of juxtaposing attitudes in the text has been borrowed from Peter Harrop who, when describing the Campden Mummers and their leader Jack Tomes reported that:

> 'They would like to perform on stage, on television even, yet they will not allow anyone to record the play in any way. They are delighted that an outsider should be interested in the tradition, yet they offer a physical threat if the interest seems misplaced. Jack feels that surprise is a vital element of the tradition, yet he gives a lengthy explanatory introduction to some performances. He makes derogatory remarks about strangers, yet enjoys performing for transient hotel guests. He likes performing on a stage, yet not performing outside Campden. Christmas would not be the same if he didn't go mumming, yet some years he deliberately does not go mumming. He would like to have a new set of costumes, yet he is immensely proud of the age of some of them.' (Harrop.1980a. p.241)

It was suggested in C/S:7 that, within a group, differences of opinion/attitude can coexist without becoming a collective problem, and even that elaborate methods of avoiding having to reconcile conflicting attitudes may be used, but in the above examples contradictions coexist in the individual: the ambiguities exist side by side and are not reconciled. Perhaps they do not need to be because they do not impinge on the actual performance (which is now identifiable as the main, if not only, focus and concern of those who lead the groups).

It may be that such ambiguities are only ever expressed in interviews such as those conducted for this

study - and that they are only distilled into contradictions (that they are, literally, contra-dictions) when the recorded opinions are considered in this way. Nevertheless, they certainly exist and remain unreconciled. The absence of formal frameworks for these groups, without written codes, mission statements or precedence, and without strict hierarchical responsibilities, allows these contradictions never to become issues that have to be dealt with. In any case, as shown in Ch.9, motives tend to be mixed and without structures to force those motives into a hierarchy of importance, there is no hierarchy. As with the Abingdon (ADMT) constitution, the metafolklore of any group can be called upon when necessary to inform a present consensus, but that is all: the weight of historical tradition is referred to - but it is not binding.

Defending the tradition

This idea of a weight of historical tradition can, of course, only apply within a group which has a history - that is, the older continuing traditions and those that are culturally embedded. New groups and those with what Peter Collins (in Int:022) and Trevor Stone (in Int:003) describe as an 'evening class' mentality, and other informants have called 'hobby groups', have not, or do not wish to, acquire a metafolklore: they have, perhaps, a different purpose and belong to a different model. For the embedded groups there is an issue of ownership. Members (or at least leading members) regard the material they perform as their own and place it within an historical context. As Lichman observed of the Marshfield mummers:

> 'Knowing where it [the mumming] 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... *The history of the tradition and the performer's æsthetic are transmitted orally* to each successive generation of mummers through these stories... 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)(my italics)

For a group, the ownership or custodianship of the tradition is a real thing. As a possession, it may need to be defended and this is another recurrent theme in the Case Studies. Both Abingdon (ADMT) and Bacup teams realised that people from outside of the local community were joining the team for a brief period and then moving on, being able to claim that they had danced with what the Folk Revival regard as a prestige and historical team. Both teams introduced rules to stop this happening. Both teams were also signatories to letters sent to ED&S (v.59(4).20 - Winter 1997) stating their

positions in regard to publication of their dances in *Dommett's Morris Notes* by Antony Barrand (1986) and rejecting his justification which had appeared in the *American Morris Newsletter* (v.20(1)). Similar letters appear on the same page from Campden Morris Dancers and Colne Royal Morris Men[53].

In the interview concerning Kirtlington Morris (Berry. Int:001 - C/S:4), Len Berry pointed out that the Kirtlington men would never perform other than their own dances when in kit, nor take part in 'mass morris' displays. They too were defending their own tradition. In C/S:3, on The Hunting of the Earl of Rone, it was noted that the governing Council rejected the idea of allowing their tune into print and, in a further example, when the council was given the opportunity of having a particular song associated with the custom hand drawn into a broadside form for printing, this too was rejected. One of the joint chairmen of the Council said, 'We don't want to hear it sung all round the folk scene by people who don't understand what it's about' (Pat Hartley, at an EoR Council meeting). The copying of the Shropshire Bedlams' style and even their dances by other teams is a source of annoyance to the creator of the style who would rather people exercised their own creativity (Int:014). The leader of the Kirtlington team, whilst accepting that other teams do perform the dances collected by Sharp in Kirtlington, is highly critical of the way they are danced (Int:001). Mr. Hemmings Morris Dancers, the 'new' side formed by ex-members of Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers, discovered a previously unrecorded dance among the Hemmings family papers. Eager to share the joy of discovery and simultaneously wary of showing their 'new' dance to people who might (in their view illegitimately) appropriate it for themselves, they invited the Kirtlington men, during the progress of one Lamb Ale, to view a performance out of view 'behind the school' rather than in the gaze of the video recorders of the public or other morris dancers (Berry. Int:001).

There are many examples of defending the tradition. The teams which wrote to ED&S have already been cited, and to these more examples of a defensive attitude can be added. Harrop, again quoting Jack Tomes of the Chipping Campden mummers, wrote that:

> 'The pride taken by the family in the mumming tradition manifests itself in a degree
> of possessiveness made explicit on a number of occasions by Jack Tomes.
>> "I even caught one of them singing our song in a folk club. I says
>> what you doing singing that song. That's got nothing to do with you.
>> I says that belongs to the Campden mummers. Don't poach anything,
>> I says, that's wrong. You wouldn't go poaching the morris dancers'
>> songs. Foreigners to the place, see."
> Since Mr. Tomes feels so strongly about the songs which are connected in his mind
> with the play, it is not surprising to find that a recent attempt by another group to

perform the play itself made him irate.' (Harrop. 1980a. p.202)

All these examples are, notably, of tradition bearers defending what they see as their own unique traditions (in whole or in part) against copyists from *within* the Folk Revival (or, in the case of Kirtlington Morris, maintaining their uniqueness within the Folk Revival). They all exemplify a pride in the tradition, for without the pride there would be no motivation to defend the tradition, and there are other examples of pride quoted in the Case Studies - at Abingdon (ADMT), Bacup, Kirtlington and Whitstable.

The traditions are also defended, outside of the Folk Revival, by groups' retaining their independence even though they are culturally embedded. Chris Bartram, the Abingdon interviewee (Int:008) made a point of the Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancer's independence despite the close (though non-financial) links with the Town Council, and the Earl of Rone Council's reluctance to become involved with other village matters, such as the carnival or starting a youth club (C/S:3) are further examples. Dixie Lee, at Whitstable, was also determined to retain independence despite grant-in-aid from the local authority (Int:004).

There is also an element of 'defending the tradition' among those groups that take additional bookings, in the selection of which ones they will accept: the feeling, cited in the Bacup interview (Int:020) that over-exposure can devalue the tradition. This was also the feeling among the Symondsbury Mummers about what they viewed as 'over-performance' in the 1950s nearly 'killing it off' (T:001). It may be that Hartley, Royal Borough (C/S:12) and Kirtlington's (C/S:4) attitude to performing at fêtes is another example of defending the tradition against being devalued but, in each of these cases, more practical reasons were given by the interviewees - the problems of performing in that environment. Peter Westcott of Barnstaple Morris gave a similar view, and said:

> 'We've given up doing fêtes. They expect you to do it for nothing and the people
> aren't interested. You can't do it properly. We'd rather go and do our own thing.'
> (personal communication)

These attitudes appear to be concerned with how the group and its performance are valued at the event rather than with how the tradition itself is valued, and as the feeling is widespread among groups that could not be described as culturally embedded, it must be concluded that selection of bookings is, in this instance, purely pragmatic and not in defence of the tradition in the way discussed earlier.

The discussion about defending the tradition has been concerned with defence against agencies (the Folk Revival and potential hirers) who might be expected to be sympathetic. There is little evidence from this century, among the study groups, of a need for custodians of customs to defend them against unsympathetic elements - although a few exist from other groups. The words of the Padstow May Songs which accompany the night-singing and the perambulations of the 'Obby 'Osses on May 1st - *'Unite and Unite, and let us all unite... and whither we are going, we will all unite.'* - indicate the gathering of the participants into a single purpose group. The words have been extant for a long time, but the commentary to the film clips of Padstow's Old Oss, in the Channel 4 programmes *The Future of Things Past* (T:002), suggested that the maintenance of Mayday, for this community, is much more than just an annual bit of fun:

> 'Padstow is an embattled community. Loss of industry and an invasion of summer-home buyers threatens their stability. The Obby Oss has become the assertive spirit of communal power. Powerful and unpredictable. With him, Padstow celebrates itself.' (T:002)

Defensiveness via the tradition is further reinforced, and forcibly echoed, in the introductory text of a 'souvenir programme' :

> 'The aim of the O.B. Old 'Obby 'Oss Party
> is to keep and uphold all the best traditions
> of May Day and the 'Obby 'Oss for the people
> of Padstow

> The bones of every Padstow Boy are fired by the Hobbyhorse. As soon as a child is able to lisp its parent's name it will chant the glorious strains of our ancient Festival Song; and will usher in May's first merry morn, with 'The summer, and the Summer, and the May, O!' And shall we allow aliens and strangers to usurp our pleasures, and rob us of our birth right, that we have inherited from Mother to Daughter, from Father to Son?

> No we will not!'

The paragraph commencing 'The bones' was reintroduced in 1994, and had originally appeared in the mid-19th Century. There may appear to be conflict between the sentiments of the two paragraphs when it is realised that nowadays a decreasing number of the 'people of Padstow' are Padstow born and bred. However, in the etic view, *only* such individuals *are* 'the people of Padstow' and thus there is no conflict in the text and, indeed, the people for whom the custom is maintained are defined by it. Certainly the May Song, the tune and the 'Oss are regarded as being 'owned' by the 'Obby 'Oss

parties.

This, in the view of those who maintain the custom, is self-assertion of the community, and among embedded customs the identification of the custom with the community is not uncommon. For example, again in *The Future of Things Past*, a Padstow man says:

> 'People travel miles to come home to Mayday. The 'Oss is Padstow. It still means the same as what it did a thousand years ago. This is our day. It means the world to us. If it don't go on, we'll all suffer for it.' (T:002)

and one of the Boggins at the Haxey Hood game says:

> 'It's Haxey. It's part of us. It's a tradition that we've got to protect 'cause there aren't that many of them about. Even when I was at school, the Masters didn't want it to go on.' (T:002)

In the case studies, Prof. Applebee of Shrewton said of the mumming play, 'It's Shrewton', and Dixie Lee similarly opines of the Jack-in-the-Green custom 'It is Whitstable'. Such identification of community with custom is not universal however. In C/S:9, the interviewee from Abingdon (ATMD) made it clear that Mayor's Day was not maintained *for* Abingdon but by the morris men for themselves, and the Case Studies on Kirtlington Lamb Ale and Whitstable Jack-in-the-Green highlighted the fact that there are different constituencies, and different agendas, among those who take part in the overall custom. The Hunting of the Earl of Rone study similarly identified different concepts of what the custom was about to different individuals.

At Hallerton (Leicestershire) the metafolklore around the Hare Pie Scramble and Bottle Kicking[54] contains a historical anecdote that dates from the 18th century:

> 'There has been a great deal of opposition to this event over the centuries... In 1770 the local parson thought the tradition so heathen and violent that he tried to stop it. But he woke up in the morning to find daubed all over the walls of his rectory, "NO PIE - NO PARSON" - and a job for the glazier.' (T:002)

Antagonistic or antipathetic external sources can actually reinvigorate customary traditions and consolidate community opinion in favour of the custom, even if only for a limited period. Evidence has already been quoted in Ch.5 in respect of the Marsden Rushcart which, like the Padstow 'Oss had become a tool of assertiveness, and another protest is recorded from earlier this century, this time from Bradford:

'Official regulations concerning school holidays were also a source of conflict between education authorities and the working-class community, which occasionally exploded into strike action. For state schools sought to impose increasingly standardized and uniform school holiday periods throughout Britain, thereby reducing and regulating traditional festivals such as wakes, fairs and revels, which until the mid-nineteenth century were celebrated by different localities at different times of the year...

'These customary festivals not only posed a threat to the efficient functioning of local schools and industry; more seriously, the drinking, dancing and uncontrolled contact between the sexes that characterized them were widely viewed by the authorities as a corrupting influence on the children and young people who participated.[55] However, although these leisure traditions gradually became more restricted and more rigidly controlled, some working-class communities struggled to maintain local customs and traditional entertainments. For example, the attempt of the Bradford Education Authority to regulate local feasts in the area in the early part of the century met with resistance in the form of a school strike in the village of Idle, where pupils and parents wished to preserve the time-honoured Idle Feast. It was reported in *Education* in September 1912 that:

> 'Some time ago the Bradford Education Committee decided to discontinue the practice of closing schools in the Idle and Thackley districts for two days at Idle Feast which commenced yesterday. This was much resented by the children who organized a strike. On Monday morning more than three-quarters of the scholars were absent from school, and those on strike, many of whom were supported by their parents, joyously paraded the district. When those who had gone to school came out for the play interval the strikers assembled outside and tried to persuade the blacklegs, as they were termed, to join them[56].'

(Humphries.1981)

With ownership comes not only pride but also responsibility - not least the responsibility of maintaining the important continuity links with the past.

Aesthetics and Srandards

The question of aesthetics arises in several of the case studies, e.g. Shropshire Bedlams, Abingdon, the Kentish Complex, and aesthetics are also identified in the next chapter as one of a number of factors which can precipitate changes in group practice. Insofar as aesthetic considerations affect the operation of a group, the subject is discussed, but evidence is minimal. Closely related to aesthetics is the issue of standards in performance. From the IQ responses it is evident that standards are important to some groups but not to the majority. In the case study of Royal Lancashire Morris Dancers it is questionable whether the original leader left the group, and others he had previously danced with or founded, because of views about standards or because of personality conflicts (the two are not mutually exclusive, of course). There is insufficient general evidence from the present

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research, primarily because these issues were not a focus of the study, to discuss the issues of aesthetics and standards further, but both remain areas where further research could illuminate consideration of group dynamics and motivation.

Back-reference

Whilst traditions do change and develop, those with a history and significant metafolklore will often, as exemplified in some of the case studies, incorporate among those changes a back-reference to an earlier period of the tradition. The Nutters, at Bacup, made a point of re-introducing the two dances which they were in danger of losing. A new dance at Abingdon was written in honour of (and as a memorial to) one of the custodians of the tradition (Jack Hyde) who had died and another was restored to the repertoire having been discovered as crayoned notes amongst family papers (having been shown in private to the Kirtlington men, as reported above). The Hemmings team started dancing more slowly in what they viewed as an earlier style of the dancing. Kirtlington Morris restored earlier elements to the Lamb Ale (along with new elements).

The mask of the Old 'Oss in Padstow has changed and developed over the years, but when a new mask was made in the mid-1990s it was deliberately made to look exactly like the mask of 100 years previously - as can be verified from photographs (personal observation confirmed in discussion with tradition bearers).

Among revivals which follow a lapsed period there is always an initial back-reference to the earlier record. In all the case studies (with the exception of Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers and Bacup Coconut Dancers where the creation of the group predates the memory of the interviewees) the source of material for the revival is immediately apparent: at Kirtlington it is the dances of the old tradition reconstructed by Paul Davenport, at Whitstable it is the memory, photo-record, etc. of the old custom, and in The Hunting of the Earl of Rone it is the textual descriptions of the old custom. The Whitstable Jack and The Hunting of the Earl of Rone, at the time of their recreation, both stuck as closely as they could to the historical record. The Bury Pace-eggers and Coventry Mummers (with the 'local' plays) use historically accurate texts for the locality and at Shrewton, the mummers used a text collected at a certain point in time (although there is an earlier text - see C/S:11 for discussion). The Royal Lancashire Morris Dancers (C/S:7) were created to perform dances that had been collected by the founder, Richard Boswell.

Even with completely new creations there is a desire to link to the past. Saddleworth Morris Men made a point in interview of saying that their new and unique dances included some old local figures:

> 'Movements had been collected from the sides that were in [the] Saddleworth [area] - Delph, Greenfield - and the rest of them have just been cobbled together. The one you just saw - the show dance - The Diggle - that's Erith, our own tradition.' (Int:016)

and their costumes are copied from 17th Century pictures of local dancers:

> '1670! There was a [painted] wood carving in the vicarage. It just depicted a morris man in the foreground in the red, white and blue striped waistcoat and the red and blue sashes. We defined the red, white and blue as red, white and blue *ribbon* sewn onto the ordinary waistcoat. We had it sewn into our waistcoats as the warp - we had it woven in.
>
> 'Same with the hats. We had this peak on top of the bowler - that signified the rushcart. It was all part of this picture. We've since learned of the possibility that this man [in the picture] came from Oldham. It was a bit of a shock really.' (Int:016)

The Saddleworth Morris Men are inseparable from their Rushcart - neither would exist without the other, according to the interviewees (Int:016) - and this too is copied from the historical record:

> 'We were lucky enough to get the memories of some of the very old people in Saddleworth before they popped their clogs, but they were memories of children, unfortunately. It's all you're stuck with. Sailor Tweedle was an old man when he's in the photographs in the 1907 rushcart, and Sailor Tweedle built 'em for donkey's years. We know the names of these people, but the older people that we interviewed were in their eighties - they were kids in 1919 when the last one was done. We're getting there. Every year we change it and do something else, but we've not quite got it right. If you look at the late 19th Century rushcarts and the shape of it, we're not quite there. We don't know why. We don't know what we're doing wrong.' (Int:016)

When creating a new dance form for Shropshire Bedlams, John Kirkpatrick's 'qualms of conscience decreed that... a little more attention might be payed to local information' (Kirkpatrick. 1979) on dance styles.

It is obvious that the whole of the Folk Revival itself was created by reference to previous, collected traditions but among both old and newer groups the continuing changes still include back-reference. Whether this is a natural tendency is impossible to say. The evidence from the 19th Century suggests that what we now view as old folk traditions were, then, contemporary popular entertainment associated with local annual celebrations (and often a source of pocket money for the performers)

although the Marsden rushcart revival - a tool of protest - made back reference to 'AS IN DAYS OF YORE' (see Ch.5) and Etherington (1993) has suggested that Establishment antagonism has at various times strengthened the Lewes Bonfire Night activities and that the tradition-bearers have called upon their history to justify their continuity. As the historian E.P.Thompson noted, of customs generally:

> '... the plebian culture is rebellious, but rebellious in defence of custom. The customs defended are the people's own, and some of them are in fact based upon rather recent assertions in practice. But when the people search for legitimisations for protest, they often turn back to the paternalistic regulations of a more authoritarian society, and select from among those parts most calculated to defend their present interest.' (Thompson.1991 p.9-10)

There are many examples of a tradition *becoming used* for political purposes: *becoming* a function of community identity or *becoming* a weapon in a confrontation between the culture of the tradition-bearers and another culture. Although such uses for customary tradition appear to be more common before WW1 than after they are by no means altogether absent in more recent years. It is not the purpose of this study to examine why this might be the case, although further research in this area could shed additional light on the survival and demise of several groups - if not on Types, but one or two tentative suggestions may be made. Where class conflict has arisen during the later 20th Century, there has been a different vocabulary of performance - different mechanisms - available to use in protest or resistance, and customs such as those studied here have become a less crucial tool for whole communities. It can also be argued that the profound effect of both Survivalist theory and the Folk Revival itself upon the tradition-bearers has actually changed their attitude to the traditions they maintain, giving 'added value' and strengthening views about historical relevance. The modern importance of perceived history is again apparent in other quotations from *The Future of Things Past*: the then custodian of the Minehead Sailor's Horse (Somerset) is heard to say:

> 'You never get a new Hobby Horse. That would really lose its tradition. There might be one piece of that frame that could be hundreds of years old.' (T:002)

and a Carhampton Wassailer[57] (Somerset) opines, of his custom, that:

> 'It's a feeling that our fathers and grandfather and great grandfathers did this. They started this off and it's up to us to maintain it. This is something you're actually taking part in - not just watching. We are maintaining something: keeping the tradition going. Clinging to the past if you like, but also we're looking to the future, because it's continuity, [and] security, in an ever-changing world.' (T:002)

These aspects discussed above - defending the tradition, pride in ownership, valuing the tradition and

development while continuing links with the past (back-reference) - are aspects of groups which conceive of their activity as part of the culture of the wider community. Many of the Case Study groups were chosen because they are, or at least show elements of being, culturally embedded. This is because a primary stated objective of the study (see Ch.1) is to seek evidence as to why long-lived traditions have, apparently, been able to survive changes over a protracted period of time. The research has also revealed a great many groups among the study sample which are not in this position: which belong to another model as described in Ch.10. These, and their purposes, are considered in due course and there are other common themes to emerge from the case studies which deserve comment.

<u>The need to do it</u>

Feelings about continuity and history, such as those quoted and discussed above, can lead to a *need* for the tradition-bearers to carry out their annual rituals. In the Case Studies this is most evident in C/S:11, in Shrewton, where Prof. Applebee says:

> "It's got to go out... It's got to be done.' (Applebee. Int:015)

Dixie Lee, at Whitstable (C/S:1), indicated necessity when she commented that:

> 'I was enthusiastic about this when I was young. Some years it's a real chore and other years I really enjoy it.' (Lee. Int:001)

Some of the quotes from *The Future of Things Past* (above) lay weight on the responsibility felt by the tradition-bearers, and the feeling of necessity is also evident in some of the IQ returns for this study where, in response to Q16 on motivation, comments were made such as:

> '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)

In the Bury Pace-eggers (C/S:10), although Alan Seymour felt that doing it 'just becomes habit', he also commented that:

> 'The thing with Pace-egging and Easter is that they slot together. I can't imagine

doing a mumming play at any other time that Easter... It's knitted in with nature. Before we start Pace-egging, there's no blossom on the trees or daffodils in the garden, and within that week or two of me sort of planning it, doing it and sorting the whole thing out, the world's changed and you do feel part of it. You can see that that is the real new year. ' (Seymour. Int:018).

These traditions are maintained because there are people for whom it is important that they are maintained: because they've 'always' been done (even if they are recent revivals), because they *have* to be done, because they *belong* in that location, because it's unthinkable that they should not be done.

You never leave the team

Another recurrent theme in the Case Studies concerns membership of the team or, more precisely, that it is possible to stay a member of the group even after having moved away from the area. With calendar customs the situation is particular as there is only a single annual performance and many people return as part of the custom each year, as noted of The Hunting of the Earl of Rone, Whitstable Mayday and of Padstow Mayday (see quote above), but membership goes beyond merely attending. My wife and I were founders of the reconstruction of The Hunting of the Earl of Rone and when the Council was formed were members of it. When we moved from North Devon to Exeter, some 50 miles, we resigned from The Earl of Rone Council but the resignation was rejected. When we moved from Exeter to London we again insisted that we should resign. On this occasion there was no response from the Council and 16 years later we find we are still regarded as members of the Council and our opinions quoted (often inaccurately) at its meetings. The first page of the Earl of Rone register was quoted (C/S:3) as bearing the legend:

'Any person who has signed this register, thereby holds the right to participate in the Hunting of the Earl of Rone ceremony in any subsequent year, and no other invitation should be expected.'

Trevor Stone (Int:003) moved away from his local area and left his team, Spen Valley Longsword. He even received a leaving present but, unable to find another side with which he felt comfortable, returned to the team and continued without commentary although he did, eventually, have to return the leaving present when the team wanted to present it as a gift to a team visiting from abroad. The Hartley Morris Men (C/S:12) have one member who now lives in the U.S.A and one member of the Saddleworth Morris Men lives in Aberdeen (Int:016) but each are still regarded as full members of the team. In C/S:10 it was noted that one member of the Bury Pace-eggers lives some distance away but always comes back to perform over their short Easter season. Many teams have a few individuals

who continue as members and travel to rehearse and perform even though they are no longer living in the vicinity.

Relationships between dance teams and annual customs

As demonstrated in examples such as Kirtlington Lamb Ale, Whitstable Mayday or The Election of the Mayor of Ock Street, calendar customs which touch a whole community may be created and/or driven primarily by a morris team. Several examples of this were apparent in the IQ responses to the question about repertoire (Q2), and further examples such as the Saddleworth Rushcart may be cited, but in many other examples institutionally organised customs regularly involve and include morris teams as an integral part of the event. Within the Case Studies, the Shropshire Bedlams' annual performance at the tree dressing is an example, as is the Royal Lancashire Morris Dancers' attendance at Field Days. In these examples, whether organised by or only supported by the group, the custom is distinct from the life of the performance group otherwise. This is also true where the custom is itself a group's special annual performance, such as Easter Saturday in Bacup when the 'Nutters' come out or the annual season of performance by many mumming groups (e.g. Shrewton, Symondsbury, Bury Pace-eggers, etc.). Among long-season groups, these are the 'special' days which were discussed in Part III.

It is possible to distinguish between short-season calendar customs, which are part of a local community's annual cycle, and those events which engage morris teams but are 'tourism' or 'economic development' led; the Rochester Mayday 'Sweeps' festival is an obvious example of the latter, as is the similar event in Hastings - although the local team who maintain the Jack in the Green in Hastings might argue that they are the central focus and the ones who organise. Evidently there may be a difference in perception depending on which part of the overall organising grouping is expressing an opinion. This has already been noted in complex customs such as Whitstable Mayday and Kirtlington Lamb Ale where each organisation involved has, as Dixie Lee put it, 'its own agenda'. However, if the effect of the custom overall on the community at large is considered, it is necessary to return to Stone's test of custom within a community that led to the concept of 'culturally embedded' tradition.

Amongst those interviewed there is also a distinction made along these lines and, when it is not the team's own event, this distinction is dependant not on whether a fee is involved but on whether they see their involvement as part of a community's own celebration or as just another paid booking. (Hartley, Royal Borough, ATMD, Bedlams at tree custom) It is as though the sense of tradition and

continuity held within the team is applied to the events at which they perform and that this engenders the way the team feels about each of those events. Notwithstanding, it is necessary to distinguish between annual customs managed by a group and annual customs only attended (paid or unpaid) by a group simply because the decision-making is very different. There is no question whether ADMT will have their Mayor's Day, whether the Nutters will conduct their annual Easter tour, nor whether Kirtlington Morris will have their Lamb Ale. These are all given: there will be discussion as to *how* the custom will be organised, but not *whether*. In this respect they are like The Hunting of the Earl of Rone or Whitstable Mayday or any other managing group concerned only with their annual custom. However, ADMT, the Nutters and Kirtlington Morris will each discuss attendance at any other (paid or unpaid) events - just as RLMD will discuss which Field Days to attend.

From revival to community

It is interesting to note that, of the many groups which came into being during the explosion of Folk Revival activity from the 1960s and '70s onwards, several groups have sought to consolidate their activities within the local communities from which their members come, rather than existing only within the Folk Revival. Among the Case Study groups, the Bury Pace-eggers, the Hunting of the Earl of Rone and Whitstable Jack have all been shown to have started (see Table 4.3) by drawing members from other existing Folk Revival organisations, but they are all now culturally embedded in their local communities. For some reason these activities have gained the approbation of local people who have developed a feeling of ownership - even if they are not themselves participants. It is not known how many of the surveyed groups this scenario might pertain to, and further research would be necessary among non-participants to establish why it has happened. What can be noted of these three groups is that they are all of the 'Short-season Group' model described in Ch.10.

However, it is not only activities emanating from the Folk Revival that have joined extant customs to become culturally embedded: entirely new customs, created by community arts practitioners or other activists, have occasionally caught the imagination of a local community and become culturally embedded. These, and the questions raised by comparing historically based traditions with new customs are discussed in the next chapter.

Formality of organisation

Throughout the Case Studies, it is apparent that the organisation of these groups' activities is

exceedingly informal. Even where a constitution exists, as for the Earl of Rone Council or the Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers, it is never in the forefront of the organisation's mind: it remains a background reference document. Where officers exist, it is simply a matter of happening to have a title - what is more important is that sufficient work gets done for the activity to take place without problems. When perceived problems do arise, they may be discussed, but are often not resolved except by individuals' personal actions when the need actually arises. The groups do not follow procedures: they pragmatically adapt as need arises.

The lack of antagonism or confrontation between groups and any other organisation during the latter half of the 20th Century means that their responses to such a situation remain untested: the traditions, as they presently stand, have not needed to become tools for any purpose other than their own continued existence. It is not the purpose of this study to speculate on how groups might respond if threatened in the same way as some of their 19th Century predecessors were, but the pragmatic approach to management exhibited throughout the Case Studies could prove to be either an advantage or a disadvantage.

Group models and the Case Study groups

Some of the Case Study and other interviewed groups can immediately be seen to conform to one or other of the models described in Ch.10. The Bury Pace-eggers and Shrewton Mummers are of the small 'Short-season Group' model, and The Whitstable Jack and Hunting of the Earl of Rone of the larger 'Short-season Group' model. This leads to a further distinction that can be made about the 'Short-season Group' model: the organisation (as well as the performance) only actively exists for a short period. It is effectively dormant for the remainder of the year although it can be 're-convened' if occasional out-of-season bookings are to be considered. Hartley and Royal Borough Morris are 'Classic Ceremonial' groups. The Coventry Mummers (who were observed to operate in two different performance arenas: as a year-round repertoire group and as a short-season local play group), are also of the 'Classic Group' model, as are the Shropshire Bedlams - although the original personnel did not come from the Folk Revival.

The Royal Lancashire Morris Dancers (RLMD) do not conform to any of the described models. Although RLMD may share some characteristics with the 'Classic Ceremonial' model, it tends not to join the socialising aspect with other groups and has actually moved away from them, concentrating activity more on performing at culturally embedded Field Days, etc. Taking a longer perspective over

time, this can be viewed as a transition from revival to community such as that described above.

The Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers (ATMD), the Britannia Coconut Dancers and Kirtlington Morris all present a different scenario. Each maintains a calender custom (by definition a short-season event) which is of great significance and importance to the group, but take selected bookings during the rest of the year. Kirtlington Morris, with the presence of new members who 'knew a bit more about folk' (Berry. Int:001) - i.e. the Folk Revival - appear to be moving in the opposite direction to RLMD and becoming more like a 'Classic Ceremonial' group.

For both ATMD and the Nutters, activities during the year are carefully chosen and support local activity but, primarily, support their calender custom - Mayor's Day and the Easter Saturday tour respectively. Year-round activity by the Saddleworth Morris Men has the same function in respect of their annual Ruchcart. All three conform to the 'Short-season Group' model except that rehearsal, occasional bookings and organisation happen throughout the year rather than organisation being 're-convened' for occasional bookings.

The two remaining groups interviewed (and reported in Ch.10 rather than as individual Case Studies) fit other models. Deva Folk Ensemble are an 'Exhibitors of Culture' group and the Appalachian dance group, now titled the 'Ryburn 3-step Dancers'[58] and having danced out several times since the original interview (Sue Coe - personal communication), are 'Exhibitors of Type'.

The Case Studies and other interviews quoted give insight into groups belonging to the four models described in Ch.10, but they also demonstrate how some groups can be in transition between models, and how others which do not fully conform to one of the models can, nevertheless, be seen as variants of them. It is now necessary to try and draw all the strands of information from questionnaires and interviews together in order to reach conclusions.

ENDNOTES - PART IV

1. The exceptions to this approach are: 1) C/S:2 (Britannia Coconut Dancers) where it was not possible to tape the interview as it was conducted with four interviewees. The Case Study was written up from notes made the morning following the interview but, as with all the Case Studies, the interviewees were invited to comment on and correct drafts of the Case Study text; and, 2) C/S:3 (The Hunting of the Earl of Rone) where the information derives from the writer's own experience, and notes and conversations with several participants. The text of this Case Study was also scrutinised by the joint Chairmen of the governing council of the custom.

2. The Hooden Horse is a midwinter 'animal' peculiar to Kent and is much given to disruptive behaviour and crowd amusement. The bearer carries a wooden approximation of a horse's head which is mounted on a pole (hence the term 'Pole Horse' to describe the type). The 'jaws' of the head can be opened and closed by the bearer using a string, and the beast may be further decorated with ribbons and horse-brasses. The Hartley Morris Men (IQ:163) and see C/S:12) have a Hooden Horse as their morris beast and he also appears as a logo for the annual Broadstairs Folk Week each August. The Hooden Horse was traditionally associated with midwinter perambulations when, together with a musician and other characters, he would tour the district, but the custom had largely died out by WW1. In recent years some new Hooden Horse gangs have appeared (e.g. Tonbridge Mummers and Hoodeners - IQ:003, Dead Horse Hooeners - IQ:035). For more detailed descriptions of Hoodening, see Doel.1992 which includes reprinted extracts from Maylam's *The Hooden Horse* (1909), a definitive work of its time. For geographical distribution of the Hooden Horse custom earlier this century, see Cawte.1978.

3. The tune is a close variant of a traditional tune most commonly known as bearing the carol *The Seven Joys of Mary*. The tune is widespread in the English tradition and is used for a number of different songs (e.g. the Cornish *Old Grey Duck* and the Devonshire *John Wesley*). The words of *The Whitstable May Song* (as it is now called) were assembled specifically for the custom, from the texts of various (fairly standard) May Songs which have been collected around England. They were compiled by Cathy LeSurf and John Jones - two individuals who were involved in the early years of the revival of the Jack.

4. The 'Castle' was originally built as a private house but became the offices of the District Council in the 1930s.

> 'What happened was - it used to be Council Chambers and then when all the council boundaries were moved, Whitstable Urban District Council then became part of Canterbury City Council. So the Urban District Council moved out of the Castle and the Castle was then vacant and the [City] Council didn't know what to do with it. So a steering group was set up to work out what to do with it and to turn it into a community centre.' (Lee. Int:004)

It is now run by The Castle Centre Association, a registered charity.

5. *Fiddler's Dram*, who would later reach the 'hit parade' with the locally written song *Day Trip to Bangor*, were all regular performers at The Duke Folk Club. Several members of the band went on to form the basis of *The Oyster Company Ceilidh Band* to play for dances in Canterbury organised by The Duke Folk Club. Subsequently the band became *The Oyster Ceilidh Band* and, with further changes in membership, eventually *The Oyster Band*. (Lee. Int:004).

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6. The one occasion, since the inception of Mayday Bank Holiday in 1978, when the Bank Holiday did not fall on the first Monday of May was in 1995. That year the government declared Monday 8th May as the Bank Holiday. This was ostensibly in order to celebrate the 50th anniversary of V.E. (Victory in Europe) Day although at the time there were suggestions that the Conservative government was moving to replace the Mayday Bank Holiday altogether because of 'Mayday' association with Labour Day - particularly as it had been celebrated in Communist Eastern Europe and copied by the Labour Movement in Britain and other Western countries. Mayday (1st May) had long been a significant day for customary traditions before ever it was 'acquired' by the Labour movement. There was correspondence relevant to this matter in *The Independent* newspaper from Michael Foot (9/4/93 p.21 col.5-6) and the then President of the Folklore Society, Jacqueline Simpson (6/4/93 p.17 col.4).

7. When Oyster Morris first started, as a women's team, it was taught dances by John Jones who had danced with Great Western Morris (Exeter) before moving to Kent.

8. There were, in any case, particular problems with the use of the brass band in the procession. The melodeons, which are the primary melody instruments amongst the folk musicians, are limited to the diatonic scales of G and D major whilst the local amateur brass band, en masse, tended to have difficulties if they ventured beyond B or E flat major. Thus it was almost impossible for the two sets of musicians to play simultaneously, although some individual brass players have subsequently learnt the tune in its 'proper' key.

9. 'Tatters' refers to a jacket or coat which has strips of coloured paper or cloth attached all over it. Tatter jackets were not uncommon amongst Christmas mumming gangs and in recent years are frequently worn by Border morris teams. The Shropshire Bedlams (C/S:8) may have first stimulated a renaissance in the fashion. Some sword teams also wear tatters although they can make dancing difficult. Len Berry, the President and formerly the Fool of Kirtlington Morris (C/S:4), also wears tatters and they are quite common amongst Cotswold morris Fools as an alternative to the ubiquitous smock.

10. Large numbers of workers and their families from the East End of London used to take their annual holiday to go hop-picking in Kent. This tradition died out when the need for seasonal labour was extinguished by the introduction of machinery that would harvest the hops. Subsequently the tourism industry has used the nostalgic appeal of the old tradition to promote a Hopping Festival that never, in fact, existed. Like many new tourism-driven events, any 'Olde Worlde' association - such as morris dancers, pearly Kings and Queens, folk-singers, etc. - can be pressed into service to enhance the event. Such events offer a significant number of opportunities for purveyors of vernacular arts which are not culturally embedded and, as noted above in the Whitstable Jack's visit to the South Bank Arts Centre, occasionally for those that are.

11. The 'Stable' of the Hobby Horse and its party of followers is a bar in The Top George public house which is used as the home of the custom throughout the weekend.

12. For fuller descriptions of the action elements, costume etc. of the custom see Brown.1987.

13. This information has been given in conversations with several villagers. The prime mover in these attempted revivals appears to have been the School, with the intention of reviving the ceremony as a children's activity.

14. Following the reconstruction of The Hunting of the Earl of Rone, the NDFT went on to make the first attempts in North Devon to establish a morris team, although this was not successful due to the lack of a teacher. Interest was consequently raised by the time a teacher did move into the district and the Barnstaple Morris Men were formed. The NDFT also introduced a touring Christmas mumming side in the winter of 1970/71. The mumming team still performs annually although the NDFT itself ceased to function in 1972.

15. There is no Secondary school in the village, the children having to travel to the town of Ilfracombe (5 miles).

16. The 1979 badges had no year on them and were on white paper. Otherwise they are indistinguishable from the dateless badges produced for sale to spectators.

17. There were actually two brothers and their wives who were joint landlords when the custom returned to the village. They offered the pub as the Stable and were supportive of the custom throughout its re-establishment. They agreed between them that one couple would be primarily involved in the custom while the other couple primarily looked after the pub over the festive period.

18. In general terms, this involved the people from 'away' regarding themselves as visitors and guests of the custom, and those from the village arguing that people from away were as much a part of the custom as themselves.

19. Village annual 'Revels' historically occurred throughout Devon, and the term is still frequently applied to annual (usually church organised) fêtes. Combe Martin had both a Spring Revels which coincided with The Hunting of the Earl of Rone and outlived the banning of the custom, and an Autumn Revels. The Carnival Committee's Revels consisted of races, games and stalls and was instigated as a tourist attraction to occupy visitors during a period in the weekend when the custom was not in performance.

20. The name *The Shammickite* derives from the local occasional name for Combe Martin - Shammick. There are a variety of theories for the origin of the name, and a variety of spellings - which indicates the passage of the name orally rather than by writing. None of the origin theories is conclusive. The spelling of Shammick has tended to standardise since the production of the magazine.

21. See Boyes 1993a. for a suggested origin of this attitude. It had developed or, more accurately, had become entrenched, since the 1930s.

22. Ceilidh: the origin of the word is Gaelic - 'Ceili' in the Irish and 'Ceilidh' in the Scottish. Translated, the word means 'house party', but in modern usage, particularly in England, it has been applied to events encompassing social folk dance and folk song, often with demonstrations of ceremonial dance.

23. There is some debate as to whether Kirtlington or Kidlington is the real subject of the record. See Chandler.1993b.

24. 'The clearest reference was in 1732, 'cause the village was then owned by... Sir George Dashwood, and in the book on Sir George Dashwood, there's one of his household accounts where, at the time of Lamb Ale, the Feast, he paid five shillings to Krtling [sic] Morris.' (Berry. Int:001) Quote from article in local paper: 'Lord of the Manor annually gave £2 12s in lieu of the land but that dropped when the Lamb Ale was discontinued.'

25.   Mr. Hemmings' Morris Dancers are a team of morris men created by disillusioned former members of the Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers - see C/S:10.

26.   Len made wooden toys for several years until he started to get health problems as a result of the sawdust. Barbara is a highly skilled clothing and soft furnishings designer and maker.

27.   Ron Shuttleworth has also identified the following as belonging to this group: Bradshaw Mummers (Halifax - IQ:033), Knaresborough Mummers, Armitage Mummers (Lichfield), Ragged Heroes (Chippenham), Merrie England Mummers (Sussex - IQ:258). (Shuttleworth. Int:007). No other repertory groups were found amongst responses to the questionnaires.

28.   Ward's survey list was: Antrobus (Cheshire), Bampton (Oxon.), Brighouse (Yorks.), Bury (Lancs.), Coventry (Warwicks.), Midgeley (Cheshire) and Ripon (Yorks.)

29.   'The texts of our "normal set" of plays are all collations from traditional sources.' (Shuttleworth. undated p.3) i.e. the 'commercial' plays are constructed each from a variety of sources in consideration of the performance situation rather than with adherence to any local historical play tradition.

30.   Originally estimated at 6 months, subsequently corrected to about 18 months and with the additional information that the Darlington Mummers had been formed by Tony Foxworthy, an EFDSS employee.

31.   '...head has got to come off.' At a certain point in some sword dances, the dancers form the 'lock' of swords around the head of one of the extra characters who has moved into the centre of the figure. The swords may then be 'drawn', breaking the lock, and the central character collapses (dies). This is the trigger for the introduction of the play text when a 'Doctor' is called for.

32.   There are a number of plays extant among current performing groups which bear little or no relation to the turn of the century 'traditional' text forms. In addition to the Bradshaw plays, Knaresborough also has an in-house writer (Int:007), the Kesteven Morris performs 'St. George and Andy Pandy' (Osbourne.1989) and Peter Stark, when Director of the South Hill Park Arts Centre, wrote a 'mumming play' on the occasion of the opening of a new bar (Stark - personal communication). Respondents differ as to whether these should be regarded as genuine 'mumming' plays, but opinion appears to be linked to whether the commentator views mumming in general from a survivalist perspective or as a form of contemporary theatre. Ron Shuttleworth regards such plays, of which he has collected in excess of 120, as mumming plays on the grounds of plot:

> 'Basically - a death and a Doctor, a death and a cure. They've taken the basic plot, if you like, and set it up in a different situation. These created plays interest me, and I collect them where I can, not only because I find them amusing but also because nobody else, as far as I know, is bothering... If the people who do it think it's mumming and it has a basic feel, here and there, in it. It's down to feel... There are very basic differences between mumming and theatre.' (Shuttelworth. Int:007)

On reading a draft of this case study, Ron offered the following:

> 'This standard 'block' from my word-processor may be pertinent - "It might be useful if I set out my parameters. Most of the great collectors have been folk-lore orientated people who were specially interested in the Play. I, however, am first-and-last a *Mummer* and so collect material wherever it can be found -

Theatre/Drama/English Studies etc etc - without regard to how 'traditional' it is. I therefore cast a wide net and rarely exercise value-judgement. To a folklorist, some of my material may seem trivial or irrelevant (but I don't really care)." ' (Shuttleworth.1997)

33.   R.A.D.A. is The Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts, a training college and diploma-awarding institution for drama students.

34.   For a more detailed description and analysis of mumming style, and a comparison to 'legitimate drama' style, see Brown.1991.

35.   Sidmouth International Folklore Festival (Devon) and Whitby Folk Festival (Yorkshire) are the two largest week-long 'Folk Festivals' in the annual calendar in England. Both are in coastal holiday towns and are held in August, usually two weeks apart. It has been an aspiration of many revival dance sides to be invited to perform at them.

36.   John O' Gaunt have always danced both Cotswold and Northwest morris. They have two Foremen, one for each type.

37.   The repertoire developed by Martha Roden's Tuppeny Dish did not draw on the records of Border Morris in the way that Bedlams did but on a series of suggestions made by another morris activist:

> 'There are some things that Martha Roden's do where some of the dances that Roy Dommett was saying, "Well, this would be suitable for women to do 'cause the men don't do it", Ilmington [Cotswold] dances and just odd things from here and there that weren't being explored by men in any way. And so he very wisely took these neglected dances and said, "Well, see what you can make of that." So some of what Martha Roden's do was in the wake of that sort of urge. So they do a few dances that aren't anything based on Border Morris at all. But then, some of them are versions of Border Morris where instead of the stick tapping they do various steps instead, they don't use sticks.' (Kirkpatrick. Int:014)

38.   The four are: Abingdon (Berkshire), Bampton-in-the-Bush (Oxfordshire), Chipping Campden (Gloucestershire), and Headington Quarry (Oxfordshire). Detailed chronologies of the performance histories of these sides can be found in Chandler (1993b).

39.   The Horns, a set of real bull's horns mounted on a wooden bull's head and carried on a pole, form part of the ATMD regalia. The black bull's head bears the date, painted in white, of 1700. Other items in the ATMD regalia are: a horn, collecting tin, mace and sword:

> 'The horn is actually a drinking horn presented to us a few years ago. The collecting tin is very old. The mace is actually a turned applewood cup. The sword is an 18th century French officer's sword, we are told.' (Bartram. Int:008)

40.   Interestingly, the ATMD itself used to wear sashes:

> 'The side used to wear just sashes back in the 1930s. Then, after the town provided the money, they adopted baldricks in 1953 - for the Coronation festivities - so the side actually started wearing baldricks.' (Bartram. Int:008)

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41.   In the 1960s, the songwriter Sydney Carter wrote a hymn called *Lord Of The Dance*, based on the words and concept of an early English carol (i.e. round dance) called *Tomorrow Shall Be My Dancing Day*. Carter set his hymn to an American Quaker hymn tune which carried the words to *The Gift To Be Simple*, the tune being known by that title. Following the popularity of Carter's hymn, the tune came to be known by his title rather than the American original, and was used by Irish American dancer Michael Flatley as the title tune for his new stage dance extravaganza after he had left the generic (primarily Irish) dance show, *Riverdance*, which he had originally conceived, choreographed and developed. Hemmings creation of their new dance, in honour and memory of Jack Hyde, predates Flatley's new show by approximately two decades.

42.   Prof. Applebee, without having seen the 1936 script, had assumed that this particular interaction sequence was 'missing' from the text inherited from White Horse Morris. He accepted, in the interview, that this was because he expected there to have been this sequence. He was already familiar with the play performed by the North Devon Mummers in which he played Father Christmas to my Doctor for two years before he left North Devon. It is a common enough sequence in such plays and Prof. was, ultimately, proved to have been right in his assumption as the Doctor/Father Christmas sequence did eventually turn up in the 1936 script.

43.   The valley is that of the River Darenth, in modern spelling.

44.   The EFDS (English Folk Dance Society) was formed in 1911. It amalgamated with the Folk Song Society in 1932 to become the EFDSS (English Folk Dance and Song Society)

45.   After reading the proof Case Study, Peter Collins pointed out that the Hartley Morris reformed in anticipation of the forthcoming coronation celebration for Elizabeth II.

46.   Chanctonbury Morris take their name from Chanctonbury Ring, a geographical feature of the Sussex landscape. They were not respondents to the present study. Chanctonbury Morris Men nowadays dance a summer season of Cotswold morris and a winter season of Northwest although they started as a Ring Cotswold side.

47.   A further reason for the demise of this play was the death of one of the key personnel. As Peter Collins explained, the play stopped being performed altogether:

> '...probably five years ago, when Charlie Jacobs, who was also one of the chaps who researched the stuff with Simon, who went with Simon and interviewed the old folks, when they were both working for Radio Kent, BBC Radio Kent, he died four years ago, and before that had got to the point where he couldn't walk. And when you're doing a play which traditionally had been done by walking around the whole of the town, you're probably walking three or four miles, Charlie was finding it very difficult to do.' (Collins. Int:022)

48.   'C.S.H.' is the common reference used among people involved in the Folk Revival for Cecil Sharp House - the headquarters of the English Folk Dance and Song Society where many training sessions, workshops and courses were held.

49.   There is a strong singing tradition within Hartley Morris, with several of the men capable of leading a song, and they have even taken bookings as singers rather than as a morris side. In 1991 they privately recorded and produced a cassette tape of 17 folk songs - 'The Hartley Morris Singers' (Labyrinth 09912). The insert slip text included the explanation that:

'Initially seen as a way to help pay for a tour of Los Angeles, the idea of producing a tape which captured the atmosphere of a Hartley session has culminated in this modest selection from our repertoire...'

50.   Bishop Gundulf was the 11th Century Bishop of Rochester who caused the cathedral to be built there. This is another 'local reference' title for a morris side.

51.   Snatch-downs are a particular quick movement of the arms where the hands are snatched down from shoulder height to waist height with a lateral flick half way down. The movement is particularly noticeable when handkerchiefs are being used.

52   The occasion was the Silver Jubilee of Cecil Sharp House in London on 7/6/1980 when several traditional dancers, singers and musicians had been invited from around the country to perform.

53   The letters are essentially the same but have individual variations, each developing their reasons for objecting to the publication of their dances. They are printed without introduction or any editorial comment. The letters had been stimulated by a Chris Clarke writing to the teams suggesting that they should object and offering a format for doing so (Doc Rowe - personal communication). Mr. Clarke's motivation is unknown.

54   Hare Pie Scramble and Bottle Kicking, at Hallerton, takes place on Easter Monday each year. The distribution of pieces of Hare Pie by the vicar is nowadays somewhat less riotous than it used to be. After the distribution of Hare Pie, there is a procession to Hare Pie Bank - a field south of the village - where the primitive rugby game of Bottle Kicking commences. The game is best of three between the villagers of Hallerton and everybody else (who ostensibly represent the opposing village of Medbourne). There are three 'balls' in this game - three small barrels, two of which are filled with beer, and the third a dummy which is used if needed as a decider. The goals are parish streams about a mile apart and the object is to get the Bottle, by any means whatsoever, over the goal. There are no rules. There is no referee.

55   For a general historical analysis of attempts to eliminate rowdy and disruptive working-class leisure traditions and to replace them with rational and respectable recreation, see P. Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control 1830-1885* (London, 1978). (THIS END-NOTE APPEARS AS A FOOTNOTE IN THE ORIGINAL QUOTATION)

56   *Education*, 27 September 1912, p. 189; see also *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 9 September 1912, 23 September 1912, 24 September 1912, 29 September 1913. For examples of the arguments used to suppress Feast Tide holidays for the children in Idle, see *Bradford Elementary Education Sub Committee Meeting Minutes* (bradford Record Office), 11 February 1904, pp. 234, 235; 14 February 1911, p. 187; 11 February 1913, p. 165. (NB: THIS END-NOTE APPEARS AS A FOOTNOTE IN THE ORIGINAL QUOTATION)

57   In Carhampton, as formerly in many villages in Somerset (and other traditional cider-making areas), it is the apple trees that are Wassailed, ostensibly to ensure a good crop the following year. Wassailing takes different forms in other areas, e.g. the Bodmin (Cornwall) Wassailers who essentially follow a house-visiting route around the town. In Carhampton, toast soaked in hot spiced cider is placed in the branches of the oldest tree in the orchard, the traditional verses are sung and spoken, and 12-bore guns are fired up into the branches. The occasion may be embellished by the presence of a local morris side, but they are guests and not an

integral part of the ritual. It is generally held that the term Wassail derives from the Anglo-Saxon 'WAS (or WES) HÆL' - 'be of good health'.

58   *Ryburn 3-step* is the collective name of a group of individuals acting as Folk Development Agency. They are involved in a range of both social and educational activities across the song, dance and music spectrum of the vernacular arts. The Appalachian group started with their (non-financial) assistance and adopted the name *Ryburn 3-step Dancers* for want of another title.

PART FIVE

FINAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER 13: Further Models and Considerations

This chapter addresses four outstanding issues raised by earlier parts of the study. First, although the composition, organisation and practices of the groups have been investigated, as has the overarching presence of the Folk Revival, the life of individual groups has not been considered. Secondly, a number of continuing traditions, maintained by groups which largely operate outside of the Folk Revival have been identified and shown to have a number of aspects in common, but it remains to consider them in contrast to other similar activities which do not share such a weight of history but occupy similar positions in other communities. The third aspect discussed in this chapter is the rôle of family in the maintenance of longstanding traditions - it is often supposed that continuation is dependant on family, but the evidence needs to be considered before final conclusions can be reached. Lastly, the management of the groups is considered in comparison to other organisation and management models.

The Life of Groups

How groups start

The previous chapter included some discussion on how groups start, describing the pre-cursor elements as being - core group, activist and tutor. There is no more evidence from the IQs or other interviews to suggest that that analysis should be amended. The core group comes from one of two sources; a pre-existing community level organisation such as a folk or other common interest group, or (less frequently) the group is deliberately created around the specific 'folk' interest they will pursue. Examples of common interest groups within the Case Studies are: the scout group which became the revived Kirtlington Morris, the 6th-formers who became Shropshire Bedlams and (in Ch.6) there were further examples of the fathers at Chobham St. Lawrence Primary School being formed into a morris team and the off-duty Southampton policemen who became the 'Hobby Bobbies' morris side. In a further and probably unique example, members of the Royal Ballet, who had learnt some Rapper Sword dancing for a particular production, continued to dance as a team and took the dancing outside the confines of the Royal Ballet to the street and other events under the name of Bow Street Rapper

- the pre-existing group was the Royal Ballet (Doc Rowe - personal communication). Several examples of pre-existing groups with a common interest in the vernacular arts also occur in the Case Studies, e.g. Bury Pace-eggers, Whitstable Jack, Coventry Mummers, and several others were cited in Ch.6. Groups formed to perform a particular Type, without there being a pre-existing core group, include the Ryburn 3-step Dancers (Int:006) - six individuals who found they had a common interest. They decided to form a workshop group and advertised publically for members, although it may be noted that their advertisement was placed in the rehearsal venue of another vernacular dance group where they thought there was a good chance of reaching interested parties.

There is a variation to the creation of groups, where a group or groups come into being by the division of an extant group, or as an off-shoot which subsequently gains an independent existence, continuing to perform the same material as the original group. As the word 'division' often has a connotation of equal division, it may be more accurate to describe this route to the formation of groups as 'spawning'. Some groups do, of course, divide more or less equally, for example:

> 'During 1951 and 1952 the Men of Mercia [Cotswold] were coming together as a [morris] group....
>
> 'In the Summer of 1955 the Men of Mercia split to form the Lichfield Men, who dance only Lichfield dances, and Burton-upon-Trent Morris Men.' (Judge.1992)

But it is more common for a group to split unequally. Dissent within a group may spawn these breakaway groups, as was the case when a number of individuals left Teappa's Tump (IQ:022) in 1991 to form Thames Valley Royals (IQ:009), or when disillusioned former members of ATMD came together as Mr. Hemmings Morris Dancers (C/S:10). In such examples there is no need for a tutor: the requisite skills are already shared amongst the members of the new group. Such a model also accounts for other multiple local traditions such as the hobby horse parties at Padstow (2) and Minehead (3) or the three morris sides in Bampton (Oxon). Of the three elements which were identified as precursors to the creation of new groups, two are still present when groups are spawned - the core group and the activist. The (possibly) missing element, the tutor, is unnecessary when the new group performs a repertoire they already know. Such groups are distinct from those created to perform a different repertoire of material (as happened when White Star Sword and the (multiple) Darent Valley Champions were spawned from Hartley Morris).

The creation of a new group with a different repertoire does not necessarily damage the old group: the creation of White Star Sword and the Darent Valley Champions had no effect of the continuation

of Hartley Morris and the performers in these groups, at least initially, continued to be members of Hartley. Some time may elapse before an offshoot group 'goes its own way', as happened when the Lichfield Morris Men's mumming group eventually became the independent Armitage Mummers (Int:007). These instances are a further variation of the three-element scenario examined above in that the new group collectively takes the role of activist. It is not necessarily possible, or useful, to try and differentiate between creating a new group to engage in a different Form and the coalescence of individuals out of some other pre-existing group. In reality they are only variants of the same phenomenon: the creation of a new group.

In a further variation of the model, among some of the groups surveyed there has been a complete change of repertoire. Gordon Ashman has described such a change as it affected the Ironmen.

> 'In early 1980, after a ten-month involvement in Morris dancing, I suddenly found myself the Squire of a Morris side. By late September I had nearly destroyed the side completely. I nearly caused another split, which came about like this:
> I was aware that "Cotswold" Morris dancing, which is what they claimed they were doing, did not sit very easily on either the people who were doing it, or in Ironbridge where we did it, or in Shropshire as a whole where we tended to put it about a bit. I knew nothing of any local tradition, I knew little of any tradition, but I was picking up words and feelings; something was telling me that all was not right. My answer to these problems lay in getting information. I had been given this new job, and so, appointed Squire, within a week I had been to Cecil Sharp House to pick up all the information there was on traditional dancing in Shropshire, which was not very much. I had encountered the words "Welsh Border" in Christopher Cawte's seminal article [Cawte et al.1960], I had made contact with John Kirkpatrick of the Shropshire Bedlams and with local historians, and within a fortnight had enough information to be able to say that there had been a tradition in the area of a rough, vigorous, noisy, black-faced form of the Morris - very different from anything we were attempting to do. I went on to say that we should "revive" it. The Ironmen were fifteen strong at that time, and at least seven said, "No never." Three said, "Great." Four were quite indifferent. Seven plus three, plus four equals fourteen. I was the fifteenth. Battle raged and came the final vote: seven for, seven against. I used my casting vote quite unfairly and said, "That's it. We're going to try black-faced Welsh Border Morris dancing." ' (Ashman.1987)

The repertoire change was absolute, and the respondent for the Ironmen, Dave Hunt, gave the following objectives of the reborn group in the questionnaire return:

> 'To revive and continue the tradition of our Border morris, local to us, and to do it WELL! To go out and dance for pleasure. For the social contact it gives us all. For the enjoyment.' (IQ:013)

A similar renewal through a change of repertoire took place with the Alton Morris Men who, formerly an established Cotswold side and members of the Ring, not only changed repertoire to 'new' Border but also became a mixed-sex team (Phil Underwood - personal communication). These transformations have both involved repertoire changes from Cotswold morris to 'new' Border morris and have happened since the reinvention of Border morris which had by then become highly fashionable as a result of both the dynamic performances of the Shropshire Bedlams at folk festivals and from workshops run by Tubby Reynolds and Roy Dommett at festivals and morris instructional gatherings.

If, as in this thesis, the continuing performance of a particular Type is taken as a constant, then the complete change of repertoire by a group should be regarded as the demise of the old group and the creation of a new. Alternatively, if the focus is on the name of the group rather than the repertoire, then the group is continuous - only the repertoire has changed. Either perspective has validity, but within this study the situation is regarded as the demise of the old group and creation of the new rather than just development. Quite apart from this chosen perspective, the Ironmen themselves regard the group as new, and the change of both repertoire and sex mix (combined with the number of new individuals) in Alton Morris suggest that this group must also be viewed as new.

Why groups stop

This survey has not specifically sought to determine why groups cease performance, but there is evidence in some particular cases and it is necessary to consider this aspect in order to understand the life cycle of groups. It is evident that in the 19th Century, public opinion (as exercised by the petty establishment) could either encourage or cause the demise of customary tradition but, as noted previously, this situation has rarely arisen in the latter half of the 20th Century - and other factors seem to have had more effect. Bob Ede, the leader of the Symondsbury Mummers (Dorset) was asked by one of the younger members of the cast, during a workshop, why the play had died out in the 1920s. He replied:

> 'Well now. St. George over here, his grandfather was a Doctor in 1920 and they put
> it [i.e. the play] on down at the Drill Hall in Bridport, and your grandfather was too
> rude with the wind-bellows. [He] said things he shouldn't have done, and they stopped
> it because it went out of hand, of course.' (T:001)

The play had, in the hands of at least one actor, become too vulgar to be acceptable to the audience and was no longer welcome. The play was revived in 1949 (stimulated by EFDSS activist Peter

Kennedy) and became popular locally with invitations to all sorts of functions, but within a few years it was again at risk - this time because it was too much in demand. As Bob Ede put it:

> '[It was] nearly killed off in the 1950s when we were doing it at midsummer and wishing you a Happy Christmas!' (T:001)

This demonstrates a de-motivation of the players, when the play was repeatedly being performed out of its 'proper' context. From that time the leader has exercised more discretion over the bookings that he accepts and feels that, 'We've kept it together pretty well since then.' (T:001) This example demonstrates that because of the reciprocity and interaction between many culturally embedded customs and their local audience then, if either becomes disillusioned with the other, continuing performance can be put at risk. The breakdown of community is offered by Russell as the reason for the present absence of Tupping in what was previously a strong area:

> 'The fact that the Tup was performed in many parts of Sheffield before the Second World War, and yet apparently is no more, can best be accounted for in terms of social and geographical mobility. Compared with North East Derbyshire, many working class urban areas have been subject to social upheavals, slum clearance and rehousing, that have led to the breakdown of their communities. No such major changes have taken place in the region where the Tup is performed.' (Russell.1979)

Amongst the surveyed groups, a common cause of the demise of groups was simply diminishing numbers. Holywell Cross (women's morris) is a case in point:

> 'I was coping with a baby! - a couple of the dancers moved away - another 2 joined Feet First Appalachian that had started in Chesterfield... so we took the decision to shut down.' (SQ:118)

Members of the old group do however still meet every three months:

> '...to have a meal and do one dance to prove we can still/or not remember our tradition.' (SQ:118)

This reluctance to finish the team (a gathering that was purely social would not have to include a resurrected performance) is not uncommon. Barnstaple Morris Men stopped regular performance in 1986 due to diminishing numbers as men moved away from the area, but residual members organise an annual reunion dance tour and celebrated their 25th anniversary in 1998 (Peter Westcott - personal

communication). Yateley Morris also stopped because of a lack of male dancers but they too reform to perform (at least) a Christmas tour each year (SQ:074). Benfleet Hoymen disbanded after 40 years as they could no longer attract male dancers, although they too appear at least once a year as 'Hoymen Holograms' at Morris Ring meetings (SQ:124). Whiteknights, a University side, failed because it could not 'maintain sufficiently high annual recruitment levels' (SQ:074) and Norfolk Biffin 'had always struggled for members & finally gave up the fight' (SQ:248).

Diminishing numbers are not the only cause of demise. A purely æsthetic reason was given for the cessation of Rusty Rapper:

> 'It stopped because three of us thought that we had been at the peak of what we could achieve for over a year and so we packed in while we were still reasonably popular!' (SQ:143)

In some instances, the death of an old team is an opportunity for new one to form. This happened when Yateley Morris ceased:

> 'We immediately formed a mixed NW side (Hart and Sole) which is still going strong.' (SQ:074)

A similar situation arose when both Chesterfield Morris Men and Holywell Cross ceased:

> 'We created Cock and Magpie Morris out of the men and women who still wanted to dance morris - now the side gets partners to join rather than individuals and mixes socially as well as in other activities e.g. walking.' (SQ:118)

Arguably, the creation of the new Alton Morris (quoted above) is actually a similar situation. One of the questions posed in the SQs, to those respondents who had formerly belonged to other groups, was why they had stopped performing with those groups. The sample of responses was only 28 but gives some idea of the reasons why people leave groups and therefore why numbers of members may decline. The frequency of different kinds of reply are shown in Table 5.1. It has already been noted that groups generally have not developed methods of recruiting new members and, given that in half the sample of responses the reason for leaving was moving away, it is possible to see why so many groups cease through lack of numbers. Ignoring the response that the individual stopped performing with a group because the group itself stopped, as it is self-evident, the next highest reported reasons are dislike of policy or individuals. This has also been noted in the study: people will often leave a group rather than try to change it. The stimulus for an individual to leave can be because of general

ethos and approach rather than pure policy, as exemplified by one informant who said:

> 'I belonged to a women's clog [Northwest] team but I left when the organisation got to deciding on a tea [making] rota.' (Maria Cunningham - personal communication)

Moved away from the area.	14
Because the group stopped.	7
Disliked some aspect of policy.	4
Disliked particular individuals.	3
Other commitments.	3
Wanted a change of Type of performance.	2
Group was no longer 'fun'.	2
Standards not high enough.	1
Had only been temporary musician.	1
Number of respondents replying.	28

Table 5.1: Reasons why respondents had left groups

There is too little evidence on which to base any discussion of the rôle of personality or character strength as a factor in people leaving groups, but there are examples in the study of both members leaving because they didn't like the policy and of leaders leaving for the same reason. Management and leadership style is re-visited later in this chapter.

How groups change

As demonstrated many times, groups once formed can go through a series of changes during their existence. Even those older groups, whose origin cannot be determined, cannot be perceived as having ever been as they now are, for the evidence is very much to the contrary. Trevor Stone's examination of Longsword sides led him to the conclusion that there were effectively three stages in the existence of these groups:

> 'The big thing I found was... how a revival team organises the problem of deciding what and how, and with what stylistic differences. On the one hand you've got the problems of democracy - everybody starting from a level playing field and consequently every man would have his say and you go through this long rigmarole and it's really stultified and it's killed more teams off in the early stages than I've had hot dinners.

'You get past that and then... there seems to be usually a focal point. And then gradually beyond that focal point there will usually be an individual. For some years with Spen Valley it was me because I'd done workshops elsewhere - I'd seen other dances - they'd listen.

'Then gradually it becomes, if you like, how to best describe it, something that was based on age and experience. You get a newcomer now and he wouldn't dream of questioning anything about what they do. [A new dancer] learns it by osmosis... It becomes part of his system. You can of course balls that up by taking on too many at one time.' (Stone. Int:003)

This is reminiscent of the earlier observation that a group leader can hold that position purely because of age or expertise, but underlying Stone's observations are a series of changes in the dynamics of the relationships within the team. There is also, potentially, another kind of change - precipitated by too many new personnel in a short period of time. Many different kinds of change have been noted during the course of the study and some of these are evident in the Case Studies.

Enforced changes

Changes may come about as a response to something imposed by an agency outside the group itself. Legal issues, such as the enforcement of the requirement for collecting licenses can force to the group to obtain a license or not perform (although some groups simply ignore the requirement). If the group elects to open a bank account (I have identified three examples where this has happened as a consequence of a Treasurer eloping with the Bag), bank requirements are not only that there are signatories to the account, but also that the decision was made at a formal meeting of the group (as evidenced by minutes), and that the group has officers including a Chairman and Treasurer. If these offices do not exist, they have to be created, even if only in a token manner. Such changes may be described as 'enforced' and can be defined by the fact that either the law, or an institution's rules require them. The most extreme type of enforced change is being forced to stop altogether, as exemplified by the Hunting of the Earl of Rone in 1837 when the custom was, reportedly, banned by local bye-law. (Brown.1987)

Social changes

Changes can also be precipitated by general social circumstances. Some groups who have formerly collected money on their own behalf, have subsequently changed to collecting for a worthy cause - a local charity perhaps. I have drawn together evidence of this elsewhere (Brown.1991). These

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changes can be described as 'social' as they derive from general social expectation, which itself can change over time. Social pressure to change can come from within the group as well from outside. An interviewee observed that with the Goathland Plough Stotts, pressure from some members who wanted to repeat the experience of performing abroad was effectively re-defining how the membership of the team was determined:

'Going abroad to them at one time was travelling further south than Sheffield. They've now been abroad. They realised that, at least where *they* went, most of the people speak English - which is obstacle number one overcome - and most of the places have beer - which is obstacle number two overcome - so they regularly get in touch [with me] and say, 'Do you know of any foreign team that'll invite us, or any Continental folk festivals?' So they are going through a different phase. And the 'team' then becomes self-selecting. The 'team' is now begging to become the people who a) want to, and b) are able to, go on those events.' (Stone. Int:003)

In his history of Bonfire Night celebrations at Lewes, Etherington notes how the presence or absence of one Bonfire Society influenced the processional route of another:

'Following the disbandment of Southover in 1906 Cliffe processed the full extent of the now unoccupied territory of Southover High Street. However at Borough's re-formation meeting in 1909 the secretary, F.H.Gearing, reported having approached Cliffe requesting restoration of Southover territory to Borough. The Cliffe did not respond immediately, but in 1910 the [Cliffe] Society ceased to march through Southover High Street leaving Borough to 're-occupy' their former territory.' (Etherington.1993)

In the later 20th Century many male morris sides have, as the women's movement became ascendant, changed their attitude towards teams of women dancing the same type of morris as themselves, and more particularly to whether they are willing to appear at the same event as the ladies, as exemplified in C/S:12. It is also as a result of the changes in women's aspirations that joint and mixed-sex teams have increased in number - see Ch.6. In another example of social pressure, when the 'Urban Morris' group Paddington Pandemonium Express was formed in inner London, performing Border and Molly dances, the group elected not to black-up their faces as tradition demanded, but to use blue faces in order to avoid criticism or offence within the multi-racial community in which they habitually performed (Sue Evans-Turner - personal communication).

In this category of social stimuli for change are examples of both of social *pressure* and of social *expectation* and thus there are two distinct types of social change demonstrated: changes brought about as the result of social pressure within the group, e.g. Goathland - team selection, Lewes - territorial

limits, and changes precipitated by a general wider expectation in society, e.g. social attitudes to collecting for oneself, the women's movement, avoiding black-face make-up.

Pragmatic changes

There are also changes which are purely pragmatic in nature: road works have precipitated changes in the processional routes of some customs. The change occurs in a given year for this singular reason, but the route does not revert subsequently. The new route remains established until some something similar causes it to change again another year. Doc Rowe and I have witnessed this happening in the processional routes taken by the Obby Osses in Padstow.

Increases in the number of participants in The Hunting of the Earl of Rone (C/S:4) have precipitated several pragmatic changes: the introduction of a flower-decorated rope at the front of the procession to contain the increased number of younger children; the introduction of 'rules' concerning party membership in anticipation of an increase in the number of participants; the addition of a Combe Martin May Garland (in itself a revival) at a certain point in the procession in order to maintain communication between the front and back of the procession as it increased in length, and in recent years the routes taken have been altered at the request of the police in order to avoid traffic delays. The Britannia Coconut Dancers decision to dance downhill instead of uphill is another example of a pragmatic change.

Æsthetic changes

Changes in practice in the performance aspect of the groups' functioning sometimes seems to come about purely for the sake of deliberate novelty or æsthetics. John Ledbury states that the Lord Conyer's Longsword dance is revised annually:

> 'Each Autumn, as the team starts their practise season in September, the dance undergoes a 'refit' and many of the ideas... are incorporated into... the new version.' (Ledbury.1991)

Such changes come about purely from the creative drive of individuals within the group, or their acquaintances. Photographs over the last two decades show the development of pictorial representations of the Old Oss (or its mask) on the home-knitted pullovers and jumpers that are worn as part of the costume in Padstow. There are other examples of æsthetic change noted in the Earl of

Pragmatic change can also lead to æsthetic change. Groups travelling to perform at festivals are often faced with time limits and performance environments totally foreign to their 'normal' performance location. Such changes may only last for the duration of that performance but others that are 'found to work' may be retained in the normal performance environment for purely æsthetic reasons. For example, the uniform red knitwear of the Boggins at the Haxey Hood game came about as a result of their being invited to attend 'Dancing England' event in Derby. Wishing for a token that identified them as being of one group, they decided on the red pullovers and these are now worn as routine in the game itself during the early chase and smoking of the Fool, but with girl-friends and wives standing by with more ancient clothing so that they can change en route to the somewhat more boisterous and muddy part of the game when the Running Hoods are tossed and, finally, the Sway takes over the game after the Sway Hood is thrown. (Doc Rowe - personal communication)

Opportunistic changes

These are changes brought about by the group in response to an opportunity presented by developments external to the group itself and not specifically targeted at the group, e.g. visiting and collecting at a new venue. Increased outside interest in Goathland has led 'the team' to purchase a small building and create a museum and tea-room to occupy visitors (Stone. Int:003). Further examples of opportunistic changes are considered by Widdowson (1993), and Boyes (1993b) comments on similar opportunity being responded to on Garland Day following the introduction of the railways to Castleton in Derbyshire. In the 19th Century, the sponsoring of Rushcarts by some local publicans presented opportunities to the Rushcart gangs which were readily taken up. Such opportunistic changes usually involve amendment of practice rather than content.

It is not always evident to the casual observer what has precipitated change, and indeed, more than one reason can occur to cause a single change, e.g the introduction of the May Garland in Combe Martin, the adoption of red sweaters by the Haxey Boggans, but all changes can be described as enforced, social, pragmatic, æsthetic, opportunistic or a combination of these.

Respondents to the study who received an SQ were asked whether there had been any management changes during the life of the group for which they had completed and returned an IQ. The following extracts are typical of the responses to this question and demonstrate enforced, pragmatic and

opportunistic changes.

> 'The side started with a very formal committee structure... This has been toned down considerably which is a great improvement.'

> 'Control devolved from just one person when he went on holiday for six months! Since then there has been no-one really in charge.'

> 'Management structure the same but some tasks have been delegated to non-elected members as numbers grew.'

> 'When group first started we tried to do without specific officers but after a year or so it became obvious that things did not get done properly, so now we have an elected committee.'

> 'Split Bagman's job into Bagman & Treasurer to make life easier for officers in general. Written constitution required by bank - now mostly ignored unless someone feels like being bloody minded!'

> 'Numerous minor changes, mostly as the side matured... Position of Squire has degenerated to a sinecure, leaving more onus on Bagman/Foreman... The last couple of incumbents were elected because they were nice blokes, not because of leadership potential... Deliberate policy of recruiting younger members (10+).'

Although the question asked about management changes, three respondents reported changes in costume, which must rank as æsthetic changes. Changes in repertoire could be æsthetic, social or opportunistic and one would need to examine the specific case to determine which applied.

The six ages of groups

Taking the information from both the interviews and the IQs, it is possible to describe the life cycle of a group in six stages. The establishment of a group consists of two stages: the initial *Creation*, when a number of people come together as a group, and a *Settling Down* phase which culminates in an organisation capable of public performance. The initial *Creation* stage is when the three precursor elements, described at the beginning of Ch.12, coalesce. Skill acquisition occurs during the *Settling Down* phase and, patently, the pre-existing skill level amongst group members in the chosen content of performance (the Type/Form) will affect the duration of this phase. The *Settling Down* phase also involves organisational aspects. Performance content itself is usually agreed by the time of *Creation* - indeed, it is often the reason why the group has come together. After these two stages the group will continue, in a relatively stable state, for an indeterminate period of time. Although possibly stable

in organisational terms, the evidence from the Case Studies demonstrates that changes still occur. This phase can therefore be called a phase of *Stable Evolution*, and it may last for many years.

Beyond the *Stable Evolution* phase, a variety of stimuli, such as those already highlighted, can precipitate a group out of this phase and into a period which requires more rapid adjustment to meet new circumstances. A list of such stimuli would include; the creation of offshoot groups, changes in repertoire, etc. or events like the death of a leader, defection of members, etc. These periods of adjustment can be referred to as an *Adaptation* phase. Depending on how, and how successfully, the *Adaptation* phase is managed, there will be one or other of two possible outcomes: the group will either re-establish equilibrium and return to a *Stable Evolution* phase (possibly in an altered state or context), or it will move into a decline which can involve either a breakdown of organisation and management or a diminution in the number of group members until performance becomes unsupportable on an ongoing basis - or both. In either of these latter situations the group may be described as being in a phase of *Decline*. Although there are examples of a group being resuscitated from *Decline*, the alternative outcome is *Cessation*. These six stages, or phases, are shown in Table 5.2, but it may be noted that an alternation between *Stable Evolution* and *Adaptation* phases could occur several times in the course of a group's existence and also that, as demonstrated many times, *Cessation* may not be permanent. It could be argued that *Adaptation* is no more than an accelerated version of *Stable Evolution* but the nature of the stimuli which create change in each phase tend to be different. The transition between any of these six phases may only be obvious in retrospect, but they are distinct and it is useful to consider the life cycles of groups in these terms.

Creation:	Decision to form / aggregation of group.
Settling Down:	Skill acquisition and determination/evolution of organisational & management aspects.
Stable Evolution:	Incremental development / adjustment of all aspects.
Adaptation:	Response to change in circumstances.
Decline:	Breakdown of organisation & management and/or reduction in numbers.
Cessation:	The group ceases to perform (and usually to exist).

Table 5.2: Phases in the life cycle of a group

A customary celebration

Throughout the examination of IQ responses a number of seasonal customs, involving a range of different Types of performance, proved to have a number of management, organisation and performance practices in common. These led to the description of the 'Short-season Model' and it was noted that these traditions are, or seek to be, culturally embedded. Other groups, although operating over a longer season, are also culturally embedded and have been shown to be a variation of this model.

There are some recent examples of 'external' agencies creating new events within a community (pure folklorismus, perhaps, by Moser's parameters), and which appear to have become culturally embedded customs. Two of these will be considered in order to compare and contrast them to the calendar customs examined in the Case Studies. The first is the Lantern Procession created in Ulverston (Cumbria) by resident theatre group Welfare State International. Continuing the stated aim of quoting emic perceptions where possible, the following is taken from the approved biographers of the theatre company, firstly setting the company's philosophical (political) background thinking, then describing the custom and some of its evolution and finally reflecting upon it:

> 'In tribal societies, it is arguable that "official" rituals gave an organic coherence to living that was essential to survival. In modern technocratic states, at war within themselves socially and morally, communal images and myths are highly likely to be empty relics of past organic culture, or state propaganda designed to subdue popular expression and action. The filling of that vacuum in human social needs is therefore left to artists, the "unacknowledged legislators", and whether they fill that vacuum with more empty art or with something rooted in society's real needs often depends on the awareness of the political nature of art.' (Coult & Kershaw.1990 p.12)

> 'Over a hundred people took place in the first Ulverston Lantern Procession, all carrying glowing lanterns hand-made by themselves in workshops set up by the company [i.e. Welfare State]. A band led the long string of warm lights in the shapes of fish, lobster pots and sails through the autumn evening, along the traffic-cleared street... The procession visited residences for the elderly and centres for the disabled to receive their handmade lanterns. Freshly bathed children in their pyjamas were lifted up to the windows or doors of their homes to watch the lanterns pass. Elderly people had been brought to the homes of relatives who lived on the route to see the procession. The first Lantern Procession... obviously struck a chord with many people.

> 'In the following year, 1984, more people joined in to make a processional fish, great head at the front and tail at the rear. In 1985 more "spurs" were added to the route to involve more people, gift lanterns were exchanged between neighbourhoods, and there was a special lantern signifying each child born in Ulverston during the year. In 1986 the procession celebrated the links between Ulverston and Bagamoyo in

Tanzania (initially celebrated by the company's Nutcracker project in 1985), with lanterns styled on English and African houses. The procession is now an established annual event involving over 1000 people, which Welfare State artists join principally as residents of the town rather than professional animateurs. It is now mounted in partnership with the people of Ulverston, who run the lantern-making workshops. But why should the town have taken a Japanese-inspired ceremony on board in this way?

'It may seem perverse to link this low-key, gentle evening stroll to the idea of carnival, with all its associations of high-energy and anarchy. Carnival is about release, about a libidinal letting go, about the breaking of rules and the disruption of the dominant order of the day. The Ulverston lantern procession seems to be light years away from, say, the Notting Hill Carnival. Yet whilst the procession obviously lacks the surface wildness and extravagance of traditional carnival, it also shares some of its most fundamental qualities. Foremost of these, perhaps, is grass-roots creativity expressed through an accessible form that is amenable to almost endless elaboration. Virtually anyone can make or contribute to the making of a lantern, and tiny individual efforts, when carried by the people who made them, can be just as impressive as enormous group-made affairs. Then, despite its tone of restraint, the procession is clearly an occasion of collective festivity. The collectivity now comes close to involving the whole town of 12,000 people, with lanterns made by organisations and spur marches and surrogate carriers for those who can't walk. The festivity arises from seasonal connections with long-gone old-English ceremonies of autumn and with the more recent religious "walks" that most northern towns once boasted. The subdued quality is really the outcome of this tradition, in which the community turned out to bear witness to its beliefs. But this is a secular ceremony (even pagan, according to the few Ulverston fundamentalist Christians who refuse to join in), so what beliefs are being celebrated? More fundamentally, in what ways might the procession "stir a wish for social change" or generate "a new political will"?' (Coult & Kershaw.1990 pp.220-221)

This description and commentary deserves its own commentary in the light of the evidence from the present study. The suggestion that 'The filling of that vacuum in human social needs is therefore left to artists, the "unacknowledged legislators", and whether they fill that vacuum with more empty art or with something rooted in society's real needs often depends on the awareness of the political nature of art' seems ostentatious in the light of the evidence from this research. It is possible, of course, to debate whether the performers or creators of the arts here considered are 'artists' in whatever sense is meant in the above passage, but that is not a debate for this study nor the issue here. The assumption that 'communal images and myths are highly likely to be empty relics of past organic culture' is immediately countered, certainly amongst the groups that have been described as culturally embedded. The Folk Revival, and its origin in Survivalist interpretation, is the source of belief that folk performances are 'relics of a past organic culture'. Their 'communal images' in performance fulfil a contemporary function and it has already been shown that even when excused to outside inquisitors as 'relics of past organic culture' then emic discussion of performance and purpose does not focus in

this area - rather it focuses on contemporary practicality in the contemporary society. Amongst groups that are not culturally embedded it is also possible to suggest that they serve a contemporary purpose both for the performing group and for the events which employ them. Despite the early revival emphasis on antique meaning, contemporary groups have contemporary purpose despite the fact that some etic observers (as in the Ulverston example of 'fundamentalist Christians who refuse to join in') view the proceedings as pagan. Such attribution can evidently happen more rapidly than the 120 years it took for the Jack-in-the-Green to become 'the survival of a Druid sacrifice' (Cawte. 1993). I suggest that, ultimately, Coult & Kershaw do no more than describe the fact that the Ulverston Lantern Procession has become a culturally embedded calendar custom. Their background (political) explanation is comparable to the Survivalist's background explanation of other customs - no more than a different etic interpretation.

The community adoption of the Ulverston Lantern Procession may be compared to the second example of a new calendar custom - that created by Community Arts Worker Susan Wright - in 'the depressed West Moorside district in north-eastern England' (Boissevain. 1992):

> 'In response to requests from community activists, she and a colleague helped to re-create community spirit and stimulate development initiatives by piecing together local history and symbols in a celebratory framework. Their efforts were only partly successful. Their invented 'galas' continued to be celebrated, but the critical history they injected to stimulate reflection on the district's development problems was largely eliminated. Not surprisingly, many local residents, and politicians in particular, were more interested in having a good time together than in self-improvement. Moreover, they found authentic history too politically divisive to be acceptable.' (Boissevain. 1992)

Coult & Kershaw (1990) suggest that the Ulverston custom is 'something rooted in society's real needs' and that it's success 'depends on the awareness of the political nature of art'. Susan Wright's objectives were somewhat more explicit:

> 'It is with an attempt to resist that 'heritage' reading of the past and to *use history critically* that I am concerned here.' (Wright.1992)(my italics)

Such motivations impinging on communities is not new of course. A hundred years earlier it was also apparent, as Boyes has noted:

> "...a more serious taste for concrete, accurate representation, which was *'purposefully historic...'* was a growing force in culture as the [19th] century progressed'. (Boyes.

1993a)(my italics)

It is not surprising that in West Moorside 'many local residents... were more interested in having a good time together than in self-improvement', and the same interest is apparent in the Ulverston procession although the theatre activists behind it may have wished to 'stir a wish for social change' or 'generate a new political will'. I would suggest that it is exactly this same enjoyment that is largely responsible for the continuation of the groups examined in the study. It has been shown that the tradition-bearers of (at least some) large calendar customs maintain them for the benefit of their own group, but a visit to any of them immediately demonstrates how any member of the local community - core participant or not - can be involved in what is going on and create 'carnival' for themselves. Indeed, it becomes impossible, in terms of this community function, to differentiate between new customs such as at Ulverston or West Moorside and those of say Haxey, Combe Martin, Saddleworth, or Kirtlington - the end effect on the communities within which they take place is remarkably similar. There are, of course, smaller, quieter, calendar customs - such as the building of the Whitby Penny Hedge, Mari Lwyd visiting or Wassailing - supported by only a few local people other than the core tradition-bearers, but their existence does not mean that the Ulverston Lantern Procession or the West Moorside custom can, functionally, be distinguished from the Abingdon or Whitstable customs. The motivation of the prime movers behind the activity at its origin may have differed, but the only difference between the old and new customs in contemporary performance is, perhaps, the weight of metafolklore that the older customs have acquired.

However, all the customs considered above remain distinguishable from the 'heritage' led (and funded) events which are designed to attract incoming peripheral spend to an area. It is true that, around culturally embedded festivities, local commerce may seek to exploit the event and, in the event of customs becoming threatened, it may be that local commerce may move to support the event in order to continue to exploit it - as the publicans did when Northwest morris moved from an accompaniment to Rushbearing to become a Wakes performance in its own right. (see also Buckland & Wood.1993 for further examples of local commercial response to opportunities afforded by calendar customs). Such exploitation is not necessarily detrimental to the event: there may well be a reciprocal benefit to both parties, but neither of these scenarios detract from the fact that such embedded customs are 'owned' and ultimately controlled by independent tradition-bearers for their own motives.

It could prove an illuminating exercise to research the metafolklore that is inevitably accreting around new customs such as Ulverston and West Moorside and to investigate, as they become older, to what

extent continuing involvement runs in families. This is the third aspect to be considered in this chapter.

The rôle of family

The long-term maintenance (Stable Evolution) of customs by a particular family has come to be received wisdom in recent years. The fact of a custom being maintained by a family at any given point in its history, however, is not confirmation that that has always been, or will remain, the situation. The morris teams examined by Chandler (1993a), do demonstrate family ties amongst the dancers over time, but many of these teams were nearing a hiatus in their continuous history. It is known that the Hemmings family in Abingdon were closely associated with the morris and the Mayor of Ock Street across several generations - but by no means exclusively, and not necessarily centrally. Harrop clearly details a drift towards family centralisation in the Chipping Campden mummers:

> 'Some time between 1946 and 1960, familial ties within the group became noticeably stronger... During the 1960s and early 1970s the family link became even stronger... in 1976 seven of the eight performers were directly related' (Harrop. 1980a)

These transitions are part of an Adaptation phase and, as with Chipping Campden mummers, equilibrium (Stable Evolution) can be restored by a family-based performance - until sickness or old age precipitates another adjustment. Not surprisingly, family-based performance is individual led - by a senior member of the family, who may or may not themselves perform. They will select and recruit people to fulfil vacant rôles, or complete the team, only when need arises. Bob Ede, leader of the Symondsbury Mummers, recruited his daughters when the team was short of two players in 1979 (T:001) and the Abbots Bromley Horn Dancers also recruited a daughter when they needed an additional dancer to perform at a 'Dancing England' event in the 1970s (Doc Rowe - personal communication). Both these occurrences presented a challenge to those individuals whose perception derived from the chauvinistic 'ancient male ritual origin' view of such performances. Among the case studies, tendencies towards transmission through families is evident in The Hunting of the Earl of Rone, at Abingdon and among the Shropshire Bedlams, and Cross (1989) has noted how the Bagworth family have maintained the Brant Broughton Plough-Play for over 30 years.

The evidence for continuing family involvement across generations is strong where the group has existed long enough for the tradition to cross generations, but consolidation to the maintenance of the tradition by a *single* family is only apparent in: a) an adaptation phase associated with a reduction of

popular support and/or, b) where the size of the performance group is small enough for almost all the performers to be of one sibling group or family. As Russell has noted within the Tupping tradition:

> 'There is clearly a much better chance of continuity in the tradition when the Tup is performed by members of the same family over a period of years, and this is only possible where there is a fund of younger brothers or sisters able to take over from their seniors.' (Russell.1979)

In ascendant traditions, such as The Hunting of the Earl of Rone where there is developing involvement from generation to generation, the increasing numbers involved mean that the number of people and therefore families increases and in many of those families involvement is already passing from one generation to the next as are key rôles in the conduct of the ceremony. During the later 20th Century increased mobility and the associated geographical distribution of families, together with the reduction in family size, can limit the ability to call on family members in time of need. Many young groups researched in this study have not been in existence long enough for patterns across generations to develop but even so, among groups other than 'Short-season Groups', there is negligible reporting of offspring becoming involved in their parents' groups. This aspect was not specifically investigated in the IQs and it is not possible to draw general conclusions in respect of the study sample, but it can be suggested that, in long-standing calendar customs, transmission within families across generations is not infrequent.

It is, however, easy to over-emphasise the rôle of the family. With relatively recently formed groups it has already been noted that no more that a single generation may have been involved, but even with long established groups it is by no means *inevitable* that the performance relies on familial ties. From his researches on the Longsword dancing tradition, Trevor Stone was able to discuss familial involvement:

> '...you take for example the Plough Stots in Goathland. Sleights, and so on - very little of a family tradition there. If you go further north, then you get more associated with the Rapper tradition and you get people getting involved because of social clubs, because of work place. By dint of the fact that they all worked together, you got a lot of relatives there. In the Cleveland dances there was always a lot of Winspears, and a lot of Martins and Seymours - you find those names cropping up over and over again. But you find the same names cropping up in virtually anything that is organised - the leek-growing competitions - they were the families who were involved in that kind of local activity. It didn't seem to happen in the Vale of York. I can't find any evidence of there being strong family links. In the South Yorkshire dances... the family link's come back again recently, for example, Harry Pitts and John Pitts in Handsworth. Harry was the leader for thirty-five, forty years. His son John is now, not the leader, but one of the main dancers, but that's about all.' (Stone. Int:003)

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Etherington's study of the Lewes bonfire tradition notes how support for the Bonfire Societies, formerly centred on locality, is now centred on both family and acquaintance groups:

> '...the old established Societies no longer processing within their territories nor relying on neighbourhood recruitment for their membership. Today's members are drawn largely from among friends and family, recruitment now being dependant on social contact rather than territorial considerations.' (Etherington.1993)

The size of the group performing with each Bonfire Society is, like that with The Hunting of the Earl of Rone, too large for a single family or even a number of families to supply alone. The overall level of indigenous support for the Lewes custom has remained largely unaltered across this transition although tourism has increased as transport has become more readily available. This suggests that the change has not been influenced by ascendance/decline factors, but simply by changes in society including the breakdown of local, in the sense of 'neighbourhood', identity.

The involvement of 'family' is variable - in some examples strong, in others non-existent. There is a tendency for tradition generally (i.e. not just vernacular arts performance) to be transmitted through families and, when the burden of tradition is strong, this must increase the likelihood of transmission from parent to offspring, but it is impossible to draw more specific conclusions without further research.

Management models and the vernacular arts

The final subject to be considered in this chapter is the degree to which the organisation and management of the groups studied can be compared to these same aspects in more formal organisations. This was a stated objective of the study, but the very casual systems used by the groups make comparison difficult. The scale of the organisations and activities surveyed vary widely; from groups of a mere half dozen to the many hundreds of people who dress and process in The Hunting of the Earl of Rone ceremony or the dozen or so morris teams who convene annually to assist the progress of the Saddleworth Rushcart or greet Mayday morning in Oxford. None of the groups, however, adopts a 'management' view of their activity. This is not unusual in the voluntary sector for, as Charles Handy has noted:

> 'Mutual-aid groups do not want to be 'managed'; they detest the thought and are reluctant to divert any of their caring energies to the tasks of administration or of

organization, which seem to them to be a distraction. At most they want to be 'serviced' by a secretary or a co-ordinator, with everyone joining in for any policy discussions that might be required.' (Handy.1988)

A rejection of theoretical management descriptions of what takes place, and the avoidance of management analysis, however, is not a rejection of management or organisation itself. Nothing happens unless somebody does something: until someone organises something to be done. For anything as complex as a sword-dance performance or a procession to take place, a great deal of organisation has taken place - although what happens is not referred to in management terms. Even amongst those contacts who were able to provide a management or organisational analysis of their group there was a hesitancy to the terminology being applied to these activities even though they accepted it as one way of describing what happens, for:

> 'Any wholesale rejection of the ideas of management must be naive. None the less
> the instinctual desire to put management in its place and to make it subservient to the
> cause and to the people involved has to be right. It may go further than that; it may
> be a gut feeling that the whole language and philosophy of management are wrong,
> not only for voluntary organizations but for all organizations.' (Handy.1988)

It is true to say that, among the survey groups (with one temporary exception[1]) management *is* 'subservient to the cause' - the performance. It is also true to say that organisation is, firstly, limited to only what is essential for the activity to function (i.e. it is minimal) and, secondly, whatever may exist is practically and not theoretically based. The groups do not regard themselves as 'organisations' - they refer to themselves as 'group', 'team', 'side', 'gang', 'party', etc.

Charles Handy's (1988) analysis of organisation types in the voluntary sector suggests that, across all types of organisation, there are four basic 'cultures' of organisation:

The Club Culture: 'The 'organizational idea' in the club culture is that the organisation is there to extend the person of the head or, often, the founder. If he or she could do everything personally, he or she would. It is because they can't that there has to be an organisation at all. So the organisation should be an extension of themselves, acting on their behalf, a club of like minded people'. (p.86)

The Rôle Culture: 'The underlying 'organisational idea' is that organisations are sets of *roles* or job-boxes, joined together in a logical and orderly fashion so that they discharge the work of the organisation. The organisation is a piece of construction engineering, with role piled on role and responsibility linked to responsibility... From time to time the organisation will rearrange the roles and their relationship to each other, as priorities change, and then reallocate the individuals to the roles.' (p.89)

The Task Culture: 'The 'organisational idea' of this culture is that a group or team of talents and resources should be applied to a project, problem or task. In that way each task gets the treatment it requires - it does not have to be standardized across the organisation. Also, the groups can be changed, disbanded or increased as the task changes'. (p.90)

The Person Culture: 'The 'organisational idea' behind this culture is that the individual talent is all-important and must be serviced by some sort of minimal organisation. Person-culture people do not in fact like to use the word 'organisation' at all but find all sorts of alternative words... The person culture puts the individual first and makes the organisation the resource for the individual's talents.' (p.92)

The basic culture, it is suggested, can show variations and 'no organisation is culturally pure' (p.93). Further, Handy suggests that 'the mix of cultures that you end up with... is influenced by' a number of factors: size, work flow, environment and history (p.94). As a further note regarding history, Handy suggests that:

'History plays a larger part in the design of voluntary organizations than it does in more conventional bodies, which feel less compunction in obliterating the past once it has served its purpose.' (Handy.1988 p.83)

This is particularly applicable in the groups which are the subject of this study to whom the history of the type of performance, whether real or perceived, is often of central import. Handy's other factors do seem to play a lesser rôle for vernacular arts groups. Work-flow is obviously different for those groups which organise calendar customs, in comparison to those groups who perform all year round, yet the same styles of management are identifiable in both. Environment is a less significant factor, perhaps, although the urgency of the urban environment and the proximity of petty legislature may impinge more directly on urban groups than the somewhat slower, or even laisse faire, attitude of the rural communities - but no consequential variation has been observed Size seems to make little difference and it has been demonstrated that any combination of constitution, officers, rules, etc., or a lack of them is, in general, as likely to occur in large groups as small.

Handy's analysis is concerned with voluntary organisations of all types and sizes: charities, trusts, co-operatives, self-help and campaign groups, and clubs of all kinds. A great many organisations of each kind inevitably have formal relationships with other agencies, be they statutory or commercial, in order to achieve their objectives. Such agencies often have difficulty (particularly if they are funding agencies) in relating to groups unless they have a recognisable and acceptable structure, officers, financial arrangements, etc. It has been shown that such things are often absent in the groups

surveyed here. The 'Exhibitors of Culture' and the 'Exhibitors of Type' may have relationships with external agencies in order to gain a performance platform but these are frequently temporary and in the form of a (very) short-term contract. Nevertheless, this may be a factor which contributes to the observed fact that, almost without exception, the 'Exhibitors of Culture' do have formal committees, officers, etc. The 'Short-season Groups' and the 'Classic Ceremonial' groups, however, largely create their own opportunities for performance and, without a regular need to treat with external agencies, they have no need to meet formal requirements.

The *Task Culture*, centred around specific tasks and utilising temporary working parties, is the favoured method of dealing with any task that is not everyday and requires more than one individual to organise - the Day of Dance, the international exchange, the Christmas party, etc. The *Task Culture* has not been found as an overall culture in any of the groups. Organisation may centre around specific tasks, but these are undertaken by individuals and, as the output of the organisation is constant, there is nothing temporary about the tasks.

The *Role Culture* is noticeable by its absence as an organisational structure amongst the subject groups. It is the group as a whole who 'discharge the work of the organisation' (i.e. the performance) and although individuals certainly fulfil set 'rôles or job-boxes', this has been shown to be a casual or ad hoc affair, and no group could be described as 'a piece of construction engineering', although the survey did discover one example of this being attempted[2].

Handy describes the *Club Culture* as existing where the head of the organisation is not able to 'do everything personally'. It has been demonstrated in the study that in many cases the organisations are small enough that one person can, and does, do everything personally - but the problem here is the use of 'head'. The survey groups have no hierarchy in their management structure - indeed, there is often no structure at all: just a series of individuals (who may be 'officers') with specific tasks. The job of the Leader, Squire, or whatever the title may be, does not include responsibility for other officers. Each officer is responsible, if at all, to the group as a whole.

It is possible to see the essence of Handy's *Club Culture* at work in a great many more groups if the focus is not an individual but the performance itself. The organisation is then *an extension of* the performance; the members do whatever they do *on behalf of* the performance; they *are* a group of like minded people. There are groups which are, or have been, the realisation of an individual's vision - Royal Lancashire Morris Dancers when they were first created, was one such, and eventually the

leader left probably because his approach was rejected by the rest of the group (a situation which had arisen for that individual several times before). The 'Exhibitors of Cuture' groups conform more closely to the *Club Culture* model than others. The leader does lead the group and, in different groups, may be involved in every aspect of performance, but less in aspects of administration and logistics (see Appx.8C). The other members (performers) support that vision (at least for a while) and whatever other officers there may be service the group in order to realise the leader's vision.

The fourth organisational culture described by Handy is the *Person Culture*. Although a group may have a 'leading light' - an individual of particular skill or competence - the activities of the groups surveyed here are all team-based. The only instances found where an individual becomes of particular import is where a solo performance occurs within a group performance, e.g. a solo jig during a morris performance or a feature item within a crossform display. The *Person Culture*, which 'puts the individual first and makes the organisation the resource for the individual's talents' simply does not occur among the survey groups, unless one views 'individual talent' as 'collective individual talents' i.e. the total performance of the team.

Although various aspects of Handy's four organisational cultures can be identified among the groups, it is only the *Club Culture* that is identifiably present as an overall type, and then only amongst those groups that conform to the model called 'Exhibitors of Culture' in Ch.10. The groups remain, always, teams, and as Handy has observed:

> '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 of sections.' (Handy. 1988)

The constant focus on performance itself mitigates against formal or hierarchical management. The strong social bonds within the group (even if the group as a whole does not seek socialisation with similar groups) stem from the mutual enjoyment of the activity. Financial opportunities may be welcome, but income is not a priority. When investigating club cultures in general. Bishop and Hoggett came to:

> '... believe that involvement in such groups offers people something probably unique
> in our society: the chance to come together with others to create or participate for
> collective benefit and enjoyment rather than for sale to an anonymous audience or
> purchaser. This is why their continued existence is important and why these groups
> are so keen to assert their independence. At the same time, it is easy to see how this
> fragile independence might be eroded, for example, by commercialization of leisure.'

(Bishop & Hoggett. 1986)

There is no doubt that members of each survey group do 'come together for collective benefit and enjoyment' and, among those groups of the 'Classic Ceremonial' model, the groups also come together for the same reasons. The survey groups do consider 'continued existence' - of the material they perform - as important, and they are certainly 'keen to assert their independence'. To this extent, the survey groups fit with the Bishop and Hoggett conclusion, but it is not automatically evident that their independence is at all fragile. The 'Exhibitors of Culture' and 'Exhibitors of Type' groups are most at risk as they rely, for performance opportunities, on the whim of people or organisations who do deal with leisure as a commercial activity. The 'Classic Ceremonial' groups, however, are not so reliant, and the 'commercialisation of leisure' (particularly in the heritage industry) is seen by many of them as an opportunity both to perform and to receive income at the same time - but they do not need such bookings in order to continue. Prof. Widdowson has pointed out that even among some 'Short-season' groups:

> 'What is important is that folklorists recognise not only the commercial transactions that are a normal and often essential aspect of our calendar customs, but also the rapidly accelerating trend towards the blatant exploitation of such traditions for questionable commercial ends.' (Widdowson. 1993)

Such exploitation tends, as suggested above, to be from outside the group among entrepreneurs (or entrepreneurial agencies) in the surrounding social milieu, and usually not to the direct benefit of the group itself. Here, perhaps, there is a risk of erosion of independence for the group, although the historical evidence is that groups can, and have successfully, adapted to such changed circumstances.

It is not productive to pursue a comparison of Handy's models of group cultures with the survey groups further except to note that he refers to his models as *cultures*. Boyes has suggested that Folk Revival groups have coalesced around more than just a common interest in performance, and states that:

> 'The growth of a 'folkies' sub-culture had comprehended not merely reperformance but the embodiment of attitudes, values and concepts associated with the [Folk] Revival *in a lifestyle.*' (Boyes.1993a)(my italics)

This observation is paralleled by Bishop & Hoggett who commented, of the morris team among their 'mutual aid' groups, that:

'It was almost as if being a morris dancer spoke for sets of values in relation not just to dancing but also home, work, attitudes to children, even political views.' (Bishop & Hoggett.1986)

It has already been observed that such management as exists is limited to a series of functional rôles - those that are necessary for the group to perform and to continue in their chosen performance arenas. It has also been shown (in Ch.9) that, in the management of the group, matters of performance (e.g. repertoire, style, execution) are frequently distinct from matters of making the performance happen (e.g. bookings, conduct in public, administration). This was also discussed in C/S:3, with similar indications in other case studies. This remains true even when (in some groups) particular individuals are be involved in both.

The commentary of both Boyes and Bishop & Hoggett, quoted above, present a further picture of a group of people sharing social attitudes which are concerned with neither performance nor management. These constitute the ethos and culture of the group and may further explain the strong tendency for groups to recruit, when they do, from existing acquaintances: people likely to already share the group's mores. Social mores were not investigated in this study, but there is certainly no evidence to challenge Boyes and Bishop & Hoggett conclusions and, with the possible exception of those short-season model large groups which bring very diverse individuals together for a short time, what evidence there is from the IQs and interviews supports their conclusions. The lack of commonality among group members except in regard to what the group does (discussed in Ch7. Q9) does not preclude commonality of attitudes among members and some responses did, in fact, point to such shared attitudes.

In most kinds of organisation studied in management analysis, the culture of an organisation is viewed as being encouraged, or even imposed, from the leadership of the organisation downward through the hierarchy. In the surveyed groups one is dealing with a culture shared at, and created from, the 'bottom' level of the structure (however weakly such a structure may exist). The difference between 'standard' organisations and their management structures and the groups here surveyed is even more profound. In every 'standard' organisation (other than, perhaps, in a true co-operative or a 'one-man' business) there is a superior group in control of the organisation who appoint someone to be the apex of an hierarchical management structure. They may be trustees, board members, elected politicians, etc. The individual at the apex, the Chief Executive, M.D., etc., may implement their job from any point on a style continuum from dictator to co-operative member (and in large organisations this or another style choice may be repeated at each level down an extensive management structure) but,

ultimately, a hierarchy of responsibility always exists.

This is almost a complete reversal of the situation amongst the survey groups (and many other 'club' type activities). Here, the group itself appoints (or allows, or coerces) one or more of its own members to fulfil certain (possibly unidentified except in very general terms) functional rôles. These rôle holders do not form a hierarchy and they hold their 'position' only with the ongoing consent of the membership. The creation of any management rôle is upwards, from the entire membership, and not downwards through any hierarchy. This may account for groups reporting that they are 'democratic'. Thus, the membership attitude is, as Bishop & Hoggett (1986) observed among the mutual aid groups they encountered, that necessary work is done 'by some of us for all of us' rather than 'by them for us'.

Certain job functions in the survey groups are allocated because of age, experience or will to work. Seniority was certainly the reason that the 'old boys' were leaders in Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers and also determines who is the Whiffler in the Brittania Coconut Dancers. Experience and knowledge are the reasons many morris Foremen hold their positions (although there is often a separate Squire). The persistent work of Dixie Lee in Whitstable, Alan Seymour in Bury, Prof. Applebee in Shrewton, John Land in Minehead, etc., is the reason these individuals are the leaders in their respective performing groups. Some supportive jobs have been shown to come about only when a willing and able individual takes it on, e.g. P.R. or archivist.

Coventry Mummers and Shropshire Bedlams both discovered the need for an individual that the outside world could relate to as leader, and there is evidence that some acknowledged leaders are, in the absence of any other leader, only there for that purpose. For example Len Berry at Kirtlington. This situation was clearly expressed by one Cotswold morris Squire who observed that,

> 'It seems to me that the purpose of the Squire is to be ignored nearly all the time. If
> a problem arises, they [i.e. the side] send it in my direction and then retire to the bar
> and leave me, alone, to sort it out.' (John Blackburn - Squire of Tarka Morris)

In early work in management training, Adair (1984) drew heavily on leadership qualities in the armed forces, arguing that 'the crisis element of war serves to reveal the essential nature of leadership more clearly'. It is hard to imagine working environments more dissimilar than the army and a casual morris team but several of Adair's observations are pertinent to the present discussion. Rejecting a 'qualities of leadership approach' and a 'situation specific approach', Adair favours a 'functional

approach'. arguing that,

> 'The functional approach lays emphasis not upon what the leader is in terms of traits,
> or upon what he knows of the appropriate technical knowledge, but upon his ability
> to provide the necessary function in a manner acceptable to the group' (Adair. 1984)

In simple terms, as noted above, there are two distinct aspects to the functioning of the surveyed groups. There is the performance itself, often to a particular standard, which has been identified as the primary common objective of the group, and there is everything else - relating to the outside world. In some cases, one individual might be the leader in both aspects but, where the rôles are separate, it is apparent that the performance 'leader' is most frequently in that position because of 'appropriate technical knowledge' (and he may not always execute his rôle 'in a manner acceptable to the group'). The leader in 'everything else' however, does have to 'provide the necessary function in a manner acceptable to the group' or risk losing his position. Evidently, the surveyed groups unconsciously use both Adair's 'situation specific approach' and 'functional approach' in selecting/accepting their leader(s).

Adair also provided a listing of method of communication used in management and this too bears comparison with the methods used by the study groups. Adair's list comprises:

1. Line management
2. Team briefing
3. Joint consultation
4. Committees
5. House journals and bulletins
6. Trade Union meetings
7. A.G.M.s
8. The grapevine

<div align="center">(after Adair, 1984)</div>

Line management has already been shown to be absent in the groups[3]. Committees, although the term is widely used, do not operate as a communication tool - only (if at all) as an executive mechanism. There is no evidence for the existence of house journals or bulletins - the only printing in evidence is in the form of promotional literature. T.U. meetings do not exist as there is no union with whom to communicate. The groups are, by comparison with the kinds of organisation considered by Adair, too small and informal for these mechanisms to exist or operate. Team briefing does occur: regularly and informally as feedback on what individuals have done, every time the group meets, and formally as annual summary reports at A.G.M.s when they occur. Joint consultation occurs, with the whole

membership, over matters such as which bookings to accept, policy stances, etc. This may also happen in an A.G.M. situation, but A.G.M.s, for the purposes of advising interested individuals who are not part of the day-to-day group (e.g. shareholders) simply does not occur, again, because it is unnecessary. The remaining method of communication in Adair's list, the grapevine, is simply overtaken in the small groups by the frequent joint consultation and briefings. In Large Short-Season groups the grapevine may exist but it is largely irrelevant because of the short season nature of the activity. Once again, the methods used are determined by the nature of the groups and no superfluous methods of communication are utilised. As with Handy's analyses, only part of the paradigms are applicable to the survey groups.

A similar situation arises when considering theories such as Belbin's (1993) team rôle and team dynamics analysis. It has already been noted that the study groups are all teams, and Belbin's comments on the use of the word 'team' in normal work environments is immediately relevant.

> 'The word 'team' seems to be used loosely in industry, often being applied to individuals engaged in a common undertaking where their separate roles are ill-defined or non-exitent. 'Team' is often used benignly of a group. One hears managers talk in an avuncular fashion of their 'team' when the members are treated as a flock to be herded by the shepherd and his dog into a sheep-pen. Or, where members are well drilled to behave in a disciplined fashion, they belong not so much to a team as a squad. Or, if the group members attend a meeting to receive a common message, they become an audience.' (Belbin. 1993)

The study groups are teams, in the sense that Belbin seeks to use the term, and he identifies two leadership styles: the Solo Leader and the Team Leader.

> 'Of the two leadership styles, the one familiar to most people is that of the Solo Leader... That is because it is part of crown psychology to seek to be led and to have faith in the leader.
>
> 'The Solo Leader enjoys free range and rules as if absolutely.
>
> 'The team leader deliberately limits his or her role and declines to rule as if absolutely. ...the Team Leader's more inclined to delegate, does not interfere with the way in which others operate and is more concerned with outcomes.
>
> 'While Solo Leaders thrive on, and even crave for, personal publicity, Team Leaders often shun the limelight and avoid taking credit for themselves for whatever successes their organisations have gained.' (Belbin. 1993)

All these observations resonate among the study groups and, with the possible exception of autocratic Foremen, all the leaders seem to be more or less of Belbin's 'Team Leader' model. However, whilst

Belbin considers that Team Leaders avoid the limelight and avoid taking credit because 'they recognise that to take personal credit would damage relations within the team and would distort the reality about how that success was actually achieved' (Belbin. 1993), there is the added constrain in the study groups that these leader hold their power by consent of the team - to alienate the team would be to lose their position and consequently their power. As previously noted, the real power lies at the membership level not through a hierarchy of responsibility.

The Short-season and Classic Ceremonial groups are concerned with neither a commercial nor consumer orientated rôle. The Exhibitors of Type and Exhibitors of Culture, on the other hand. do need to meet the needs of those who afford them performance opportunities, and all four types of group need to engage and satisfy their audiences. The charismatic, up-front, leader is probably more common among the 'Exhibitor' types of group, fitting more closely to Handy's Club Culture model and with Belbin's Solo Leader, but even here the leader rarely takes the glory except when required by outside agencies to do so. The present evidence corroborates Belbin's assertion that most leaders are a mixture of his two models and that circumstances can determine whether the Solo or Team Leader comes to the fore.

The other major aspect of Belbin's work, that on personality traits leading to rôle profiles, has immediate relevance to the dynamics within the study groups. but the present study has not set out to glean the information necessary to conduct an analysis along these lines. Further research in this area would prove illuminating not least to test the analysis against groups so radically different to the hierarchical organisations from which they were derived. As observed throughout the study, the groups operate through common consent. Where autocratic leadership has been tried. it appears to have failed except where an individual with knowledge and skills vital to the group (i.e. a foreman or instructor) is permitted some degree of dictatorship. The study groups have to be acknowledged as teams. They are a cultural phenomenon not a business phenomenon. They provide a leisure activity without commercial overtones. Thus, in a world where leisure activities have become progressively more commercialised and management paradigms, distilled from business, military and manufacturing practice, are widely promoted by government, funding agencies and management consultants, the study groups represent an anomaly in the trend of modern cultural activity. Bishop and Hoggett (1986) cite the morris team they encountered in their study of mutual aid in leisure as only one of a series of examples of the same phenomenon among other leisure groups, including: birdwatchers, photographers, lapidarists, model makers and sports teams:

'This experience led us to adopt then extend a conclusion reached by others that we need 'a notion of leisure which incorporates culture as a series of constructive meanings and not simply as the satisfaction of leisure needs or gratifications'.'
(Bishop and Hoggett.1986, quoting Johnson.1979.)

Such a 'series of constructive meanings' have yet to be defined, tested and utilised, but the present study indicates that there is fertile soil in which to research further and provides a number of paradigms which can be used as a starting point in further research.

The reasons for adopting particular organisation methods

Four models were identified in Ch.10 which can cross Form and Type and which derive from a combination of belief about the nature of the material performed, the objective of the group in performing that material, and the relationship of the group to the social context which surrounds it. These four models were initially identified because there were common factors between groups in aspects of organisation rather than between belief or context.   I suggest that the organisational methods adopted by any particular group come about because of that group's approach to the material, its purpose in performing and the contexts in which it chooses to perform, rather than the other way round - this can be argued for each of the four models, as follows

The Short-season Group performs, obviously, for a limited period; its organisation is small in numbers; it performs a single item of material which is viewed as having strong continuity links with the past and the locality; it is (or at least seeks to be) culturally embedded; it is concerned with the maintenance of tradition. Given that participants also tend to live locally, a single individual, or a few individuals, can easily organise the activity. Even in the larger calendar customs of this model it takes only a few individuals to organise the event although many more may participate on the day. When these groups agree to perform out of season it is simply a matter of the contact person checking availability and willingness of key individuals. Within this framework there is simply no need for a committee, 'officers', bank account or constitution. Individual members of the group socialise within the community, possibly in different 'sets', and there is no need for the group to service social needs of members. When new personnel are needed they are recruited from within the community. The group is self-sufficient and self-contained and has no need to relate to the wider Folk Revival sub-culture: it therefore tends not to do so.

The Exhibitors of Culture, drawing on a relatively wide section of the 'folk performance' canon, seek

to present folk to the public as a part of the cultural heritage. To do this they perform year-round (or at least for an extended season); they are concerned about standards and educating the public and produce choreographed stage presentations. In order to fulfil their purpose they rely on others to provide a performance stage, and frequently have dealings with other formal organisations. They therefore need to be more formal themselves, with a committee, officers, bank account and, in order to present performances to a high standard, an individual who is responsible for the choreography of the displays and the 'training' of the members. It was noted that most of these groups are the 'dancing out' part of a regular club and this may also account for their having a more or less standard 'club' structure. To achieve their purpose they do not need to participate in the general Folk Revival sub-culture, but individual members may well participate and the group may itself be affiliated to an umbrella organisation.

The Exhibitors of Type are (fairly small) groups of people with a particular interest in one Type of performance. Their purpose is the acquisition of personal skills in what is viewed as a contemporary art form, the group performance of those skills as public entertainment and the enjoyment of the shared experience. They are mutually supportive and all share in devising stage performances. Thus they view themselves as democratic or cooperative and may or may not have a committee although they usually appoint one or two individuals to carry out liaison or financial duties. An individual with liaison responsibilities is necessary as these group, like the Exhibitors of Culture, rely on external organisations to provide performance opportunities. As the focus of the group is skill acquisition, the leader is the individual with most skill or knowledge to impart. Members may also seek to improve individually apart from the group and, in line with their cooperative nature, will bring those new skills back to the group.

Classic Ceremonial Groups do not rely on external agencies for performance opportunities - they create their own, usually over an extended summer season. The material they perform is of one Type, or a limited number of Types and occasionally Forms, and is viewed as a continuing tradition even though there is typically no actual connection to a previously extant tradition in the area in which the group performs. Performance is a shared group experience which, because it has little connection to the community at large, is shared with other like-minded groups. To this end the group belongs to one of the umbrella organisations, and travels to events where similar groups are to be found. Because the umbrella organisation requires a degree of formal structure in the management of the group, it will adopt one - often with officer titles idiosyncratic of the Type of performance - but, as often, the structure is notional and organisation is carried out by individuals willing to undertake the

tasks necessary for performance to take place. The majority of members are happy to just go along with what is organised for them. To this extent, participation is an escape from the rest of life and enjoyment comes from sharing a common interest with others.

Chapter 14: English Folk Traditions - Some Conclusions

This study set out '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.' (Ch.1). It also sought to examine 'whether there are mechanisms and strategies inherent, or developed, in these groups that facilitate their longevity.' (Ch.1) Such arrangements as there are have been examined in detail through the questionnaires and interviews and a number of conclusions drawn about their nature. The questionnaires covered various aspects of group composition, attitude, organisation and practice and, in all aspects, it has been possible to establish a set, series or continuum of responses from the various replies given to each area of enquiry. The conclusions presented in this chapter can only be tentative: so far as I have been able to ascertain, no other study has approached the groups in the same way as this study and the present research has demonstrated significant differences between the groups surveyed. The conclusions reached need to be tested further before they can be considered proved.

The Folk Revival of the 20th Century has had two major effects on the continuation of the vernacular arts examined in this study. Firstly, it has given rise to a great many new groups which perform the various Forms and Types of dance and theatre which were described in the introductory chapter. Although almost all the various items in performance were each collected in a particular locality, between them these new groups perform them nationwide. It has also been demonstrated that the Types of performance popular among the groups at any particular point during the century have followed fashion, as have other aspects such as group names and officer titles. The significance attached to the various Types of dance and drama, which was borrowed from Survivalist notions of ancient ritual, has given historical credence to these performances which might otherwise have appeared anachronistic in, and irrelevant to, contemporary society. The second effect of the Folk Revival, also initially through the application of the Survivalist paradigm, has been to give new purpose and 'added value' to specific performances in the location from which they were originally collected or in which some had continued into the 20th Century. Both the ongoing traditions and the location-specific revivals are generally perceived to be continuations of a historic line of performance, even though other researchers have shown that genuinely unbroken and unchanged continuity cannot be demonstrated in any example.

As the Survivalist paradigm has been progressively challenged and discredited through the later 20th Century, it has largely been replaced, as an interpretive framework, by sociometric analysis among

those who seek to explain the function of traditional dance and drama. Whilst several participants in the groups who perform translocated Types still refer to Survivalist interpretation, those in the ongoing traditions and location-specific revivals refer to the history of continuity and the metafolklore of the individual tradition when discussing it in a serious manner. A third approach, which is more recent, is exhibited by participants in some display groups wherein both the history of the Type, and any social function, is largely irrelevant and the performance is simply viewed as a form of contemporary vernacular entertainment.

The latter approach, paradoxically, reflects what appears to have been the more widespread attitude to performance of these Types of dance and drama in the 19th Century, and perhaps earlier, before the Survivalist interpretation and the early Folk Revival attributed particular significance to these types of popular entertainment. It has also been demonstrated that some revivals of individual traditions, which were stimulated by the Folk Revival as it progressed through the 20th Century, have, to a greater or lesser extent, re-established themselves within the communities in which they are performed and become culturally embedded. The totality of groups has also been shown to have moved in concert with wider social developments in the later 20th Century, the most obvious example being that the development of the women's movement has been reflected in the progressive involvement of more and more women in single-sex and mixed-sex teams performing particular Types which had formerly been regarded as a male preserve.

The entire history of the vernacular performing arts, both in the 19th and 20th Centuries, has been one of change and adaptation to the contemporary social milieu. This has been demonstrated across the Forms in this study and, by other researchers, in particular Types or in individual traditions. The details of performance have also been shown to have changed and evolved, and a series of different kinds of change have been identified. A series of stages in the life-cycle of groups has also been identified and, although some groups have demonstrated by their continued existence that they can adapt and find a purpose within contemporary society, many have ceased to exist when they no longer had relevance and could not recruit sufficient numbers of new participants.

The influence of the early Folk Revival, in regarding all these diverse Forms and Types as being of one genre (the umbrella concept of folk performance) can be seen, in the later 20th Century, in the diverse repertoires of many groups. It has been demonstrated how, perhaps in response to a desire for novelty, some groups have broadened their repertoire by the addition of, to them, new Forms as well as Types as they have grown older. Several groups, in addition to their standard evolved

repertoire, maintain a calendar custom which provides an annual focus for the group. In some cases, where the custom is of equal importance to the rest of the repertoire, it is more appropriate to think of these groups as Short-season Groups, part of whose calendar custom extends beyond their customary performance season - they certainly conform to the Short-season Group model in other respects.

Throughout the 20th Century, and across all the Forms and Types of performance, those who make up the groups remain, and take pride in being, the arbiters of their own tradition: it is they, and not any outside influence, which determines what, when, how, and in what style, performances will take place. This independence, sometimes zealously defended, can prove a double-edged weapon depending on the circumstances in which a group may find itself. Younger groups, i.e. those more recently formed, lay less import on the continuity of tradition in general than those which came into being earlier in the Folk Revival although, at the same time, for some individual customary traditions, continuity with the past and the maintenance of the tradition remains, or has become, particularly important.

By taking the performance of a particular Type as a constant in this study, it has become apparent that the vernacular arts collectively form, as E.P. Thompson phrased it a 'vocabulary of performance' and, like any vocabulary, they have been used at different times for different purposes. By the groups themselves, the vocabulary has been used assertively, as a vehicle of protest (although this is less common in recent decades) or a statement of identity, as a means of raising money (in recent decades for charitable purposes rather than for individuals' benefit), as a means of socialising, as entertainment, and even as exercise. Although the groups retain control of their own arts, many willingly permit themselves to be used by external agencies for other purposes: as a tourist attraction or added value to a 'heritage experience'. This also occurs at an international level, for not only do several groups organise overseas visits, or participate in twinning activities but, as Georgina Boyes has pointed out:

> 'Morris dancers, maypoles on the village green and orchestrated folksongs have been
> used to represent - and sell - 'Englishness' throughout the world.' (Boyes.1993a p.3)

It has also been demonstrated that, for Welsh groups, their performances are a statement about, as well as a promotion of, their 'Welshness'.

Organisational methods and longevity

When the organisational methods developed by any group derive from its approach to the material, purpose and performance context, it is easy to see how the variations in organisation that have been noted have arisen: they reflect variations in approach, purpose and context. The organisations have been shown to be very loose and adaptive. If an individual in a group has a particular interest in, for example, P.R., then the group has a P.R. officer; if the group decides to open a bank account, it will find signatories; if members wish to add to the group's repertoire they are capable of doing so (although this may be limited by other considerations). Organisation is, at all times, minimal, and pragmatic: if sufficient is done for the group to be able to fulfil its purpose within its chosen context of performance, there is no need for more to be done and no more will be done. This level of flexibility allows groups to adapt to changing circumstances rapidly and this must aid their ability to survive. Given the number of groups that have ceased to exist, it is evidently not these aspects that determine whether a group *will* survive.

Focusing, as they do, primarily on the performance aspects, the groups have rarely developed mechanisms or automatic routines for attracting new members or dealing with unusual circumstances. Those that also (or only) focus on socialising amongst themselves may not, in fact, want new members as they have already constructed a comfortable social group for themselves, but even amongst those groups who do wish for new members there is little evidence of concerted effort. This accounts for the most frequently reported reason for groups ceasing - lack of numbers.

Groups which rely on external agencies to provide them with performance opportunities are at risk if those agencies no longer wish to utilise them. With such loss of purpose it would be difficult for these groups to do anything other then radically change (in the hope of finding new performance arenas) or atrophy, as many groups of all Types did in previous centuries when their purpose was no longer in demand and their performance platforms were no longer available to them. Groups from the Classic Ceremonial model, which do not rely on external agencies, may be better placed to survive as they constantly find new independent performance arenas as a matter of course, but there is still a need to recruit new members if they are to survive beyond the lifespan of the present performing set. Short-season, culturally embedded groups tend to show the best chances for long-term continuity. Among the larger customs youth is often well represented and even among the smaller groups the next generation is frequently evident. The weight of tradition carried by such groups and their acceptance within local communities also augurs well.

These comments are, of course, generalisations and may be oversimplifications of the complex issues involved, but it remains the case that groups need both purpose and opportunity to perform and, in the longer term, new members if they are to continue. Traditions which passed extant into the 20th Century all had some form of community support - either by a majority or a determined minority, but all adopted (or had thrust upon them) the widespread Survivalist interpretations which added new purpose and value, and probably extended their lives beyond the point at which popular support may have naturally dwindled. These interpretations also assisted the revival of some traditions which had already died out by 1900 and, later, others which had ceased with the advent of the World Wars.

At the end of the 20th Century, with the Survivalist interpretation all but dead, except as a convenient response to etic enquiries or a marketing tool, the groups which perform vernacular dance and theatre exist in a number of different, and largely discrete, performance arenas and must, inevitably, rise and fall with those arenas. Also during the 20th Century, a number of new annual celebrations have been created some of which have captured the popular local imagination and become culturally embedded. They join a distinctive canon of annual communal activities which include the major embedded calendar customs but which manifest in many forms - from regattas, fairs and carnivals, to carol singing and local sports Derbies. It may be noted that these sorts of event were historically attended by dancing groups of some Types surveyed here.

The vernacular repertoire has not remained unaltered during the 20th Century: new groups have created or evolved new Types, sometimes tenuously linked to earlier Types, and these have been readily accepted into the Folk Revival and sometimes beyond. However, it is only Survivalist notions and the Folk Revival that have aggregated all these diverse performances into the umbrella concept of one vernacular genre: individually they remain the unique property of the tradition-bearers. Paradoxically, if the umbrella concept is accepted, then individual Types of performance become irrelevant and the Folk Revival can be seen as no more than one more influence on the progress of the vernacular arts down the centuries, albeit a significant one. If, instead of using the umbrella concept, the historical progress of individual Types of performance is examined, then each can be seen as having a genesis, passing through boom periods of popularity, at times struggling, at times being revived thanks to specific intervention and, in some cases, dying out as popularity and purpose disappeared. This is a reflection of the life-cycle of individual groups which was described in Ch.13.

Definitions revisited

This study began by taking the IFMC definition of 'folk' that was established in 1954. During the course of the study a number of alternative paradigms have been utilised, but the word 'folk' has to be reconsidered. All the survey groups see themselves as performing 'folk' material and as being a part of the 'Folk Revival'. Even new types of performance such as choreographed step-dance displays and the new Border and Molly Types of morris are considered to be 'folk' style performances and, in this usage, the word 'folk' is perhaps synonymous with 'vernacular'. Dictionary definitions of 'vernacular', however, whether applied to architecture or speech, use words such as 'naïve' and 'untutored'. The performances conducted by the survey groups are patently neither of these. The only difference discernable between 'folk' or 'vernacular' and 'high' or 'classical' art forms is, perhaps, that the former derive from individuals' creativity at the grass-roots level upwards and the latter from refined schools of thinking downwards.

The words 'folk' and 'vernacular' remain problematical, and although the questionnaires sought to find consistent use of the words 'tradition' and 'revival', this too proved elusive. Subsequent usage in the Case Studies, and the determination of the four group models in Ch.10, shed some additional light on how the terms tend to be used and it is now possible to constructively re-visit 'tradition' and 'revival'. Tradition can be defined by usage within a context: a thing that is expected to recur, to be repeated, that is perceived as usually being done in a specific environment. The same material may be displayed at a festival or in the street, promoted on the concert stage or exhibited on the media, and although it may be viewed as a 'folk' performance in all those environments, it is no longer a 'traditional' performance once it has transferred across to being a commercial performance and purely an entertainment spectacle. This may be seen as contrary to the corollary to Boissevan's (1992) analysis that removal of a performance to a different context turns it into 'folklore', but irrespective of what it is called, it is the transfer out the traditional context that changes its nature from living art to preserved culture. The term 'Folk' has largely come to be used in an indefinite way to describe a somewhat vague general style, similar to the way the terms 'Jazz' or 'World' are applied to music or dance.

The groups however have their own usages. Broadly, the Exhibitors of Culture and the Classic Ceremonial Groups, when they refer to 'traditional', use the word in the sense of material that was once part of an ongoing tradition. The word 'revival' is used in the sense of a general umbrella term encompassing (at least) a large section of the 'folk' canon, i.e. part of the 'Folk Revival' scene. The

Short-season Groups, when they use 'traditional', refer to something that is still part of an ongoing (if sometimes dormant) tradition. Amongst these groups 'revival' is the recreation of a specific lapsed tradition rather than a broad umbrella term. In these usages, 'traditional' is synonymous with 'folk' as used in the IFMC definition. All groups understand the term 'Folk Revival' to refer to the broad movement described in earlier chapters. Thus, the Leader of the Saddleworth Morris Men was able to say that they were not a Revival team and that their dances were their own tradition, i.e. Saddleworth had no previous record of its own group or dances and consequently there was nothing for the new Saddleworth Morris Men to revive, but the new dances they perform are part of their own new ongoing tradition. The Ulverston Torchlight Procession is now traditional and, as it has no precedent, is not a revival.

Finale

The organisation of vernacular arts groups has proved to be, generally, a very casual affair. It is minimal, pragmatic and highly adaptive. To survive, groups have to have both a purpose and opportunities to perform their art. These have been found, variously, in community self-celebration, in the commercial markets of the heritage industry and festival stages and in self-contained socially rewarding performances in pubs, streets, villages, towns and cities throughout the country.

The groups constantly adapt to their circumstances. This chameleonic facility can be a frustration to Survivalist and Sociologist alike: the groups simply won't fit into neat etic frameworks. Similarly they can be a frustration to the Community Development Worker, professional theatre company and petty establishment, because they won't be controlled: the tradition-bearers are the arbiters of their own performances.

Whilst their pragmatic organisation and adaptive practices must facilitate the groups' long term survival, it has not been possible to demonstrate differences between groups that survive and groups that die. Declining membership is the most frequently reported cause of cessation, and yet new groups proliferate. This is an area where further research could shed greater light on the reasons for success or failure. Overall, the Folk Revival of the late 20th Century continues in a healthy state, certainly in volume if not to the same extent in standards, although it may be slowing down. It has also contributed to an increased volume of culturally embedded customs although it is not the only contributor.

This thesis has only searched broad aspects of the surface of the subject as a whole. The summary conclusions offered need to be tested further, in a variety of aspects, by additional research. However, if my conclusions are correct then, given the collective abilities of the groups to adapt, there is no fear that, still for want of a better term, 'folk' material will not be available for contemporary research well into the 21st Century.

1.	The one exception is Cockleshell Clog (IQ:004) from Southend-on-Sea, a mixed-sex team who perform Northwest morris. In supplementary information and conversation, a member described how, at one point in the group's history, a recent member had persuaded the team that a change of officers was necessary and that there should be a new constitution which was rigidly adhered to. This duly happened at the AGM and the 'experiment' lasted for one year. Members of the team found the 'rule of law' unbearable and, at the following AGM, reversed all the changes they had made the previous year. The member at whose insistence things had changed, left the group. (SQ:004 and Meg Thomas - personal communication)

2.	See endnote above.

3.	With the possible exception of some large Short-season groups e.g. the Hunting of the Earl of Rone. Even here there is no formal line management. Members of the governing body are, or will brief, section leaders of the performance who then work co-operatively during performance with no report back until after the event.

Appendix 1 : Groups responding to questionnaires

The appendix lists the groups who responded to the research by completing and returning questionnaires. The Reference number is followed by the name of the group and the respondent's name (in each case if permission has been granted). A letter "D" beside the reference number indicates that the group had already completed a Draft Questionnaire in the initial stages of the research. A letter "S" indicates that a Supplementary Questionnaire was also returned, and "x2" indicates that two questionnaires were received for that group. Where the group's name appears in brackets, this indicates that there is no formal name for the group and a working title has been used.

The right-hand columns indicate the level of permissions given for use of information and derive from IQ question no.26. Using "Y" for "yes", and "N" for "no", Column **A** indicates whether the group's name may be listed as having responded. Similarly, Column **B** shows whether the informant may be named as having contributed to the research (Acknowledgements) but *without* linking the groups or information to that name, and Column **C** whether the information, group and informant may be directly linked. Nil responses have been treated as "N" in the study.

Ref. No.	Name of Group	Name of Informant	A	B	C
001	Herga Morris Men	en masse	Y	Y	Y
002	Variations	Christine Bower	Y	Y	Y
003	Manley Morris		Y	Y	N
004 D	Cockleshell Clog	Meg Thomas	Y	Y	Y
005	Coventry Mummers	Ron Shuttleworth	Y	Y	Y
006 D x2	Blackmore Morris Men	Roger Johnson	Y	Y	Y
007	Scrambled Legs	Jane Oliver	Y	Y	Y
008 D	Tonbridge Mummers & Hooders	Geoff Doel	Y	Y	Y
009 D	Thames Valley Royals	Ruth Sanderson	Y	Y	Y
010	Chelmsford Morris	Clive Taylor	Y	Y	Y
011	(Chelmsford Folk Club Mummers)	Clive Taylor	Y	Y	Y
012 D	(Hunting of the Earl of Rone)	Pat & Paul Hartley	Y	Y	Y
013	Ironmen	Dave Hunt	Y	Y	Y
014	Severn Gilders	Dave Hunt	Y	Y	Y
015	(Good Easter Molly Dancers)	Simon Ritchie	Y	Y	Y
016 D	Shrewton Mummers	'Prof' Applebee	Y	Y	Y
017 D x2	White Horse Morris Men	Reuben Chappell	Y	Y	Y
018 x2	Ilfracombe Red Petticoats	H.S.Hesman	Y	Y	Y
019	Ursa Major	Wendy Crouch	Y	Y	Y
020	Hurst Morris People	Penny Pinder	Y	Y	Y
021	Gibbet Hill Morris		Y		Y
022	Taeppas Tump	May Somerville	Y	Y	Y
023	Shrewsbury Lasses	Beverley Langton	Y	Y	Y
024 x2	Newcastle Kingsmen		Y	Y	N
025	Test Longsword	'Rip' Rippingale	Y	Y	Y
026	Basingclog Morris	Maggie Finucane	Y	Y	Y
027	Farnborough Mummers	'Mac' McLaren	?	Y	Y
028	Flowers of May	Susan Anne Bell	Y	Y	Y
029	Mandrake Morris	Liz Bruce	Y	Y	Y
030 x2 S	Invicta Morris	Pam Waters	Y	Y	Y
031			N	Y	N

Ref. No.	Name of Group	Name of Informant	A	B	C
032 x2	Chingford Morrismen	Adrian Hilton	Y	Y	Y
033	Bradshaw Mummers	R.J. (Dic) Wood	Y	Y	Y
034	Dead Horse Morris	Mark Lawson	Y	Y	Y
035	Whitstable Hoodeners	Mark Lawson	Y	Y	Y
036	Ragged Staff Clog Group	Diana Lee	Y	Y	Y
037	Kings Penny	Pamela Crouch	Y	Y	Y
038	Fen Nightingale	Wendy Crouch	Y	Y	Y
039	Herga Mummers	Bob Hawkes	Y	Y	Y
040 x2	East Saxon Sword	Mike Teaman	Y	Y	Y
041	Hammersmith Morris Men	Gordon Douglas Potts	Y	Y	Y
042	New Esperance Morris	Diane Moody	Y	Y	Y
043	London Folk	Penny Pinder	Y	Y	Y
044 x2 S	Wode Works Morris	June Smith	Y	Y	Y
045	Chester City Morris Men	Roy Clinging	Y	Y	Y
046			N	Y	N
047 x2	Queen's Oak	Anne Smith	Y	Y	Y
048	Lea Valley Mummers	Adrian Hilton	Y	Y	Y
049 x2	Hips & Haws	Jan Field	Y	Y	Y
050	Chippenham Town Morris	Dave Field	Y	Y	Y
051 x2 S	Trigg Morris Men	Roger Hancock	Y	Y	Y
052	Living Tradition	Ann Smith	Y	Y	Y
053	Akeley Morris	Peter McAlear	Y	Y	Y
054	Chiltern Hundreds Clog Morris	Celia Smith	Y	Y	Y
055	City of Gloucester Mummers	Chris Burge	Y	Y	Y
056 x2 S	Dacre Morris	Amanda Rainger	Y	Y	Y
057 x2	White Star Sword	Simon Evans	Y	Y	Y
058 x2	Owlswick Morris	Delphine Blane	Y	Y	Y
059	Rose & Castle Morris of Blisworth	Phil Lizius	Y	Y	Y
060	Ravensbourne Morris Men	Malcolm Ward	Y	Y	Y
061 x2	Watling Street Mummers	Mike O'Connor	Y	Y	Y
062	Shrewsbury Ball & Pump Morris Men	Raymond Langton	Y	Y	Y
063	Llantrisant Mari	Mick Tems	Y	Y	Y
064			N	N	N
065	Hart & Sole Clog Morris	Bob Tatham	Y	Y	Y
066	Devon Violets	Susan Toon	Y	Y	Y
067	Deva Sword & Morris	Malcolm Doughty	Y	Y	Y
068	Darent Valley Champions	Simon Evans	Y	Y	Y
069			N	Y	N
070	Redbornstoke Morris	Brian Mander	Y	Y	Y
071	The Travelling Folk	J.S. Waters	Y	Y	Y
072 x2 S	Spen Valley Longsword	Trevor Stone	Y	Y	Y
073 x2	Cambridge Morris Men	Cyril Papworth	Y	Y	Y
074 x2 S			N	N	N
075			N	Y	N
076 x2	Kirtlington Morris	Len Berry	Y	Y	Y
077 x2 S	Red Stags Morris	Andy Anderson	Y	Y	Y
078	Oxford City Morris Men		Y	N	Y
079			N	N	N

Ref. No.	Name of Group	Name of Informant	A	B	C
080	Maids of Barum	Barbara Verdigi	Y	Y	Y
081	Barnstaple Morris Men	Francis Verdigi	Y	Y	Y
082 D	North Devon Mummers	Francis Verdigi	Y	Y	Y
083	Sowerby Bridge Morris Dancers	Fred Knights	Y	Y	Y
084	Dawnswyr Y Fedwen Fai	Brian Gregson	Y	Y	Y
085	Coventry Morris Men	Martin Trewinnard	Y	Y	Y
086					
087	Dawnswyr Brynaman	Sarah Hopkin	Y	Y	Y
088	Cwmni Gwerin Pontypwl	Barry Butler	Y	Y	Y
089	Dawnswyr Talog	Elsbeth Page	Y	Y	Y
090 x2	Ashvale Longsword	Chris Higgs	Y	Y	Y
091	Dawnswyr Nantgarw	Cliff Jones	Y	Y	Y
092	Dawnswyr (Aelwyd) Caernarfon	G. Idwal Williams	Y	Y	Y
093	Gwerinwyr Gwent	Dawn Webster	Y	Y	Y
094	Dawnswyr Gwerin Pen-y-fai	Mick Tems	Y	Y	Y
095	Downes on Tour	Brian Mander	Y	Y	Y
096	Brafront Guisers	Brian Mander	Y	Y	Y
097	Tanglefoot	Joan Holloway	Y	Y	Y
098 x2 S	Whitethorn Morris	Elizabeth Norfolk	Y	Y	Y
099 x2 S	Victory Morris	Jim Seal	Y	Y	Y
100 S	Acorn Morris	Anne Fenech	Y	Y	Y
101			N	N	N
102 S	Bedford Morris Men	John Frearson	Y	Y	Y
103 S	New Forest Meddlars	Gez Pegram	Y	Y	Y
104 S	Ashdown Forest Morris Men	Bob Draper	Y	Y	Y
105 S	Belles & Broomsticks Morris	Carol Davies	Y	Y	Y
106 S	Northgate	Martin Hanley	Y	Y	Y
107 S	Gift Rapper	Andrea M. Watts	Y	Y	Y
108 S	Highside Longsword	Ted Dodsworth	Y	Y	Y
109	Lord Pagets Morris	Caroline Delves	Y	Y	Y
110			N	Y	N
111	Glorishears of Brummagem Womens Morris	Sue Bell	Y	Y	Y
112	Calceto	Ann Kilhams	Y	Y	Y
113			N	Y	N
114	Charnwood Clog		Y	N	Y
115		Barry Care	N	Y	Y
116 S	Jabberwocky	Nigel Holt	Y	Y	Y
117	Green Dragon Morris	Deborah Martin	Y	Y	Y
118 S	Cock & Magpie Morris	Shirley Niblock	Y	Y	Y
119	Stone the Crows	Elizabeth B. Chadwick	Y	Y	Y
120	Wath-upon-Dearne Morris	Alec Lowe	Y	Y	Y
121 S	Ripley Morris Men	Clive Sturgess	Y	Y	Y
122	Ripley Green Garters	Susan E. King	Y	Y	Y
123	Rampant Rooster Morris	Barry Phillips	Y	Y	Y
124 S	Bullnose Morris, The	John New	Y	Y	Y
125	Winkleigh Morris	Duncan Andrew	Y	Y	Y
126	Dorset Triumph (Dancers)	Peter Hood	Y	Y	Y
127			N	N	N
128	Barnsley Longsword Team	Ivor Allsop	Y	Y	Y

Ref. No.	Name of Group	Name of Informant	A	B	C
129 S	Newton Bushell Morris Men	Anthony Job	Y	Y	Y
130 S	Tattered Swan Border Morris	Alan Ramsden	Y	Y	Y
131	Heather & Gorse Clogg Dancers	Heather McMillan	Y	Y	Y
132 S	One Step Beyond	Margaret Rigby	Y	Y	Y
133					
134	Lutterworth Morris Men	Bryan Higgs	Y	Y	Y
135	Wakefield Morris Dancers	Anne Hudson	Y	Y	Y
136	Rogue Morris	Claire Jeffrey	Y	Y	Y
137	East Surrey Morris Men	Bob Davies	Y	Y	Y
138 S	Hinckley Bullockers, The	Tony Ashley	Y	Y	Y
139	Mad Jacks Morris	Sandra Shaw	Y	Y	Y
140	Whitchurch Morris Men	Andrew Ingram	Y	Y	Y
141	Saddleworth Morris Men	Richard Hankinson	Y	Y	Y
142	Sergeant Musgraves Dance		Y	Y	N
143 S	Isca Morris Men	Chris Waite	Y	Y	Y
144 S	Crookham Village Mummers		Y	Y	
145 S	Flag Crackers of Craven	Dick Taylor	Y	Y	Y
146	Fleur-de-Lys	Clare Lain	Y	Y	Y
147 S			N	Y	N
148 S	Sallyport Sword Dancers	Vince Rutland	Y	Y	Y
149 S	Long Man Morris Men	Norman Hopson	Y	Y	Y
150 S	Wyre Forest Morris Men	Nigel Cavendish	Y	Y	Y
151 S	Thaxted Morris Men	Stuart Moxon	Y	Y	Y
152			N	N	
153 S	Green Man's Morris & Sword Club	Ray King	Y	Y	Y
154	Bedcote Morris	Martin de Vine	Y	Y	Y
155	Chalice Morris Men	Ken Wilson	Y	Y	Y
156	Black Horse & Standard N.W.Morris	Carol Selby	Y	Y	Y
157	First Sedgley Morris Men	Mike Edwards	Y	Y	Y
158	Royal Lancashire Morris Dancers	Michael L. Jackson	Y	Y	Y
159	Stockport Morris Men & Rapper Sword	Brian Padgett	Y	Y	Y
160 S	Clitheroe Morris Men	Hans van Dink	Y	Y	Y
161	Fleet Morris	Mrs J. Sparkes	Y	Y	Y
162 S	Men of Wight Morris Dancers	Martin Davis	Y	Y	Y
163 S	Hartley Morris Men	Bob Tatman	Y	Y	Y
164 S	Poly-Olbion	Liz Craddock	Y	Y	Y
165	Kits Coty Morris	Martyn Brisland	Y	Y	Y
166 S	Devil's Dyke Morris Men	N. C. Strudwick	Y	Y	Y
167	Mendip Morris Men, The	Brian Henshaw	Y	Y	Y
168	Taunton Deane M.M. / N.Curry Mummers	Don Church	Y	Y	Y
169	Nancy Butterfly	Jenny Shufflebotham	Y	Y	Y
170	Pump House Clog Morris		Y	N	N
171	Burnsall Morris	Howard M. Riley	Y	Y	Y
172 S	(Oxford May Morning)	Gerard C. Robinson	Y	Y	Y
173	Coventry Sword	Sally Wearing	Y	Y	Y
174	Hobos Morris	Carol Colvin	Y	Y	Y
175	High Spen Blue Diamonds	Ricky Forster	Y	Y	Y
176 S	Ripon City Morris Dancers	Ted Dodsworth	Y	Y	Y
177 S	Faithful City Morris Men	Allan Craig	Y	Y	Y

Ref. No.	Name of Group	Name of Informant	A	B	C
178 S	Thames Valley Morris Men	John Elkins	Y	Y	Y
179	Escafeld Morris Men	K. S. Hinchliffe	Y	Y	Y
180	East Suffolk Morris Men	Alan Tong	Y	Y	Y
181			N	Y	
182	Gloucestershire Morris Men, The	Gwilym Davies	Y	Y	Y
183 S	Betty Lupton's Ladle Laikers	Sue Miller	Y	Y	Y
184 S			N	N	N
185 S	Kennet Morris Men, The	Jon Holmes	Y	Y	Y
186	Black Shuck Borderline Morris	Barry Hill	Y	Y	Y
187	Crook Morris	Martyn Harvey	Y	Y	Y
188					
189	Aidleys	Val Chadwick	Y	Y	Y
190	Borderdash		Y	Y	N
191	Rivington Morris	Joanne Rundall	Y	Y	Y
192	Black Adder Morris		Y	Y	N
193 S	Tarka Morris Men	G.S. Coles	Y	Y	Y
194	Shrewsbury Morris Dancers	Beverley Langton	Y	Y	Y
195 S	Furness Morris Men	N. Braithwaite	Y	Y	Y
196			N	Y	N
197	Merrydowners Morris	Barry A. Simper	Y	Y	Y
198 S	Fiddlesticks	Susan Holt	Y	Y	Y
199	Bury Pace Eggers	Alan Seymour	Y	Y	Y
200 S	Aldbury Morris Dancers		Y	Y	
201	Kings Morris, The	David Jackson	Y	Y	Y
202			N	N	N
203 S		Tim Dwyer	N	Y	Y
204 S	Chesterfield Garland Dancers	Beryl Gummow	Y	Y	Y
205	Preston Royal Morris Dancers	Robert Alty	Y	Y	Y
206	Bideford Phoenix Morris	Lida Siviter	Y	Y	Y
207	Glory of the West	Lynda King	Y	Y	Y
208 S	Bawdering on Morris	Roger Janes	Y	Y	Y
209	Rabble	Gail Duff	Y	Y	Y
210	Three Shires	Eileen Lea	Y	Y	Y
211 S	Leicester Morris Men		Y	N	
212	Boughton Monchelsea Morris Men		Y	Y	N
213	Nancy Cousins Morris	Glynis Giles	Y	Y	Y
214			N	Y	N
215	Middleton Pace Egg Play	Clif Barfield	Y	Y	Y
216 S	Wesleyan Morris Men	John Gibson	Y	Y	Y
217	Chip Off the Old	Pat Benson	Y	Y	Y
218 S	Motley Morris	Peter Ashby	Y	Y	Y
219	Houghton Rapper	Derek Clarke	Y	Y	Y
220 S	Hook Eagle Morris	John Ellis	Y	Y	Y
221	West Somerset Morris		Y	Y	
222					Y
223	Frog Island Morris	Gillian Hanger	Y	Y	Y
224	Brighton Morris Men		Y	Y	
225	Malden Greenjackets Morris Men	Ken Stubbings	Y	Y	Y
226	Chipping Campden Morris Men	David T. Hart	Y	Y	Y

Ref. No.	Name of Group	Name of In formant	A	B	C
227	Darlington Mummers	Jim Smith	Y	Y	Y
228 S	Men of Sweyn's Ey	Keith Lascelles	Y	Y	Y
229	Packington Morris Men	Peter Diffey	Y	Y	Y
230 S	Breinton Morris, The	Phill Lister	Y	Y	Y
231	Wadard Morris Men	Tony Lewis	Y	Y	Y
232	Beggar's Oak Clog	Gill Edwards	Y	Y	Y
233 x2 S	Wantsum Morris Men	Philip G. Edmonds	Y	Y	Y
234			N	N	N
235	Letchworth Morris Men	Alan Creamer	Y	Y	Y
236	Foresters Morris & Sword Dance Club	Stephen Earwicker	Y	Y	Y
237	Durham Rams	Robin Staughan	Y	Y	Y
238	Royal Manor Morris	Stella New	Y	Y	Y
239	Lord Conyers Morris Men	John Ledbury	Y	Y	Y
240	England's Glory Ladies Morris	Anita Carpenter	Y	Y	Y
241	Adlington Morris & Sword Dance Club	Phil Raynes	Y	Y	Y
242	Plymouth Morris Men	Andy King	Y	Y	Y
243	White Beaux & Belles		Y	Y	N
244 S	Buttercross Belles	Man Fairholme	Y	Y	Y
245	Etc Folk	Hilary Grevatt	Y	Y	Y
246	Britannia Coconut Dancers	Ian O'Brien	Y	Y	Y
247	Maenads with Maids of Kent		Y	N	N
248 S		Jenny Howard	N	Y	Y
249	Wessex Morris Men	Dennis W. Preston	Y	Y	Y
250	Chameleonic Morris Men	David Brewster	Y	Y	Y
251	White Hart Morris Men	Allan Russell	Y	Y	Y
252	Riches to Rags Border Morris Group	Marian Luscombe	Y	Y	Y
253			N	N	N
254 S	Hertfordshire Holly	Liz Hall	Y	Y	Y
255	Persephone, Bradford Women's Morris	Patricia M. Leedale	Y	Y	Y
256	Martlet Sword & Morris Men	Ben Metcalfe	Y	Y	Y
257 S	Towersey Morris Men	A.D. Merry	Y	Y	Y
258	Merry England Mummers (Sussex)	Clive Bennett	Y	Y	Y
259	Stroud Morris Dancers	Janine Christley	Y	Y	Y
260	Lincoln Morris Men	Andrew Horn	Y	Y	Y
261 S			N	Y	N
262	Southsea Belles Ladies Cotswold Morris		Y	N	Y
263	Greenwich Morris Men	George Barmer	Y	Y	Y
264	Somerset Maids	R.J. Wickham	Y	Y	Y
265	Blackheath Morris Men	Rodger Molineux-Roberts	Y	Y	Y
266	Bourne River Morris Men	John Whelan	Y	Y	Y
267 S	Pennyroyal Garland Dancers	Tessa de Ville	Y	Y	Y
268	T'Gradely Lasses	Sonia Atkin	Y	Y	Y
269			N	N	N
270	Thameside Mummers	Simon Hill	Y	Y	Y
271	Phoenix Morris	Sally Wearing	Y	Y	Y
272 S	Grand Union Morris	Lester Bailey	Y	Y	Y
273	Brackley Morris Men	P.R. Bestwick	Y	Y	Y
274	Goathland Plough Stots	Keith Thompson	Y	Y	Y
275 S	Ebor Morris	A. Fenech	Y	Y	Y

Ref. No.	Name of Group	Name of Informant	A	B	C
276 S	Southport Swords	Geoff Charlton	Y	Y	Y
277 S	Grimsby Morris	Steve Fuller	Y	Y	Y
278			N	Y	N
279 S	Long Itchington Morris	David Gunby	Y	Y	Y
280			N	N	N
281 S	Fiddlers Fancy Womens Morris	Brenda C. Alexander	Y	Y	Y
282	Poppy Clog & Garland		Y	Y	N
283	Wickham Morris	Amanda Toomer	Y	Y	Y
284	Adderbury Village Morris Men	Bryan Shepherd	Y	Y	Y
285 S	Forest of Dean Morris Men, The	Tim Humphries	Y	Y	Y
286 S	King John's Morris Men	Harvey Green	Y	Y	Y
287 S	Earlsdon Morris Men	Angus Grant	Y	Y	Y
288 S	Clerical Error	Alan Abraham	Y	Y	Y
289 S	Cardiff Ladies Morris		Y	N	N
290	Windsor Morris	Jenny Major	Y	Y	Y
291 S	Treacle Eater Clog	Jennifer Hunnisett	Y	Y	Y
292 S	Caddington Blues Morris	Tony Sanger	Y	Y	Y
293	Kernow Morris Men	Alan Ransden	Y	Y	Y
294	Rusty Rapper		Y	Y	N
295		Christina Clark		Y	Y
296	Bodmin Wassailers	Peter D. Marlow	Y	Y	Y
297	Wakeman Mummers	Jim Coulson	Y	Y	Y
298	Norbridge Folk Group and Morris	Eileen Lea	Y	Y	Y
299	Brompton Scorpers Longsword Dancers	Vince Rutland	Y	Y	Y
300			N	N	N
301	Oyster Morris	Margaret Darby	Y	Y	Y
302	Dr. Turberville's Morris	James Allwright	Y	Y	Y
303	Thornden Morris	James Allwright	Y	Y	Y
304	Ribbonsteel Rapper	James Allwright	Y	Y	Y
305	Bassett Street Hounds	James Allwright	Y	Y	Y
306	Leigham Vale Morris	Nigel Holt	Y	Y	Y
307	Contra Folk Dance Group	Ray King	Y	Y	Y
308	Palatine Morris	Esme Ryder	Y	Y	Y
309	Sompting Village Morris	A. Abraham	Y	Y	Y
310	Bare Bones Women's Morris Dancers	Jean Anderson	Y	Y	Y
311	Anker Morris Men	Tony Ashley	Y	Y	Y
312	One Day Wonders Travelling Morris	Tony Ashley	Y	Y	Y
313 D	Hoddesdon Crownsmen	Ken Arton	Y	Y	Y
314	Benfleet Hoymen Morris & Longsword	John New	Y	Y	Y
315	Castle Capers	John New	Y	Y	Y
316	Great Oaks	John New	Y	Y	Y
317	Hands Around	John New	Y	Y	Y
318 S	Holywell Cross Women's Morris	Shirley Niblock	Y	Y	Y
319	South Shropshire Morris Men	Jim Logan	Y	Y	Y
320 S	Royal Oak Morris	Kevin Lodge	Y	Y	Y
321	World Famous Ashdown Mummers	Bob Draper	Y	Y	Y
322	Frome Valley Morris	David Milner	Y	Y	Y
323					
324					

Ref. No.	Name of Group	Name of Informant	A	B	C
325	Shepherds Crown Morris	Mary Davies	Y	Y	Y
326	Marlwood Folk Companions	Pete Sumner	Y	Y	Y
327	Seven Champions Molly Dancers	David Roe	Y	Y	Y
328	Eydon Mummers	Kevin Lodge	Y	Y	Y
329			N	N	N
330	(Whitstable Jack)	Dixie Lee	Y	Y	Y
331	Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers	Chris Bartram	Y	Y	Y
332	Muddiford and Milltown Morris Men	Peter Worman	Y	Y	Y
333	Shredded Feet Appalachian Dancers	Michael Jackson	Y	Y	Y

Appendix 2: Interviews referred to in the text

The appendix is in two parts. Interviews conducted for the study are listed in the first section and other audio and video tape sources are listed in the second section.

Section one: Personal interviews by the writer: (Prefix - "Int:")

001	29/11/93	Len & Barbara Berry : Kirtlington Morris, Kirtlington Lamb Ale, Morris general.
002	14/09/96	Len Berry : Kirtlington Lamb Ale.
003	30/11/93	Trevor Stone : Longsword general, and specific teams.
004	20/10/96	Dixie Lee : Whitstable Mayday, Whitstable Jack, Local Revival general.
005	28/11/93	Simon Evans : Morris, Mumming & Longsword in Kent.
006	30/11/93	Sue Coe : Appalachian step-dance group.
007	04/12/93	Ron & Jean Shuttleworth : Coventry Mummers, Morris Ring Archive on Mumming.
008	05/01/97	Chris Bartram : Abingdon Traditional Morris Dancers, Dance revival general.
009	02/01/95	Peter 'Woff' Westcott : Hunting of the Earl of Rone, Barnstaple Morris Men.
010	03/01/95	Pat & Paul Hartley, Andrew Hartley : Hunting of the Earl of Rone.
011	29/11/93	Malcolm Doughty : Deva Folk Group, EFDSS, Folk Revival general.
012	22/07/95	John Lambert : Hoddesdon Crownsmen.
013	02/09/95	Keith Holloway : Mr. Hemmings Morris Dancers, Morris Sides in Abingdon.
014	02/01/96	John Kirkpatrick : Shropshire Bedlams, Morris general.
015	03/01/97	Christopher 'Prof' Applebee : Shrewton Mummers, Morris sides.
016	18/07/96	Richard Hankinson (and others) : Saddleworth Morris & Rushcart.
017	19/07/96	Michael Jackson : Royal Lancashire Morris, Northwest Morris general.
018	20/07/96	Alan & Jean Seymour : Bury Pace-eggers, Pace-egging general.
019	21/07/96	Paul & Liz Davenport : Green Oak Morris, Kirtlington Morris, Morris general.
020	06/03/97	Ken Harvey, Tom and Joe Healey & Ian O'Brien : Bacup Coconut Dancers.
021	21/06/98	Phil Underwood : Occasional Morris Sides
022	02/04/98	Peter Collins : Morris and other teams in Kent.
023	13/10/94	Doc Rowe : Mumming general.

Section two : Other audio and video sources: (Prefix - "T:")

001	Workshop interview with Symondsbury Mummers at Cecil Sharp House on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the building (7/6/80). Recorded by Doc Rowe. (Doc Rowe collection)
002	Soundtrack of the Channel 4 programme 'The Future of Things Past'. Contains interview sections with tradition-bearers from the following calendar customs: Allendale New Year's Eve (Northumbria), Haxey Hood Game (Lincolnshire), Bottle Kicking & Hare Pie Scramble (Hallaton, Leics.), Carhampton Wassailing (Somerset), Minehead Sailors Hobby Horse (Somerset), Padstow 'Old 'Oss (Cornwall), Whitby Penny Hedge (Yorkshire), Cheese Rolling (Gloucestershire), Beating The Bounds (Oxford), The Burry Man (South Queensferry,Lothian), Antrobus Soulcakers (Cheshire), Marshfield Mummers (Avon), Mari Llwyd (Glamorgan), - together with commentary.
003	Recording of the Ripon Sword Dancers made on Boxing Day 26th. December 1980, by Doc Rowe. (Doc Rowe collection).
004	Soundtrack of BBC2 programme 'First Tuesday' which included an item on, and interviews with, Saddleworth Morris Men concerning both the group and the Rushcart tradition they maintain.

Appendix 3: Contents of the Initial Questionnaire

Section 1 - The Group

Q1 **Name of group (or event)**

Q2 **Type of custom/tradition**

Groups were asked to rank, in order of importance, each Form/Type of performance they undertook, selecting from:

MORRIS	MUMMING	ANIMALS	SWORD DANCE	PEOPLE/EFFIGY
Cotswold	Xmas-hero	Hobby horse	Longsword	Jack-in-the-green
Northwest	Souling	'Owd Horse	Rapper sword	Giant
Border	Pace-egg	Mari Llwyd		Guy
Molly	Tup	Broad	WASSAILING	Other
Other	Wooing/plough	Hoodening		
	Other	Other	STEPDANCE (Type)	SOCIAL DANCE (Type)

If 'other' had been selected, or if the group conducted a specific custom, they were asked to expand with a description.

Q3 **Profile of the group**

Groups were asked: Number of people in the performing group, the age range of participants, 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. over 65 yrs.

Q4 **Age of group and continuity**

Groups were asked: The most recent year of performance.   Earliest recorded year of performance. If there were any periods when performance did not take place, and if so which years.

Q5 **Area of performance**

Groups were asked to indicate in which areas they performed, and to rank these for importance, selecting from:

   a) in own town or village
   b) in local area
   c) within one county
   d) over several counties
   e) countrywide generally
   f) countrywide but only at festivals/events
   g) internationally.

Q6 Range of performance

Taking the performance(s) they had ranked as being of most importance, the groups were asked to tick whichever of, and as many of, the following best described it.

Does the group perform

a) Its own unique tradition
b) Item(s) handed on from previous generations
c) Concious creation of a 'new' tradition
d) Item(s) as collected from other traditions
e) Item(s) re-created from otherwise defunct traditions
f) Item(s) adapted or reworked from other traditions
g) New items written for the group
   Other (in which case describe).

Q7 Time of performance

Taking the performance they had ranked as being of most importance, the groups were asked when performance usually took place, selecting from:

On certain day(s) each year
At one season of the year
At other specific times
Throughout the year.

They were also asked to be more specific about dates, seasons, etc. if possible.

Q8 Financial support for the group

By ticking all appropriate boxes, the groups were asked to indicate current and previous sources of income. Categories were:

Collections at performances
Annual subscription from members
Member subscription for special projects
Local Authority fees
Local Authority grants or subsidies
Fees from business
Sponsorship from business/industry
Sponsorship from religious institutions
Fees from voluntary organisations/fetes/etc.
Sales of merchandise
Running fund-raising events
Other - in which case specify.

Q9 Commonality amongst members

The groups were asked whether members of the group had anything in common other than membership of the group. Examples given were: all same employer, school or club, all live in same village, all same trade, etc.

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Section 2 - Managing the group

Q10 Rules and Regulation

The groups were asked to reply YES or NO, by ticking boxes, to the following questions:
Does the group have a written constitution?
Does the group have rules?
Apart from rehearsals, do you have any general 'business' meetings of the whole group?
> If YES, how often and what for?

The groups were also asked - 'If there is a written constitution or rules, it would be helpful if you would enclose copies when you return the completed questionnaire.'

Q11 Committees and management in the group

The groups were asked to reply YES or NO, by ticking boxes, to the following questions:

>   Does the group have a formal committee?
> IF YES: Is it elected by the whole group?
>   Is the committee self-selecting?
>   Does it have appointed officers?
>   Are all the members of the committee also members of the performing group?
>   Is there also an informal committee?
> IF NO: Does the group have an informal committee?

An 'informal committee' was defined in the questionnaire at this point as 'a regular ad hoc group of individuals who make arrangements concerning the group and activities'.

Q11a - to be completed if the group had an informal committee.

How is committee membership decided?
Are all the members of this committee also members of the performing group?

Q11b - to be completed if there was no committee at all.

Who organises the group and performances?

Q12 Titles used by the group

With an introductory text explaining a differentiation between titles related to the management of the group and titles which served to identify performance roles, the question asked groups to list all 'management' and 'performance' titles used in the group whether or not they had a particular function to perform.

Q13 Tasks undertaken in the running of the group

The introductory text explained how the question was to be completed: by reference to the titles already listed at question 12 or by use of: 'OWN' - if each person does their own; 'ALL' - if everyone is involved together; 'COMM' - if undertaken by a formal or informal committee; 'AD HOC' - if done by an ad hoc or variable group. If the task did not arise in the group, the box was to be left blank.

The pre-selected tasks against which these markers were placed, 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.

Q13a

Asked for any other tasks identified in the group and who did them using the format above.

Q14 Selection of new members for the group

An open question asked how new members were selected.

Q15 Further comments

An open question asked the correspondent if there were any other aspects of group organisation, or how the group was managed or run, which they wished to describe or comment on.

Q16 Motivation of the group

An open question asked what were the objectives of the group and why it existed.

Section 3 - Personal Information

The introduction to Section 3 thanked the respondent for filling in the questionnaire and stated that although the answers to Sections 3 & 4 were not critical to the study, it would be useful if the questions were completed.

Q17 The name of the correspondent

Q18 The occupation of the correspondent

Q19 The age of the correspondent

This allowed for either a specific age to be given or for a box, with an age range, to be ticked. The age ranges were: 1-10, 10-18, 19-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-55, 55-65, over 65.

Q20 The correspondent's position/office in the group

Q21 How long the correspondent had performed with the group

Q22 Correspondent's classification of the group

The correspondent was asked to tick as many boxes from the selection as necessary to indicated how they personally (or the whole group) would describe the group, selecting from:
                    TRADITIONAL
                    REVIVAL
                    MIXTURE OF BOTH
                    CONTEMPORARY
                    OTHER
If 'other' was selected, the correspondent was asked to specify.

Q23 Membership of other groups

Correspondents were asked to list any other groups with whom they currently, or had previously, performed and to give the start and finish years of membership of each.

Q24 Further assistance in the research

Correspondents were asked to tick YES or NO boxes to indicate if they were prepared to assist the research further by:
            - giving further information over a pint or so.
            - answering a more detailed questionnaire.
            - completing a questionnaire on groups listed at Q23.
            - asking aquaintances to complete questionnaires on other groups.

Section 4 - Further information and permissions

Q25 Who completed the questionnaire

Correspondents were asked to tick a box to indicate whether the questionnaire was completed by:

> the correspondent alone
> by the correspondent and a few others
> by the 'committee'
> by the whole group.

Q26 Permission of the use of answers

The introductory letter which formed part of the questionnaire document explained that: 'The information you supply will be used for statistical and textual analysis and will not necessarily be associated with you personally, nor with the name of the group'. Correspondents were asked to tick YES or NO to the following questions, as additional ways in which they would permit the data to be used.

> 'May I state in the research which group this information relates to?'
> 'May I list your name as an informant in the research but without linking any specific answers to it?'
> 'May I credit you, or the group (depending on the answer to Q25), by name as the source of the information given?'

Q27 Address and telephone number of correspondent. Signature.

Q28 Results

Correspondents were invited to tick a box if they wished to know about the results of the research.

Appendix 4: Questions put by Supplementary Questionnaire

The actual list of supplementary questionnaires was specific for each group, based on responses in the IQs. The following questions were included, variously, as appropriate.

IF THE GROUP'S NAME WAS NOT SIMPLY FORM/TYPE AND LOCATION
- Why was the name '*xxxxxxxxx*' chosen for the group?

- Number of members who are dancers, musicians, non-performing members in each of the categories: Female over 18, Male over 18, Female under 18, Male under 18. [The SQ presented this question in the form of a grid into which the numbers were to be written]

- How many dances/plays are currently in the group's repertoire?

- Where did the group learn its original repertoire from?

- If the group belongs to any of the 'umbrella' organisations (e.g. The Morris Ring, The Morris Federation, EFDSS), please say which and why.

IF THE GROUP REPORTED MORE THAN ONE FORM/TYPE IN THEIR REPERTOIRE
- Have the group performed *xxxx (type)* throughout their existence? YES / NO
  If NO, in what year was each type introduced?
  Why were these additional types added to the previous repertoire?

IF AN UNKNOWN FORM/TYPE OR NAMED CUSTOM WAS REPORTED IN THE IQ
- Please describe *xxxxxxxxx* briefly.

IF THE IQ SHOWED THAT THE RESPONDENT HAD PREVIOUSLY PERFORMED WITH A GROUP BUT HAD NOW CEASED TO DO SO:
- Please tick the relevant area to indicate why you no longer perform with *xxxxxxxxx*. *The answers to this question will be kept entirely confidential and only the accumulated statistical information reported in the research.*

> Group stopped performing*
> Moved away from the area.
> Physically could no longer do it.
> Lost enthusiasm for performing generally.*
> Didn't like the policy.
> Didn't like individual officer(s).
> Didn't like changes.*
> Wanted to change type of performance.

* If you have ticked any of these reasons, can you explain in a bit more detail? e.g. why the group stopped, any reason for loss of enthusiasm, what changes did you not like?

- Have their been any changes in the way in which the group is organised or managed during the time you have been involved? If so, what were they and why did they happen, and what was the effect?

Appendix 5: Repertoires, Repertoire rankings and ratios.

This appendix shows the answers given to Q2 of the Initial Questionnaire, listing the Forms/Types performed by each group together with the importance ranking (to a maximum of 3) attributed to each by the correspondent. The 'Ratio' column shows the number of 'Rank1' Form/Type(s) as a ratio of the total number of Form/Type(s) performed by each group.

Q ref.	Type rank	Form	Type	Ratio
001	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
002	1	Social dance	Unspecified	1:2
	2	Sword	Longsword	
003	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
004	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
005	1	Mumming	Xmas hero	5:5
	1	Mumming	Robin Hood	
	1	Mumming	Tup	
	1	Mumming	Wooing/Plough	
	1	Sword	Longsword	
006	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
007	1	Step	Appalachian	1:1
008	1	Animal	Hoodening	2:6
	1	Mumming	Xmas hero	
	2	Mumming	Robin Hood	
	3	Mumming	Pace-egg	
	3	Mumming	Wooing/Plough	
	3	Mumming	Souling	
009	1	Morris	Border	2:2
	1	Morris	Northwest	
010	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:5
	1	Morris	Northwest	
	2	Morris	Border	
	2	Step	Clog	
	3	Mumming	Other	
011	1	Mumming	Other	1:1
012	1	Custom	Unique	1:1
013	1	Morris	Border	1:1
014	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
015	1	Custom	Plough touring	2:4
	1	Morris	Molly	
	2	Song	Social	
	3	Step	English	
016	1	Mumming	Christmas Hero	1:1
017	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	2	Morris	Border	
018	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
019	1	Morris	Northwest	1:2
	2	Morris	Other	

Q ref.	Type rank	Form	Type	Ratio
020	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:4
	2	Song	Social	
	3	Mumming	Christmas Hero	
	3	Social dance	Unspecified	
021	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	2	Morris	Border	
022	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
023	1	Morris	Other	2:4
	1	Social dance	Unspecified	
	2	Step	Clog	
	3	Morris	Northwest	
024	1	Sword	Rapper	1:3
	2	Morris	Northwest	
	3	Sword	Longsword	
025	1	Sword	Longsword	1:2
	2	Mumming	Christmas hero	
026	1	Morris	Northwest	1:2
	2	Song	Social	
027	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	1:2
	2	Mumming	Other	
028	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
029	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
030	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
031	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
032	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:4
	2	Morris	Northwest	
	2	Mumming	Christmas hero	
	3	Sword	Rapper	
033	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	3:3
	1	Mumming	Other	
	1	Mumming	Wooing/plough	
034	1	Morris	Other	1:1
035	1	Animal	Hoodening	1:1
036	1	Step	Clog	1:1
037	1	Social dance	Unspecified	1:3
	2	Step	Clog	
	3	Step	Broom	
038	1	Step	Clog	1:1
039	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	1:1
040	1	Sword	Longsword	2:2
	1	Sword	Rapper	
041	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
042	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:3
	2	Morris	Other	
	3	Custom	May Garland	

Q ref.	Type rank	Form	Type	Ratio
043	1	Social dance	English	1:7
	2	Step	Appalachian	
	2	Step	Clog	
	3	Morris	Cotswold	
	3	Morris	Northwest	
	3	Sword	Longsword	
	3	Sword	Rapper	
044	1	Morris	Border	1:1
045	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
046	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
047	1	Morris	Border	1:1
048	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	3:3
	1	Mumming	Pace-egg	
	1	Mumming	Souling	
049	1	Morris	Northwest	2:4
	1	Step	Clog	
	2	Step	Appalachian	
	2	Step	Welsh	
050	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
051	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
052	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:3
	2	Morris	Border	
	3	Social dance	English	
053	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
054	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
055	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	1:1
056	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
057	1	Sword	Rapper	1:2
	2	Sword	Longsword	
058	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:6
	2	Step	Appalachian	
	2	Step	Clog	
	3	Mumming	Christmas hero	
	3	Social dance	Unspecified	
	3	Sword	Rapper	
059	1	Morris	Northwest	1:2
	2	Song	Social	
060	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
061	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	1:1
062	1	Morris	Border	2:6
	1	Morris	Other	
	2	Morris	Cotswold	
	2	Sword	Longsword	
	2	Sword	Rapper	
	2	Step	Clog	
063	1	Animal	Mari	1:1
064	1	Morris	Cotswold	3:4
	1	Morris	Northwest	
	1	Step	Clog	

Q ref.	Type rank	Form	Type	Ratio
	2	Morris	Border	
065	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
066	1	Morris	Northwest	1:4
	2	Morris	Molly	
	3	Step	Broom	
	3	Step	Clog	
067	1	Morris	Cotswold	3:3
	1	Sword	Longsword	
	1	Sword	Rapper	
068	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	1:1
069	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:4
	2	Effigy	Jack-in-the-Green	
	2	Mumming	Christmas hero	
	2	Song	Social	
070	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	3	Effigy	Green man	
071	1	Morris	Border	2:2
	1	mumming	Christmas hero	
072	1	Sword	Longsword	1:1
073	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	2	Morris	Molly	
074	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
075	1	Sword	Longsword	1:1
076	1	Custom	Unique	3:3
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	
077	1	Morris	Border	1:1
078	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	1	Step	Welsh	
080	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
081	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
082	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	1:1
083	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
084	1	Social dance	Welsh	1:3
	2	Morris	Other	
	2	Song	Social	
085	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:7
	2	Sword	Longsword	
	3	Morris	Border	
	3	Morris	Northwest	
	3	Social dance	Unspecified	
	3	Song	Social	
	3	Sword	Rapper	
086	1	Social dance	Welsh	2:2
	1	Step	Welsh	
087	1	Social dance	Welsh	1:2
	3	Song	Social	
088	1	Social dance	Welsh	1:2
	2	Animal	Mari	

Q ref.	Type rank	Form	Type	Ratio
089	1	Social dance	Welsh	2:2
	1	Step	Welsh	
090	1	Sword	Longsword	1:2
	2	Mumming	Christmas hero	
091	1	Morris	Border	2:5
	1	Social dance	Welsh	
	2	Animal	Mari	
	3	Step	Clog	
	3	Sword	Rapper	
092	1	Social dance	Welsh	1:2
	3	Step	Welsh	
093	1	Social dance	Welsh	1:3
	2	Song	Social	
	3	Step	Welsh	
094	1	Social dance	Welsh	1:1
095	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
096	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	1:1
097	1	Step	Clog	1:1
098	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
099	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
100	1	Morris	Border	2:2
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
101	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
102	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:5
	2	Morris	Border	
	3	Morris	Molly	
	3	Morris	Northwest	
	3	Mumming	Wooing/plough	
103	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	2	Morris	Border	
104	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
105	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	2	Morris	Border	
106	1	Sword	Rapper	1:1
107	1	Sword	Rapper	1:2
	2	Sword	Longsword	
108	1	Sword	Longsword	1:1
109	1	Morris	Border	1:1
110	1	Morris	Border	2:3
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
	3	Morris	Molly	
111	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
112	1	Morris	Border	2:2
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
113	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:4
	2	Sword	Longsword	
	3	Mumming	Christmas hero	
	3	Social dance	English	
114	1	Step	Clog	1:1

Q ref.	Type rank	Form	Type	Ratio
115	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:6
	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	
	2	Morris	Border	
	2	Morris	Northwest	
	2	Sword	Longsword	
	2	Sword	Rapper	
116	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
117	1	Morris	Border	2:4
	1	Step	Unspecified	
	2	Morris	Cotswold	
	2	Morris	Northwest	
118	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	2	Morris	Border	
119	1	Morris	Border	1:1
120	1	Morris	Border	2:3
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
	2	Song	Social	
121	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:4
	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	
	2	Custom	Unique	
	2	Effigy	Jack-in-the-Green	
122	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
123	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	2	Mumming	Christmas hero	
124	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:3
	2	Morris	Border	
	2	Step	Appalachian	
125	1	Morris	Border	4:5
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
	1	Mumming	Other	
	1	Sword	Rapper	
	2	Mumming	Christmas hero	
126	1	Crossform	Repertory	1:1
127	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
128	1	Sword	Longsword	1:2
	2	Sword	Rapper	
129	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
130	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	1:2
	2	Morris	Border	
131	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
132	1	Step	Appalachian	1:1
133	1	Morris	Border	1:2
	3	Song	Wassailing	
134	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:3
	2	Mumming	Christmas hero	
	2	Sword	Longsword	
135	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
136	1	Morris	Border	1:1
137	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1

Q ref.	Type rank	Form	Type	Ratio
138	1	Custom	Plough touring	2:2
	1	Morris	Molly	
139	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	2	Morris	Border	
140	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
141	1	Custom	Rushcart	2:3
	1	Morris	Northwest	
	2	Sword	Longsword	
142	1	Morris	Northwest	1:2
	2	Morris	Border	
143	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:2
	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	
144	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	1:1
145	1	Morris	Border	1:4
	2	Mumming	Other	
	3	Effigy	Jack-in-the-Green	
	3	Song	Wassailing	
146	1	Morris	Border	2:4
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
	2	Morris	Northwest	
	3	Song	Wassailing	
147	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:3
	2	Animal	Hoodening	
	3	Sword	Longsword	
148	1	Sword	Rapper	1:1
149	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	2	Song	Wassailing	
150	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
151	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
152	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
153	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:5
	2	Sword	Longsword	
	3	Custom	Bower	
	3	Effigy	Jack-in-the-Green	
	3	Mumming	Christmas hero	
154	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	3	Morris	Border	
155	1	Morris	Border	2:7
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
	2	Custom	Unique	
	2	Mumming	Christmas hero	
	2	Step	Clog	
	2	Sword	Longsword	
	2	Sword	Rapper	
156	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
157	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:3
	2	Effigy	Jack-in-the-Green	
	2	Sword	Longsword	
158	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1

Q ref.	Type rank	Form	Type	Ratio
159	1	Morris	Cotswold	4:4
	1	Morris	Northwest	
	1	Sword	Longsword	
	1	Sword	Rapper	
160	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
161	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
162	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
163	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:3
	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	
	3	Morris	Border	
164	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
165	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
166	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
167	1	Morris	Border	3:3
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
	1	Sword	Rapper	
168	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:3
	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	
	2	Morris	Border	
169	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
170	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
171	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
172	1	Custom	Unique	3:3
	1	Effigy	Jack-in-the-Green	
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
173	1	Sword	Rapper	1:1
174	1	Morris	Border	1:1
175	1	Sword	Rapper	1:1
176	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
177	1	Morris	Border	3:3
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
	1	Sword	Rapper	
178	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	3	Sword	Rapper	
179	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
180	1	Morris	Cotswold	3:4
	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	
	1	Sword	Longsword	
	2	Morris	Border	
181	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:2
	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	
182	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
183	1	Morris	Northwest	2:2
	1	Morris	Other	
184	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
185	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:3
	2	Morris	Border	
	3	Mumming	Christmas hero	
186	1	Morris	Border	1:1

Q ref.	Type rank	Form	Type	Ratio
187	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:3
	2	Morris	Border	
	3	Sword	Rapper	
188	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	2	Mumming	Christmas hero	
189	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
190	1	Morris	Border	1:1
191	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
192	1	Morris	Northwest	1:3
	2	Morris	Border	
	2	Social dance	British/French	
193	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
194	1	Morris	Border	6:6
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
	1	Social dance	English	
	1	Step	Clog	
	1	Sword	Longsword	
	1	Sword	Rapper	
195	1	Morris	Cotswold	3:3
	1	Mumming	Pace-egg	
	1	Sword	Longsword	
196	1	Morris	Northwest	2:2
	1	Step	Clog	
197	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:4
	1	Sword	Other	
	2	Morris	Border	
	2	Morris	Northwest	
198	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
199	1	Mumming	Pace-egg	1:1
200	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	2	Sword	Rapper	
201	1	Custom	Unique	2:2
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
202	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
203	1	Animal	Hoodening	2:2
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
204	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
205	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
206	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	2	Morris	Border	
207	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
208	1	Morris	Border	4:4
	1	Morris	Molly	
	1	Sword	Longsword	
	1	Sword	Rapper	
209	1	Animal	Hoodening	5:6
	1	Effigy	Jack	
	1	Morris	Border	
	1	Mumming	Other	

Q ref.	Type rank	Form	Type	Ratio
	1	Song	Wassailing	
	2	Mumming	Christmas hero	
210	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
211	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:3
	1	Mumming	Wooing/Plough	
	2	Morris	Border	
212	1	Morris	Border	1:2
	3	Morris	Cotswold	
213	1	Morris	Border	1:1
214	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
215	1	Mumming	Pace-egg	1:1
216	1	Morris	Border	1:1
217	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
218	1	Effigy	Jack	2:2
	1	Morris	Border	
219	1	Morris	Cotswold	3:3
	1	Sword	Longsword	
	1	Sword	Rapper	
220	1	Morris	Border	1:1
221	1	Morris	Cotswold	3:4
	1	Song	Wassailing	
	1	Sword	Other	
	2	Morris	Border	
222	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:3
	1	Sword	Longsword	
	3	Morris	Border	
223	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:3
	1	Mumming	Chrisatmas hero	
	3	Sword	Longsword	
224	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
225	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:4
	2	Sword	Rapper	
	3	Mumming	Wooing/Plough	
	3	Social dance	English	
226	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
227	1	Mumming	Repertoire	1:1
228	1	Morris	Cotswold	3:3
	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	
	1	Sword	Rapper	
	2	Morris	Border	
229	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
230	1	Effigy	Jack	4:4
	1	Morris	Border	
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
	1	Song	Wassailing	
231	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:3
	1	Mumming	Chrismas hero	
	3	Morris	Border	
232	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1

Q ref.	Type rank	Form	Type	Ratio
233	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:3
	3	Morris	Border	
	3	Sword	Rapper	
234	1	Morris	Northwest	2:2
	1	Mumming	Pace-egg	
235	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
236	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:4
	1	Mumming	Wooing/Plough	
	2	Morris	Border	
	3	Sword	Rapper	
237	1	Sword	Rapper	1:2
	2	Morris	Cotswold	
238	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:2
	1	Morris	Other	
239	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:5
	2	Morris	Border	
	2	Sword	Longsword	
	3	Mumming	Christmas hero	
	3	Mumming	Tup	
240	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:3
	2	Morris	Northwest	
	3	Morris	Border	
241	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	2	Sword	Longsword	
242	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:4
	2	Effigy	Jack	
	2	Morris	Border	
	2	Sword	Longsword	
243	1	Morris	Northwest	3:3
	1	Social dance	English	
	1	Social dance	Other	
244	1	Morris	Northwest	1:2
	1	Step	Appalachian	
245	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:4
	1	Morris	Northwest	
	2	Social dance	Festival	
	2	Sword	Rapper	
246	1	Custom	Unique	1:1
247	1	Morris	Border	1:1
248	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
249	1	Animal	Dorset Ooser	3:3
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	
250	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
251	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
252	1	Morris	Border	1:1
253	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
254	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
256	1	Morris	Border	2:4

Q ref.	Type rank	Form	Type	Ratio
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
	2	Sword	Longsword	
	2	Sword	Other	
257	1	Morris	Cotswold	3:3
	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	
	1	Stewp	Clog	
258	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	1:7
	2	Mumming	Wooing/Plough	
	3	Animal	Owd Oss	
	3	Mumming	Pace-egg	
	3	Mumming	Souling	
	3	Song	Wassailing	
	3	Sword	Longsword	
259	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:2
	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	
260	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:3
	1	Mumming	Wooing/Plough	
	2	Mumming	Pace-egg	
261	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:3
	2	Custom	Unique	
	2	Mumming	Other	
262	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
263	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
264	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:2
	1	Morris	Stave	
265	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:3
	2	Mumming	Christmas hero	
	3	Sword	Rapper	
266	1	Morris	Cotswold	4:4
	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	
	1	Mumming	Pace-egg	
	1	Song	Wassailing	
267	1	Morris	Northwest	1:3
	2	Step	Clog	
	3	Social dance	English	
268	1	Custom	Unique	1:1
269	1	Morris	Cotswold	4:4
	1	Mummng	Christmas hero	
	1	Sword	Longsword	
	1	Sword	Rapper	
270	1	Mumming	Chrisatmas hero	2:6
	1	Sword	Lonhgsword	
	2	Mumming	Pace-egg	
	2	Mumming	Tup	
	3	Mumming	Wooing/Plough	
	3	Mumming	Other	
271	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
272	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
273	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2

Q ref.	Type rank	Form	Type	Ratio
	2	Mumming	Other	
274	1	Sword	Longsword	1:1
275	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:2
	1	Sword	Longsword	
276	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:4
	1	Sword	Longsword	
	3	Effigy	Jack	
	3	Sword	Rapper	
277	1	Morris	Border	7:7
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
	1	Morris	Molly	
	1	Morris	Other	
	1	Mumming	Wooing/Plough	
	1	Song	Wassailing	
	1	Sword	Longsword	
278	1	Morris	Cotawold	1:2
	2	Morris	Molly	
279	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	2	Morris	Other	
280	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
281	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
282	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
283	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:3
	2	Morris	Border	
	3	Morris	Other	
284	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
285	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:3
	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	
	2	Morris	Border	
286	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:4
	1	Morris	Northwest	
	2	Morris	Border	
	3	Muming	Christmas hero	
287	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
288	1	Morris	Border	1:2
	2	Mumming	Other	
289	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	2	Morris	Border	
290	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
291	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
292	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
293	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
294	1	Sword	Rapper	1:1
295	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
296	1	Song	Wassailing	1:1
297	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	1:2
	2	Mumming	Wooing/plough	
298	1	Social dance	English	1:3
	2	Morris	Cotswold	

Q ref.	Type rank	Form	Type	Ratio
	3	Step	Clog	
299	1	Sword	Longsword	1:1
300	1	Sword	Rapper	1:2
	2	Step	Clog	
301	1	Effigy	Jack-in-the-Green	2:2
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
302	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
303	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
304	1	Sword	Rapper	1:1
305	1	Morris	Border	2:2
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
306	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
307	1	Social dance	English	3:3
	1	Social dance	Manx	
	1	Social dance	Welsh	
308	1	Morris	Northwest	1:1
309	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
310	1	Morris	Border	2:2
	1	Morris	Other	
311	1	Morris	Border	2:2
	1	Morris	Cotswold	
312	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
313	1	Sword	Rapper	1:2
	2	Mumming	Other	
314	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:2
	1	Sword	Longsword	
315	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
316	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
317	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	2	Morris	Border	
318	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
319	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	2	Morris	Border	
320	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:2
	2	Mumming	Christmas hero	
321	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	1:2
	2	Morris	Border	
322	1	Morris	Cotswold	2:2
	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	
323	1	Morris	Border	2:2
	1	Mummingf	Christmas hero	
324	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
325	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
326	1	Social dance	Playford	1:5
	2	Morris	Cotswold	
	3	Step	Clog	
	3	Sword	Longsword	
	3	Sword	Rapper	
327	1	Morris	Molly	1:1

Q ref.	Type rank	Form	Type	Ratio
328	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	1:1
329	1	Morris	Northwest	2:2
	1	Mumming	Christmas hero	
330	1	Custom	Unique	1:1
331	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:1
332	1	Morris	Cotswold	1:3
	2	Morris	Border	
	3	Morris	Northwest	
333	1	Step	Appalachian	1:1

Appendix 6: Size of groups and age-range of members

The first part of this appendix gives the raw responses to Initial Questionnaire Q3 showing for each returned questionnaire: the group size (rounded to an even number) together with minimum and maximum ages and the number of members in each age-band. The second part gives a tabulation of the size of group x age range of members.

Part 1

Ref.	Size of group	Age of youngest	Age of oldest	Age range	No of members per age band:							
					<10	10/18	19/24	25/34	35/44	45/54	55/65	65+
001	14	35	60	25								
002	16	32	63	31								
003	30	9	65	56								
004	36	20	65	46								
005	14	33	62	29								
006	20	11	50	39	2				9	9		
007	16	14	50	36								
008	14	16	55	39								
009	8	18	42	24								
010	24	10	59	49								
011	10	20	30	10								
012	40+	0	70	70								
013		16	50	34								
014		20	50	30								
015	40+	15	65	50								
016	8	15	63	48								
017	18	25	60	35	1	1		3	8	4		1
018	26	11	55	44	5	2			8	11		
019	8	38	69	31								
020	14	14	45	31								
021	12	27	35	8								
022	26	25	66	41								
023	20	13	69	56								
024	16	24	40	16								
025		6	50	44								
026	28	7	65	58								
027	10	20	50	30								
028	14	25	58	33								
029	24	9	67	58								
030	20	24	59	35								
031	16	8	45	37								
032	10	10	60	50								
033	10	14	45	31								

Ref.	Size of group	Age of youngest	Age of oldest	Age range	No of members per age band:							
					<10	10/18	19/24	25/34	35/44	45/54	55/65	65+
034		9	40	31								
035	12	8	65	57								
036		13	65	52								
037	10	26	68	42								
038	8	23	40	17								
039	12	9	60	51								
040	8	20	44	24								
041	24	26	50	24								
042	10	17	41	24								
043	30	14	55	41								
044	28	13	52	39								
045	20	35	55	20								
046	20	20	82	60								
047	14	32	55	23								
048	6	25	50	25								
049	22	8	54	46								
050	16	25	55	30								
051	18	30	62	32								
052	10	18	45	27								
053	6	25	45	20								
054	8	16	47	31								
055	10	21	70	49								
056	12	11	52	41								
057	8											
058	24	17	55	38								
059	24	17	48	31								
060	18	14	55	41								
061	6	19	50	31								
062	12	12	50	38								
063	14	7	65	58								
064	16	25	50	25								
065	22	25	50	25								
066	12	22	58	36								
067	14	12	22	10								
068	6	40	60	20								
069	40+	20	70	50								
070	14	31	49	18								
071	6	45	65	20								
072	14	30	60	30								
073	16	18	80	62								
074	12	28	42	14								

Ref.	Size of group	Age of youngest	Age of oldest	Age range	<10	10/18	19/24	25/34	35/44	45/54	55/65	65+
					No of members per age band:							
075	20	18	51	33								
076	18	10	50	40		5		13	2			
077	14	19	41	22								
078	18	25	65	40								
079	24	4	63	59								
080	10	18	40	22								
081	20	16	65	49								
082	8	16	70	54								
083	8	15	63	48								
084	14	30	53	23								
085	12	14	80	66								
086	20	22	52	30								
087	12	24	44	20								
088	18	22	57	35								
089	40+	11	55	44								
090	6	33	59	26								
091	30	17	45	28								
092	20	15	48	33								
093	24	24	62	38								
094	30	20	50	30								
095	10	40	45	5								
096	10	16	55	39								
097	8	30	49	19				1	5	3		
098	22	18	50	32	1			8	10	3		
099	18	16	60	44	1	1			6	9	1	
100	12	20	52	32		1		2	7	2		
101	14	25	65	40	8			2	6	5	3	
102	28	25	65	40				4	4	13	5	2
103	12	25	52	27				4	4	4		
104	14	23	55	32		1		1	9	2	2	
105	16	30	50	20					13	3		
106	8	28	50	22				3	4	1		
107	8	20	50	30		1		1	3	3		
108	8	38	52	14					2	7		
109	12	25	55	30				7	3	1	1	
110	14	34	56	22					9	5		
111	8	21	47	26		1			6	1		
112	15				1			4	3	7		
113	20	20	55	35				1	5	10	4	
114	12	16	65	49	1			1	4	3	3	
115	22	12	58	48	6	2	3		6	4	1	

Ref.	Size of group	Age of youngest	Age of oldest	Age range	\<10	10/18	19/24	25/34	35/44	45/54	55/65	65+
116	16						1	3	9	3		
117	20						4	4	6	4	2	1
118	16								14	2		
119	16	27	47	20				7	7	2		
120	16	9	66	57	1	2				10	2	1
121	34	11	66	55		10		2	4	16	1	1
122	24	13	60	47		9		2	4	8	1	
123	20						1	2	16	2		
124	8	30	55	25				1	2	5		
125	12	25	65	40				1	1	9	1	
126	26	0	60	60	1	2	3	5	7	6	3	
127	12							2	7	2	1	
128	14	10	65	55								
129	14	12	68	56		3		1	6	5		1
130	8	16	45	29		1	1	2	5			
131	22				3			1	11	7	1	
132	16	21	60	39			2	1	7	6	1	
133	16								8	7	2	
134	6							2	1	2	2	1
135	26	14	52	38		1	1	1	15	8		
136	22	25	52	27				6	10	6		
137	24	30	50	20		1		8	8	4	2	2
138	24	25	55	30				10	9	5	1	
139	30	18	58	40		1	1	5	15	6	2	
140	8	15	74	59		1		3	3	6	2	2
141	26	12	50	38		6	3	3	6	9		
142	20	14	46	32		1		1	18	1		
143	14	30	60	30				2	6	4	2	
144	8	18	70	52			3	2	2			3
145	40+	11	65	54		3	4	15	10	10	3	
146	12	21	61	40			2	5	1	2	2	
147	12	30	60	30				2	6	5	3	
148	16	25	45	20				6	9	2		
149	24	10	62	52	1	5	1	2	9	5	2	
150	10	30	55	25				2	5	2	1	
151	24					1	1	4	6	6	4	2
152	10							2	3		3	2
153	18	25	65	40				2	2	7	5	3
154	18					6			8	3	1	
155	16	18	60	42			2		9	4	1	

Ref.	Size of group	Age of youngest	Age of oldest	Age range	<10	10/18	19/24	25/34	35/44	45/54	55/65	65+
							No of members per age band:					
156	12	22	50	28			1	2	5	4		
157	22	8	62	54	4				8	8	2	
158	14	14	50	36	2			2	8	2		
159	18	16	56	40	1	2		3	3	5	4	
160	12				1				3	5		
161	20	30	65	35				1	10	8	1	1
162	16	30	65	35				2	4	6	4	
163	20	25	69	44				2	5	10	2	2
164	18	25	50	25		1		3	7	6		
165	20	26	55	29				4	2	14		
166	18	30	60	30		1		2	3	10	2	
167	28											
168	14	16	60	44		1		5	5	3	1	
169	14					2		2	9	3		
170	12	30	50	20				7	9	4		
171	10							2	4	1	2	1
172		18	75	57								
173	6	27	54	27				2	3	2		
174	12	30	45	15				9	3	1		
175	14	19	51	32			1		11	2		
176	24	30	52	22				3	5	17		
177	22	23	67	44			2	3	6	5	5	1
178	40+	11	90	79		1	1	5	5	15	8	5
179	8	10	57	47	1			1	1	5	1	
180	14	18	68	50								
181	20											
182	32	11	65	54		2		3	13	10	2	2
183	28	16	50	34		1		1	20	6		
184	24	40	60	20								
185	26	16	60	44		3	1	4	7	10	2	
186	12						2	5	2	2	1	
187	30	15	70	55		1	1	3	13	8	3	1
188	12	6	62	56	2				4	4	3	
189	16	35	52	17					12	4		
190	20	25	70	45				1	4	8	6	2
191	30	17	65	48		1	1	9	9	6	1	3
192	20							3	15	3		
193	14	8	53	45	1	1		4	2	6		
194	22	15	73	58								
195	16	40	70	30					2	9	5	1

Ref.	Size of group	Age of youngest	Age of oldest	Age range	<10	10/18	19/24	25/34	35/44	45/54	55/65	65+
196	20	30	50	20				3	16	1		
197	8	48	72	24						8		1
198	20	6	60	54	2	1		2	11	5		
199	10	17	52	35		1	1	1	2	6		
200	20								4	8	6	2
201	8	45	55	10						7	1	
202	22								6	14		3
203	10	20	65	45			1		8		1	
204	22	22	65	43			1		11	2	3	
205	14					1		2	8	4		
206	16	21	65	44			1	3	7	3	1	1
207	14							5	8	2		
208	22	5	51	46	9			3	7	3		
209	22	9	51	42	1	3	2	4	8	4		
210	24	11	67	56		6	1		9	5	2	1
211	20	19	80	61			1	2	4	10	3	1
212	12	25	45	30				8	3	2		
213	16	20	54	34			2	4	6	4		
214	16	20	54	34			1	3	3	3	4	2
215	10	16	60	44		1		1	3	4	1	
216	12	14	50	36		6	2	2	1	1		
217	12	14	49	35		1		1	8	2		
218	24							10	4	8	3	
219	8									5	3	
220	22	16	50	34		1		3	13	6		
221	24	13	69	56		5			17	2		1
222	14	40	65	25					4	4	6	
223	20	26	65	39				3		6	11	2
224	16	28	53	25				3	13	1		
225	22	10	62	52	2	2		5	5	6	2	
226	8	8	70	62	2	2		2	6	3		2
227	10	45	57	12						9	1	
228	16	9	55	46	2	5			4	4	1	
229	14	16	50	34		1		2	4	4		
230	8	20	48	28			2	3	3	1		
231	20	18	60	42		1	1	1	6	9	3	
232	22					1	1	6	8	5	2	
233	14	15	75	60		2	3	2	3	3	2	
234	16	16	50	34		3	1	3	5	5		
235	14							1	8	5		

Ref.	Size of group	Age of youngest	Age of oldest	Age range	<10	10/18	19/24	25/34	35/44	45/54	55/65	65+
236	20	16	70	54		1		2	5	8	4	
237	12	27	56	29				2	3	6	1	
238	20	26	50	24				3	11	6		
239	20	34	65	31				1	5	13		1
240	26	8	55	47	2	2		4	10	7	2	
241	14	33	52	19				2	4	8		
242	16	8	60	52	2			1	5	7	2	
243	20					17			1	2		
244	34							6	19	6	3	
245	40+	10	55	45	1	10	4	5	20			
246	16	27	68	41				2	5	6	2	1
247	32	7	50	43	7	5		1	9	10		
248	20							1	12	8		
249	20							4	4	10		2
250	14	13	66	53								
251	32	7	48	41	2	7	1	3	14	6		
252	14	30	60	30				2	8	3	2	
253	20	25	55	30				5	10	4	1	
254	32	3	54	51	1	8		2	11	7		
255	24	20	60	40			4	7	7	6	1	
256	24	14	82	68		3		1	5	7	5	3
257	16	12	65	53		3	3	2	2	5	2	
258	10	28	62	34				1	5	3	2	
259	40+	20	60	40			6	9	16	6	3	
260	10	18	50	32		1	1	1	4	3		
261	30	25	60	35				5	5	10	10	
262	18	14	50	36		2	1	2	7	6		
263	8	18	60	42		1			1	4	3	
264	16							5	8		3	
265	12	19	50	31			1		10	1		
266	34	25	70	45				6	12	12	2	2
267	20	13	60	47		2			12	5	2	
268	12	12	60	48		2		1	4	4	1	
269	24						2	5	7	5	4	1
270	14	42	65	23					2	6	7	
271	10	16	55	39		1		1	4	3	1	
272	18							6	6	5	1	
273	12	30	55	25				3	6	3		
274	40+				8	7	6	3	6	9	1	
275	16							2	10	4		

Ref.	Size of group	Age of youngest	Age of oldest	Age range	<10	10/18	19/24	25/34	35/44	45/54	55/65	65+
276	26	14	55	41		2		1	6	15	2	
277	16	8	55	47	1	2		5	5	2	1	
278	20								9	6	1	
279	12	19	50	31			2	1	6	3		
280	12	36	55	19					8	4		
281	22	13	65	52		3			11	6	1	1
282	12	13	54	41		2		2	5	3		
283	34	12	67	55		3	2	7	10	8	4	1
284	14	16	50	34		1	1	1	9	3		
285	24	15	80	65		1			2	18	2	1
286	24	10	64	54		2		1	6	12	3	
287	22	10	70	60	1	2	3	4	4	4	4	1
288	26	25	50	25				12	13	2		
289	12	23	52	29			1	2	7	3		
290	20	24	48	24			2	5	11	2		
291	24	16	63	47		1		2	16	4	1	
292	16							6	6	5		
293	6	16	40	24		3	3	2	1			
294	6	25	45	20				3	3			
295	20					4		4	9	3		
296	8	18	60	42		2			2	3	1	
297	8	40	50	10					3	5		
298	14	28	65	37				1		3	11	
299	8	35	49	14					7	2		
300		15	50	35								
301	30	12	50	38		2	5	4	14	6		
302	8	14	50	36		1		2	4	1		
303	20	18	50	32			1	3	12	4		
304	6	25	40	15				4	3			
305	8	11	40	29		1		4	3			
306	12	20	40	20			3	5	5			
307	16	30	70	40				1		7	6	3
308	14	18	56	38		1		3	8	1	1	
309	20	18	52	34		1	1	5	11	2		
310	14	18	63	45		1		2	4	5	2	
311	20	30	55	25				2	15	3		
312	8	35	55	20					5	3		
313	12	16	52	36		1		2	5	5		
314	30	35	55	20		2	4	5	10	10		
315	12	30	50	20								

Ref.	Size of group	Age of youngest	Age of oldest	Age range	No of members per age band: <10	10/18	19/24	25/34	35/44	45/54	55/65	65+
316	20	20	40	20								
317	10	12	65	53		3			2	4	2	
318	10	30	45	15				8	2			
319	14	22	65	43			1	1	1	10		2
320	16	30	55	25				1	2	12		
321	10	24	44	20			1		10			
322	14	13	60	47		1	2	1	4	5	2	
323	14	35	62	27								
324	10	25	45	20				2	8			
325	12	24	46	22			1	2	6	4		
326	30	11	64	53		8	8	2	6	2	4	
327	18	15	50	35		2	2	4	7	3		
328	8	16	50	34		1	1		3	4		
329	26	14	62	48		3		3	15		6	
330	10	18	55	37		2			4	4		
331												
332	18				2	2	2		9	1	1	1
333												

535

Tabulation: Group size against Age-range of groups

Age range (max-min)	Size of group																
	6	8	10	12	14	16	18	20	22	24	26	28	30	32	34	36	40+
5			1														
8				1													
10		2	1		1												
12			1														
14		2		1													
15	1		1	1													
16						1											
17	1					1											
18					1												
19		1		1	1												
20	4	1	2	5		3		3		2			1				
22		1	1	1	2					1							
23					3												
24	1	3	1					2		1							
25	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1		1						
26	1	1															
27	1		1	1	1				1								
28		1		1									1				
29		2		2	1			1									
30		1	1	2	3	2	1	2		1			1				
31	1	2	1	2	1	1		1		1							
32			1	1	2		1	2	1								
33					1			2									
34		1	1		2	2		1	1			1					
35		1	1			1	3	3					1				
36		1		3	1	1	1										
37			1		1	1											
38				1	1					2	2		1				
39			2		1	1		2				1					
40				2	1	1	4			1		1	1				1
41				2		1	1				2		1	1			
42		2	1			1		1	1								
43					1				1					1			
44			1		1	1	1	1	1		2						1
45			1		2			1							1	1	1
46						1			3								
47		1			1	1		1		2	1						
48		2		1							1		1				
49			1	1				1		1							
50			1		1	1											2
51				1									1				
52		1				1			2	1							
53		1			1	1							1				
54		1						2	1	1				1			1
55					1								1		2		
56			1		1		1			2			1				
57			1		1												
58					1				1	1		1					
59		1								1							
60					1			1	1		1						
61								1									
62		1				1											
65										1							
66				1													
68										1							
70																	1
79																	1

Appendix 7: Areas of performance and sources of material

This appendix gives the raw data from IQ Q5 (geographic areas of performance) and Q6 (historical provenance of material performed). See Appx.3 for detail of the letter codes.

Ref.No.	Question 5 a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)	g)	Question 6 a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)	g)
001		1			2		3					✓	✓	✓
002	1	1	2	2			1		✓		✓		✓	✓
003	3	2	1	3		3	4	✓	✓					
004		1				2	3				✓		✓	✓
005				1		2	3						✓	
006	1	1	2			3	3		✓		✓		✓	
007	1													
008			1	2				✓			✓	✓		
009	1	1	2	3	3	3	3	✓					✓	
010		1				2					✓			✓
011	1													✓
012	1							✓			✓			
013	1	1				3	4				✓			✓
014	1	1				3	4				✓		✓	✓
015	1	2		3						✓			✓	✓
016	2	1						✓						
017		1		1		2	3				✓		✓	
018	1	2		3			4		✓				✓	
019			1		2			✓	✓				✓	✓
020	3		1	2							✓		✓	
021					1						✓		✓	
022	2	1	2	2		3					✓		✓	
023	2	1	3	4	6	5	7	✓					✓	✓
024		1	1	3	2	4	5	✓			✓		✓	✓
025	2	1				3	4						✓	
026	2	1		3		4							✓	✓
027		1	1	2	3			✓	✓					
028		1		2		3	5				✓	✓	✓	
029		1		2			3		✓					
030	3	1	2			4	5	✓			✓			
031	1	1				2					✓	✓	✓	
032		1		2	3		4			✓	✓			
033		1		1					✓				✓	✓
034		1				2						✓	✓	✓
035	1	2				3			✓					✓

Ref.No.	a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)	g)	a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)	g)
036		1	2	3							✓		✓	✓
037		1		2		3		✓	✓				✓	✓
038	1	2				3		✓	✓				✓	✓
039	1	1				2	3	✓				✓		
040	1	1		1		1		✓			✓			
041	1	2			3		4		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
042	1	2			3		4					✓	✓	
043						1	2				✓		✓	✓
044		1	2			3							✓	✓
045	1				1		3				✓		✓	✓
046	1				2				✓				✓	
047		2	1	3		4		✓						✓
048	2	1									✓			
049	1	1	1								✓			✓
050		1									✓			✓
051		1	2			3					✓			✓
052							1				✓			
053		1		2							✓			
054	4	1	3	5		2			✓					✓
055		1		2					✓			✓		
056	1	2				3	4	✓						
057		1									✓			
058				1			2	✓		✓	✓		✓	
059					1						✓			
060	1	1					2				✓			
061		1										✓		
062		1	2		3	4	5			✓	✓			✓
063	1	1			3				✓		✓			
064	1	1	2	2	2	2	2				✓		✓	✓
065		1		2							✓		✓	✓
066	2	1	3			4					✓		✓	
067		1				2	1		✓					
068	1											✓		
069	1	2			1		2	✓				✓		
070		1	2			3	4			✓	✓			✓
071														
072		1		2		3							✓	
073	2	1	3						✓		✓	✓		
074		1						✓		✓		✓	✓	✓
075			1			2		✓		✓			✓	✓

Ref.No.	a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)	g)	a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)	g)
076	1	1			2		3	✓				✓		✓
077		1			3		4	✓		✓				✓
078	1		3				2		✓					
079						1	2							
080		1											✓	✓
081		1	2	3							✓	✓		
082		1						✓				✓	✓	
083	1	2	3	4		4		✓	✓					✓
084		1				2	3	✓				✓		
085		1				2	3		✓			✓	✓	✓
086	1	1	1	3			2		✓		✓	✓		
087	1	1	1	1								✓	✓	
088				1			2		✓		✓	✓		
089	1	1	1	2	3	2	3		✓	✓			✓	✓
090		1											✓	
091					1				✓		✓		✓	
092			1			2	2	✓						✓
093			1			2	3		✓					✓
094		3	1				2		✓			✓		
095				1							✓			✓
096		1											✓	
097				1		2	2	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
098		2		1							✓		✓	✓
099	1	2			3						✓		✓	✓
100		1				2					✓		✓	✓
101		1		2				✓						✓
102	1	1	2		3		4		✓	✓	✓	✓		
103		1	2	3		4					✓			
104		1		2	3						✓		✓	
105		1					2				✓		✓	✓
106	1	2	2	3	3			✓	✓	✓				
107	1	2				2					✓		✓	
108		1	2											
109	1	1		2		2		✓	✓					✓
110	2	1	1	2							✓	✓	✓	✓
111	1	1	2	3		3			✓				✓	
112	2	1				3					✓			
113	2	1		1		2	3				✓			
114		1		1							✓		✓	
115	1	1			2		3			✓	✓			

Ref.No.	a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)	g)	a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)	g)
116		1	2	3	4				✓		✓	✓	✓	
117		1	2	3									✓	✓
118	1	2	3				4			✓				
119		1				2			✓					✓
120		1		1	3		3		✓		✓			
121	3	1	2	4	5	6	7		✓		✓		✓	
122			1	2		3	4		✓					✓
123	2	1	2	1		2			✓				✓	
124		1	1			1	2		✓		✓	✓	✓	
125		1	1			2	3		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
126	1	1	2			3	3		✓	✓				
127				1							✓			
128														
129	2	1	3	4							✓			
130			1			2	3				✓			
131	2	1				3			✓					
132		1				2	3						✓	✓
133	1	1				2			✓					✓
134	2	1		3							✓		✓	
135		3	1			2		✓	✓					✓
136		1		2		3	4			✓			✓	✓
137			1			2	3		✓					
138		1									✓	✓	✓	✓
139	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				✓	✓		
140		1				2					✓			
141					1			✓				✓		
142		1				2	3		✓					✓
143			1			2	3		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
144	1							✓	✓					
145				1	2		3	✓					✓	
146	2	1		3		2			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
147			1			2	2				✓		✓	
148	1	2	3	4	5		6				✓			
149		1				2	3			✓	✓			✓
150		1	2			3					✓	✓	✓	
151	1	1	2			3	3	✓	✓	✓	✓			
152			1	1		2		✓	✓					
153		2		1	3		4	✓			✓	✓	✓	
154		1		2	3						✓			
155			1	2	3		4		✓		✓		✓	

Ref.No.	a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)	g)	a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)	g)
156		1				2							✓	
157		1				2					✓			✓
158		1	2	3		4			✓			✓		✓
159		1			3	2	4	✓			✓			
160		1				2			✓					
161	2	1				3			✓		✓		✓	
162			1			3	2	✓					✓	
163	3	1	2						✓		✓			
164		1	2		3				✓					✓
165		1	2			3					✓			
166		1									✓			
167		1		1					✓					
168		1	2	3		4				✓	✓	✓		✓
169		1		2		3							✓	✓
170		1				2	3						✓	
171	2	1	3								✓			
172	1								✓					
173		1											✓	
174	1		2	3		4			✓	✓			✓	
175		1			1	1	1	✓	✓					✓
176			1		2		3					✓	✓	✓
177		1				2	3		✓					
178		1		2			3		✓	✓				
179					1						✓			
180		1				2	3		✓		✓	✓		
181		1							✓			✓		
182			1								✓			
183		1		2		3	4						✓	✓
184		1		2					✓					
185		1		2							✓			✓
186	1					2					✓		✓	
187			1	2			3				✓			
188	2	1		3		4	5	✓	✓					
189		1				2		✓						
190		1											✓	✓
191		1	1	2		2	3		✓					✓
192		1			2		3						✓	✓
193	2	1					6			✓	✓			
194	1	1	2	2	4	3	4			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
195		1									✓			

Ref.No.	a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)	g)	a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)	g)
196		1		2									✓	✓
197		1								✓	✓			
198			1								✓		✓	
199	1	2										✓	✓	
200		1		2		3			✓				✓	
201		1	1	3							✓	✓		
202		1	2			3					✓		✓	
203		1							✓					
204	1	1		2		3			✓					
205	1	1	1	2				✓						
206	2	1	3						✓		✓	✓	✓	
207		1				2							✓	✓
208	2	1	3					✓		✓				✓
209			1			3		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓
210	2	2		1		3			✓					✓
211			1			2					✓			
212				1		2				✓			✓	✓
213		1		2		3					✓		✓	✓
214		1	2	3							✓		✓	
215	1							✓				✓		
216		1				2			✓					
217		1				2			✓					
218			1			2					✓	✓		✓
219	2	1		1	3		3	✓	✓					
220	2	1	2	3		3	4						✓	✓
221	1	2					3				✓			✓
222	2	1				3	4				✓			
223		1	2			2	3				✓		✓	✓
224			1	2	2						✓		✓	✓
225	1	2	3			4					✓		✓	
226	1	1	2	2	3	1		✓	✓					
227		1											✓	
228			1								✓		✓	
229		1		2	3				✓					
230	2	1	3			4					✓		✓	
231		1	2						✓					
232	3	2	1	4		5								
233		1				2					✓			
234		1		3	2			✓	✓					✓
235		1									✓			

Ref.No.	a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)	g)	a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)	g)
236			1			2					✓			
237			1	2					✓			✓		
238	2	1				3			✓		✓		✓	
239		1			2		3				✓	✓	✓	✓
240			1	3		2	4	✓					✓	✓
241		1			2						✓	✓	✓	
242	2	1		3		4	5	✓		✓	✓		✓	
243	3	2	1										✓	
244	1	2									✓		✓	✓
245		1			2						✓		✓	✓
246	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	✓	✓					
247	1					2				✓				✓
248			1	2		3					✓		✓	✓
249	1			2			3	✓			✓			
250							1				✓			✓
251	1	1	1	1		2			✓		✓		✓	✓
252		1				2	3	✓					✓	✓
253	2	1		3		4	5		✓					
254		1		2	3								✓	✓
255			1			2			✓					✓
256		2	1			3	3	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
257		1				2	3				✓		✓	
258		1				2	3					✓	✓	
259		1			2		3		✓					✓
260	1	2	3				4				✓			✓
261			1			1		✓			✓			✓
262		1	2	3					✓				✓	✓
263			1	2							✓			✓
264					1		1	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
265				1		2	3						✓	✓
266		1				2	3				✓		✓	✓
267	2	1		1					✓				✓	
268		1		2						✓	✓		✓	✓
269	2	1	3			4					✓			✓
270		1		2		3					✓			
271		1			2	1							✓	✓
272				1	2		3		✓	✓				
273			1	2		3	4	✓	✓		✓		✓	
274	1	2	3		4		5	✓						
275	1	2				3					✓		✓	

Ref.No.	a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)	g)	a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)	g)
276	1	1			2						✓		✓	
277		1				2	3		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
278		1		2			2				✓			
279		1			2						✓		✓	
280	2	1	3								✓			✓
281		1				2	3		✓					✓
282		1	2	3					✓	✓			✓	✓
283	1	2				3			✓					
284	1	2				3		✓	✓					
285		1	2	3		4	5	✓	✓					
286		1				2	3					✓	✓	
287			1			2	3						✓	✓
288	2	2	1			3	4				✓			✓
289	2	1				3		✓			✓		✓	
290		1			2	2	3				✓			
291		1				2	3				✓		✓	✓
292	1	2		3			4				✓		✓	
293		1									✓			
294			1						✓		✓	✓		
295		1			2		3						✓	✓
296	1					4		✓	✓					
297		1	1								✓		✓	✓
298	1	1		1	2	2	3		✓					✓
299	1	1						✓		✓		✓	✓	✓
300				3	2	1					✓	✓	✓	✓
301			1		2		3						✓	✓
302		1			2						✓			
303				1							✓			
304		1											✓	
305						1					✓			
306		1						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
307				2	1		3				✓		✓	✓
308		1				2	2		✓					✓
309				1							✓			
310	2	1	3	4		5	6	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
311	2	1									✓		✓	
312					1						✓			
313		1		3		2					✓		✓	
314		1	2		3		4				✓			
315		1									✓			

Ref.No.	a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)	g)	a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)	g)
316		1			1		1				✓			
317		1	2	3			4				✓		✓	
318	1	2	3				4				✓	✓	✓	
319	1	1			2		3		✓					
320	1	1		2		3	4				✓			
321		1		2	3				✓					
322		1	2		3		4		✓	✓				
323		1		2		3							✓	✓
324	2	1		3	4						✓		✓	
325		1		2	3						✓		✓	
326		1		3			2				✓		✓	
327	6	5	3	2	1		4	✓		✓			✓	✓
328	1	1						✓				✓		
329	1	1				1			✓		✓		✓	✓
330	1				2			✓	✓					
331														
332		1			2		3				✓		✓	
333			1											✓

Appendix 8: Responses to IQ questions 12 and 13

Section A - Job Titles identified in the questionnaire returns (Q12)

Official titles recorded under Q12, and unofficial titles recorded under Q12 & Q13 are all shown below. The titles given in the IQ returns are shown in the L-hand column, with the title-type to which they are allocated in the R-hand column.

TITLE	TITLE-TYPE
1st Aider	MISC
(1st assistant)	(INDIVIDUAL)
2 Stands organisers	ORGANISER
5th Committee member	INDIVIDUAL
(A wife)	(NON-MEMBER)
Adderbury Fore	FORE
Admin. Officer	MISC
Admiral	MISC
(ad hoc)	(INDIVIDUAL)
(ad hoc working party)	(SUB-GROUP)
(also done)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Animal	CHARACTER
Animal (Eric)	CHARACTER
Announcer	ANNOUNCER
Announcer/helper-male	ANNOUNCER
Archive	ARCHIVIST
Archive keeper	ARCHIVIST
Archive Secretary	ARCHIVIST
Archives	ARCHIVIST
Archivist	ARCHIVIST
(Archivist)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Archivist/Press officer	ARCHIVIST/PRESS
Assistant Bagman	BAG (Asst.)
Assistant Foreman	FORE (Asst.)
Assistant Squire	SQUIRE (Asst.)
Assistant Leaders	LEADERS (Asst.)
Asst. Bagman	BAG (Asst.)
Asst. Bagman (Events)	BAG (Asst.)
Baby Beast	CHARACTER
Badge seller	BADGES
Badges	BADGES
Bag	BAG
Bag people	BAG
Bag-secretary	BAG/SEC
Bagman (Secretary)	BAG (Sec)
Bagman Secretary	BAG/SEC
Bag-treasurer	BAG/TREAS
Bagman (Treasurer)	BAG (Treas)

TITLE	TITLE-TYPE
Bagman Treaurer	BAG/TREAS
Baglady	BAG

TITLE	TITLE-TYPE
Bagman	BAG
Bagman - bookings	BAG (Bookings)
Bagman -money	BAG (Money)
Bagman 2	BAG
Bagman 3	BAG
Bagman Scribe	BAG (Scribe)
Bagperson	BAG
Bagpuss (finances)	BAG (Finance)
Bagwoman	BAG
Baldrick	MISC
Band co-ordinator	I/C MUSIC
Band leader	I/C MUSIC
Bandmaster	I/C MUSIC
Band master	I/C MUSIC
(Band MC)	(INDIVIDUAL)
(Band members)	(INDIVIDUALS)
Barker	MISC
Beast	CHARACTER
Beast keeper	MISC
(Beelzebub)	(CHARACTER)
Beller Inner	MISC
Betsy	CHARACTER
Betty	CHARACTER
Birthdays	MISC
Bod (Boss of the day)	BOSS (of the day)
Border Fore	FORE (Border)
Boris	CHARACTER
Boris the Bull	CHARACTER
Boss	BOSS
Bunny parents	MISC
Cake-bearer	CHARACTER
Caller	CALLER
(Caller)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Caller & Organiser	CALLER/ORGANIS
Caller/No.1	CALLER/No.1
Captain	CAPTAIN

Captain (Northwest)	CAPTAIN (N/west)
Captain (secretary)	CAPTAIN (Sec)
(Captain of Grenadiers)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Captain of Mummers	CAPTAIN (Mumm)
Captain of Sword	CAPTAIN (Sword)

TITLE	TITLE-TYPE
Captain of Swords	CAPTAIN (Swords)
Caster	MISC
Catering	MISC
Chair	CHAIR
Chairman	CHAIR
Chairman - leader/captain	CHAIR
Chairman/Squire	CHAIR/SQUIRE
Chairperson	CHAIR
Chancellor	MISC
Chief bottler	COLLECT
(Chief collector)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Chief growler	MISC
Chief Musician	I/C MUSIC
(Chief musician)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Chipperfield Bagman	BAG (Chipperfield)
Co-ord/ reported apolo..	MISC
Co-ordinator (leader)	MISC
Coach	MISC
Coach driver	MISC
(Coffee monitor)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Collector	COLLECTOR
(Collector)	(INDIVIDUAL)
(Collectors)	(INDIVIDUALS)
Contact	INDIVIDUAL
Correspondent	MISC
Costume	COSTUME
Costume Officer	COSTUME
Costume Organiser	I/C COSTUME
Costume advisor	COSTUME (Advisor)
Costume Mistress	I/C COSTUME
(Costumier)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Cotswold leader	LEADER
Country Gent	CHARACTER
Country Woman	CHARACTER
Crapper	MISC
Dance Director	DIRECTOR (Dance)
Dance Foreman	FORE (Dance)
Dance Instructor	TEACHER
Dance Leader	LEADER (Dance)
Dance Leader (1)	LEADER (Dance)
Dance Leader (2)	LEADER (Dance)
Dance Master	DANCEMASTER

Dance master/caller	DANCEMASTER/CALLER
Dance Officer	MISC
Dance out organiser	ORGASNISER(Dance out)
Dance Teacher	TEACHER
Deputy Beast	CHARACTER
Deputy conductor	MISC
Deputy Dance leader	LEADER (Dance-dep.)
Deputy foreman	FORE (Dep)

TITLE	TITLE-TYPE
Deputy fool	FOOL (Dep)
Deputy leader	LEADER (Dep)
Deputy rep. for Sec/Treas	SEC(Dep)/TREAS(Dep)
Deputy Squire	SQUIRE (Dep)
Deputy Squire/ squire elect	SQUIRE (Dep/Elect)
Deputy x 2	MISC
Director	DIRECTOR
Doctor	CHARACTER
Dragon	MISC
(Drummer (male))	(INDIVIDUAL)
Eagle	CHARACTER
Earl	CHARACTER
Enterer In	CHARACTER
(Enter-in)	(CHARACTER)
Escribe	SCRIBE
(Experienced dancers)	(INDIVIDUALS)
(Experienced members)	(INDIVIDUALS)
Festival Organiser	ORGANISER (Fest)
(Food committee)	(SUB-GROUP)
Fool	FOOL
(Fool)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Fool (parrot)	FOOL
Fools (3)	FOOLS
Fools (Toms)	FOOLS
Fore	FORE
Fore person	FORE
Forelady	FORE
Foreman	FORE
Foreman (Border)	FORE (Border)
Foreman (Christmas plays)	FORE (Xmas plays)
Foreman (Cotswold)	FORE (Cotswold)
Foreman (ladies)	FORE (ladies)
Foreman (men)	FORE (men)
Foreman (plays)	FORE (plays)
Foreman (sword dance)	FORE (sword)
Foreman (women)	FORE (women)
Foreman 1	FORE
Foreman 2	FORE

Foreman of dance	FORE (of dance)
Foreman/Asst. Bagman	FORE (of dance)
Foreman/Deputy to Squire	FORE (SQUIRE- dep)
Foreman/Teacher	FORE/TEACHER
Foreman (male & female)	FORE
Foreperson	FORE
Forewoman	FORE
(Friend of team)	(NON-MEMBER)
Front leaders	CHARACTERS

TITLE	TITLE-TYPE
Gaffer	MISC
Garland Lady	CHARACTER
Gorgon	MISC
Green Man	CHARACTER
Grif/Grof	CHARACTER
Group leader	LEADER
Head Musician	I/C MUSIC
'Helpers' a	(INDIVIDUALS)
'Helpers' b	(INDIVIDUALS)
Historian	HISTORIAN
Hobby horse	CHARACTER
Hon. Secretary	SEC (Hon)
Hon. Treasurer	TREAS (Hon)
Hooden horse	CHARACTER
Hoodener	CHARACTER
Hoops/sticks supervisor	STICKS/MISC
Horse	CHARACTER
Horse maidens	CHARACTERS
Horse rider	CHARACTER
(Individual non-member)	(NON-MEMBERS)
(Individual member 1)	(INDIVIDUAL)
(Individual member 2)	(INDIVIDUAL)
(Individual member 3)	(INDIVIDUAL)
(Individual member 4)	(INDIVIDUAL)
(Individual member I/C)	(INDIVIDUAL)
(Individual member)	(INDIVIDUAL)
(Individual members)	(INDIVIDUALS)
Information officer	MISC
Instructor	TEACHER
Instructors	TEACHER
Jack	
(Jack Finney character)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Jack-in-the-Green	
Johnny Jack	

Keeper of log	LOG
(Keeper of log/Archivist)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Keeper of animal	MISC
Keeper of archives	ARCHIVIST
Keeper of kit	KIT
(Keeper of Kit)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Keeper of kit/sticks	KIT/STICKS
Keeper of scrapbook	SCRAPBOOK
Keeper of annals	ARCHIVIST
Keeper of garlands	MISC
Keeper of sticks/handkies	STICKS/MISC
Keeper of swords	MISC
Keeper of the kit	KIT

TITLE	TITLE-TYPE
Keeper of the scrapbook	SCRAPBOOK
Keeper of the scrapbooks	SCRAPBOOK
King	CHARACTER
Kit	KIT
Kit Bag (costumes)	KIT (costume)
Kit Bag (sticks)	KIT (sticks)
Kit Billy	KIT
Kit man	KIT
(Kit manager)	(INDIVIDUAL)
(Kit monitor)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Kit officer	KIT
Kit person	KIT
Kit secretary	SEC (Kit)
Kitman	KIT
Ladies leader	LEADER
Lead musician	I/C MUSIC
(Lead musician)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Leader	LEADER
(Leader)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Leader (Conductor)	LEADER
Leader (for festival)	LEADER
Leader of band	I/C MUSIC
Leader/Fool	LEADER/FOOL
(Liaison officer)	(INDIVIDUAL)
(Life President)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Log	LOG
Log keeper	LOG
Logbook keeper	LOG
Logmaster	LOG
Logwriter	LOG
Longsword Foreman	FORE (Longsword)
M.C.	MC
MC	MC

Main announcer	ANNOUNCER (Main)
Main caller	CALLER (Main)
(Main musician)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Main teacher	TEACHER (Main)
Mari	CHARACTER
Marion	CHARACTER
Masrer musician	MUSICIAN
Master of Ceremonies	MC
Master of Wardrobe	WARDROBE
(Mentor)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Minder	MISC
Mistle	CHARACTER
Mistress	MISC
Molly	CHARACTER
Morris Fed. & gen. contact	REP
Morris Fed. & Open Morris rep.	REP

TITLE	TITLE-TYPE
Morris Fed. rep.	REP
(Morris Fed. rep.)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Morris Foreman	FORE (Morris)
Mouth	MISC
Mr. Music	MUSICIAN
Mummer	CHARACTER
Music	MUSICIAN
Music Director	DIRECTOR (Music)
Music Foreman	FORE (Music)
Music Leader	I/C MUSIC
Music Officer	MUSICIAN
Musical Director	DIRECTOR (Music)
Musician	MUSICIAN
(Musician)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Musicians	MUSICIANS
(Musicians)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Musician's leader	I/C MUSIC

Ned	CHARACTER
No.1	No.1
No.2	INDIVIDUAL
No.3	INDIVIDUAL
No.4	INDIVIDUAL
No.5	INDIVIDUAL
Nogard	INDIVIDUAL
(Non-member)	(NON-MEMBER)
(Non-members)	(NON-MEMBER)
'Number One'	(INDIVIDUAL)
(Number One)	(INDIVIDUAL)

| Oddington Fore | FORE (Oddington) |
| Officer | MISC |

(Officers)	(INDIVIDUALS)
Official photographer	PHOTOS
Old Bag	BAG
Old Man	CHARACTER
(Older dancers)	(INDIVIDUALS)
(One of the Ironmen)	(INDIVIDUAL)
(One with loudest voice)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Orange juice keeper	INDIVIDUAL
Organiser	ORGANISER
(Organiser)	(INDIVIDUAL)
(Organiser 1)	(INDIVIDUAL)
(Organiser 2)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Overall Squire	SQUIRE (Overall)

P.R. Man	PR
PR Secretary	PR
(Paid dressmaker)	(NON-MEMBER)
Paperclip	MISC
Pecuniator	MISC

TITLE	TITLE-TYPE
Photographer	PHOTOS
Piggy bank	MISC
Practise leader	LEADER (Practice)
Prat	MISC
President	PRESIDENT
Press correspondent	PRESS
Press officer	PRESS
Principal musician	MUSICIAN
Producer	PRODUCER
Public relations	PR
Public relations officer	PR
Publicity	PUBLICITY
Publicity officer	PUBLICITY
(Publicity Officer)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Publicity/Marketing officer	PUBLICITY/MISC

| Quartermaster | MISC |

Ragbag	RAG
Ragman	RAG
Ragman (Kit man)	RAG
Ragman (Kit manager)	RAG
Ragwoman	RAG
Ram	CHARACTER
Rapper Foreman	FORE (Rapper)
Rapper leader	LEADER (Rapper)
Record keeper	RECORDS
Recorder	RECORDS
Recorder of memorabilia	RECORDS

Recruiting Sergeant	CHARACTER
(Respondent)	(INDIVIDUAL)
(Respondent's wife)	(NON-MEMBER)
Rider	CHARACTER
Ring rep./Scrapbook	REP/SCRAPBOOK
Robin	CHARACTER
Scrap-book Keeper	SCRAPBOOK
Scrapbook keeper	SCRAPBOOK
(Scrapbook keeper)	(INDIVIDUAL)
Scrapbook Officer	SCRAPBOOK
Scrapbook organiser	SCRAPBOOK
Scraps	SCRAPBOOK
Scribe	SCRIBE
Seamstress	MISC
Second King	CHARACTER
Secretary	SEC
Secretary (Escribe)	SEC
Secretary (bagperson!)	SEC
Secretary (deputy for leader)	SEC
Secretary (formerly Bagman)	SEC
Secretary	SEC

TITLE	TITLE-TYPE
Secretary	SEC
Secretary	SEC
Secretary	SEC
Secretary	SEC
Secretary	SEC
(Senior members)	(INDIVIDUALS)
(Specific sub-committee)	(SUB-GROUP)
(Stick man)	(INDIVIDUAL)
(Sword & cake bearer)	(INDIVIDUAL)
(Teacher's 'rep.')	(INDIVIDUAL)
'The Badger'	(INDIVIDUAL)
(The leader)	(INDIVIDUAL)
(Treasurer)	(INDIVIDUAL)
(Tutors)	(INDIVIDUALS)
(Unspecified)	(INDIVIDUAL)
(Voluntary committee)	(SUB-GROUP)
'Vopice'/M.C.	(INDIVIDUAL)/MC
Wardrobe Mistress	WARDROBE
(Wives)	(NON-MEMBERS)

Section B - Tasks identified in the questionnaire returns (Q13)

The task-types identified within the responses are listed at the beginning of this section of the appendix with the code letters used for analysis. This is followed by a listing of the responses together with the code letters indicating the task-type to which they were allocated for purposes of analysis. In the latter listing, an asterisk (*) indicates the common tasks which were pre-printed on the questionnaire form.

Task-types (code letter(s) shown in brackets)

Administration matters (A)
Chairing (AC), Minutes (AM), Letter/correspondence (AL), Archive/records (AA),
Merchandise/sales (AS), Convening decision-making meetings (AD), Insurance (AI)

Bodies & personnel (B)
Assesses (BA), Recruitment (BR), Discipline (BD), Attendance (BP), Training (BT)
Teaches new repertoire items (BN), Other (BX)

Finance (F)
Internal (FI), Banking (FB), Collecting (FC), Disbursement (FD), Signatories (FS), All (FA)

Kit & properties (K)
Looks after (KL), Organises (KO), Makes (KM), Other (KX)

Music (M)
Organising (MO), Selecting (MS), Coaching (MC), Other (MX)

Performance matters (P)
Deciding (PD), Minding (PM), Programme (PP), Bookings (PB), One-off (PO),
I/C all or specific part of performance (PI), Selects repertoire (PR), Addresses public (PA),
Arrange transport (PT), Organise rehearsals (PX)

External Relations (R)
Advertising (RA), "PR" (RP), Liaison general (RL), With specific organisation (RS)

Social aspects (S)
Organising (SO), Catering (SC), Accommodation (SA), Members (SM)

Venues (V)
Assessing/selecting (VA), Booking (VB), Rehearsal (VR)

Other (O)
General - non-specific (OG), Specific (OS)

Responses to question	Task-type code
Accommodation	SA
Advertising & leaflets	RA
All monetary matters	FA
Arrange birthday party	SM
Arrange bookings	PB
Arrange carol singing	OS
Arrange catering for weekends of dance.	SC
Arrange charity donations	FD
Arranges events (groups own)	PO
Arrange insurance	AI
Arranges minutes	AM
Arrange music & musicians	MO
Arrange programme	PP
Arrange rehearsals.*	PX
Arrange stops & changes	PI
Arranges tours/pubs.	PP
Arrange transport.*	PT
Arranges venues	VB
Assess standard of individual performers.*	BA
Assess venues.	VA
Attempt to co-ordinate music	MO
Baggage-minding during performance.	PM
Bank and draw money.*	FB
Be signatory to bank account.*	FS
Booking practice room	VR
Bookings	PB
Buy materials for kit.	KX
Call dances during performance.	PI
Casting	BA
Catering as required	SC
Canvassing for new members	BR
Chair meetings.	AC
Childminding during performances.	PM
Checking dance sites	VA
Check members availabilty	BP
Checking who will attend functions	BP
Choose music	MS
Coaches musicians	MC
Collecting deposits	FI
Collecting money during public performance.*	FC
Collecting subs	FI
College matters	RS

Responses to question	Task-type code
Communicate with members	BX
Contact for bookings.	PB
Contact press	RL
Contact with festival organisers	PB
Convene decision-making meetings.*	AD
Convene music rehearsals.	MC
Cooking and food purchase.	SC
Correspondence	AL
Deals with disciplinary matters re kit	BD
Deal with disciplinary matters.*	BD
Deal with phone enquiries	PB
Deal with requests to perform	PB
Decide disbursement of monies.*	FD
Decided style of dance & traditions	PR
Decides what items to perform when in public.*	PD
Decide what performances/tours to do.*	PP
Deputises for mistress	OG
Dogsbody	OG
Encouraging participation in band	MX
Equipment storage & transport.	KL
Events co-ordinator	PO
Fools during dancing	OS
Forms programme	PP
General	OG
Gofer	OG
Hall hire	VB
Having sweatshirts printed	AS
Hire & payment of hall	VB
In charge of costumeing	KO
In charge of surplus kit	KL
In charge of tatters/material/instruments	KL
Introduce items during public performance.*	PA
Invoices	FD
Jobsworth	OG
Keep archive/scrapbook.*	AA
Keeps band in order	PI
Keeping clogs in good order	KL
Keep spare kit	KL
Kit organiser	KO

Responses to question	Task-type code
Leads the Party	PI
Liaison (general)	RL
Liaison with clients re shows	PB
Liaison with media	RL
Liaison with other groups	RL
Looks after garlands	KL
Looks after kit	KL
Looks after sticks	KL
Make costumes.*	KM
Main tour itinerary	PO
Maintain kit.	KL
Maintain photorecord.	AA
Manages media coverage.	RL
Maintain properties.*	KL
Maintain rehearsal and attendance register.	AA
Minutes secretary	AM
Morris federation liaison.	RS
Music	MO
Organise annual boat trip	SO
Organise collections.	FC
Organises collectors	FC
Organise food at social events	SC
Organise manufacture	AS
Organise music/bandpractice	MO
Organise musicians	MO
Organise 'nights'	PO
Organise one-off feasts/tours.	PO
Orders sale items	AS
Organise social events for members	SO
Organise special events	PO
Orgaise team for special events	PO
Organise tour itinerary	PP
Organise weekend of dance	PO
Overview of music	MX
Overview standard of kit	KX
Pays expenses	FD
P.R.	RP
Printing posters & programmes	RA
Produce and circulate PR material	RA
Produce annual dance programme	PP
Produce programme	PP

Responses to question	Task-type code
Produce publicity material	RA
Produce recruitment/exhibition materials	RA
Provides refreshments for practices	SC
Pub evening organising	SO
Publicity.	RA
Publicity / News coverage	RA / RL
Publicity/PR	RA / RP
Record notations.	AA
Records playing for practices	MX
Receives mail/writes re bookings	PB
Recruiting new members.	BR
Recruitment	BR
Relate to external officialdom.*	RL
Secretary	AL
Selects dance venues	VA
Select items to add to the group's repertoire.*	PR
Selects/composes music	MS
Selects who performs	BA
Send birthday cards to members	SM
Signals during procession	PI
Social co-ordination.	SO
Social events	SO
Social/welfare	SM
Stick carrier	KL
Stick cutting	KM
Stick supply	KM
Take bookings	PB
Take charge of public performance.*	PI
Teaches new items for repertoire.*	BN
Teach repertoire to new members.*	BT
Tour organising	PP
Whipping-in	PI

Section C - Data, per task, across Q12 & Q13 (by Type of group)

This section gives the number of groups, by Type, responding to each of the Q13 questions - which were:

13.1 Who selects items to add to the group's repertoire?
13.2 Who decides what items to perform when in public?
13.3 Who introduces or announces during performance?
13.4 Who collects money during performances?
13.5 Who is 'in charge' overall during performances?
13.6 Who teaches new members the current repertoire?
13.7 Who teaches the group new items for performance?
13.8 Who arranges rehearsals?
13.9 Who assesses the standard that people have achieved?
13.10 Who deals with any disciplinary matters?

13.11 Who decides what performances and/or tours to do?
13.12 Who calls decision-making meetings?
13.13 Who arranges transport?
13.14 Who decides how money is spent/allocated?
13.15 Who banks or draws money?
13.16 Who are signatories to the bank account?
13.17 Who relates to officialdom (permissions/licenses)?
13.18 Who makes costume?
13.19 Who looks after/maintains costume?
13.20 Who keeps a group archive or scrapbook?

13.1	ALL	AD HOC	INDIV.	OWN	COMM.	Squire	Leader	Fore	Bag	Treas.	Sec.	Fool	Records	% BY OFFICERS	% NOT BY OFFICERS	TOTAL REPORTS
Hoodening														0	0	0
Mari Lwyd	1													0	100	1
Wassailing														0	0	0
Custom Unique								1						100	0	1
Crossform:repertoire	2					2	1							60	40	5
Border	7	3			4	4		3			1			55	45	22
Cotswold			1			36		67	1		1			99	1	106
Northwest	20	3		1	8	10	3	11	1		1			59	41	58
Other morris	3							1						25	75	4
Pace-egg														0	0	0
Christmas hero	3		2		1									17	83	6
Other mumming	2													0	100	2
Social (not Welsh)					1		4							100	0	5
Social - Welsh		1			2		1							75	25	4
Appalachian	3													0	100	3
Clog	2		1				1							25	75	4
Longsword	2	1						2						40	60	5
Rapper	5	1				1								14	86	7
Other sword								2						100	0	2
TOTAL	50	9	4	1	16	53	10	87	2	0	3	0	0	73	27	235

13.2	ALL	AD HOC	INDIV.	OWN	COMM.	Squire	Leader	Fore	Bag	Treas.	Sec.	Fool	Records	% BY OFFICERS	% NOT BY OFFICERS	TOTAL REPORTS
Hoodening														0	0	0
Mari Lwyd	1													0	100	1
Wassailing														0	0	0
Custom Unique						1	1							100	0	2
Crossform:repertoire						2	1	3						100	0	6
Border	2	1				13	1	7		1				88	12	25
Cotswold	9	5	2		1	63	2	41						87	13	123
Northwest	4			1	5	22	11	10						91	9	53
Other morris	1	1						3						60	40	5
Pace-egg														0	0	0
Christmas hero	3	2	1											0	100	6
Other mumming	1													0	100	1
Social (not Welsh)							4							100	0	4
Social - Welsh	1				1		1							67	33	3
Appalachian			1		1		1							67	33	3
Clog		1	1				1							33	67	3
Longsword	3							1						25	75	4
Rapper	3					3	2	1						67	33	9
Other sword								2						100	0	2
TOTAL	28	10	5	1	8	104	25	68	0	0	1	0	0	82	18	250

13.3	ALL	AD HOC	INDIV.	OWN	COMM.	Squire	Leader	Fore	Bag	Treas.	Sec.	Fool	Records	% BY OFFICERS	% NOT BY OFFICERS	TOTAL REPORTS
Hoodening														0	0	0
Mari Lwyd	1													0	100	1
Wassailing														0	0	0
Custom Unique						1								100	0	1
Crossform:repertoire		1	1			2	1	1						67	33	6
Border	2	7	2			5	1		2					42	58	19
Cotswold	1	21	8	2	1	51	1	11	8		1	17		74	26	122
Northwest		5	8	1	1	17	6	3			2			67	33	43
Other morris		3				1		1						40	60	5
Pace-egg														0	0	0
Christmas hero	1	1	1				1							25	75	4
Other mumming						1				1				100	0	2
Social (not Welsh)							3							100	0	3
Social - Welsh		1	2				1							25	75	4
Appalachian		1	1		1									33	67	3
Clog		3												0	100	3
Longsword		2	1			1						1		40	60	5
Rapper	1	2				1	2	1						57	43	7
Other sword			1											0	100	1
TOTAL	6	47	25	3	3	80	16	17	11	0	3	18	0	65	35	229

13.4	ALL	AD HOC	INDIV.	OWN	COMM.	Squire	Leader	Fore	Bag	Treas.	Sec.	Fool	Records	% BY OFFICERS	% NOT BY OFFICERS	TOTAL REPORTS
Hoodening														0	0	0
Mari Lwyd			1											0	100	1
Wassailing														0	0	0
Custom Unique	1	1	2											0	100	4
Crossform:repertoire	3								1					25	75	4
Border	10	4	2						1					6	94	17
Cotswold	36	36	4	1		1			18	4	1	6		28	72	107
Northwest	28	13	5			1				1	1			6	94	49
Other morris		6							1					14	86	7
Pace-egg	2													0	100	2
Christmas hero	3	4	2											0	100	9
Other mumming	1													0	100	1
Social (not Welsh)	3	1												0	100	4
Social - Welsh	2	3												0	100	5
Appalachian	1	1	1											0	100	3
Clog	1	3												0	100	4
Longsword	2	1												0	100	3
Rapper	4	4					1							11	89	9
Other sword	1													0	100	1
TOTAL	98	77	17	1	0	2	1	0	21	5	2	6	0	16	84	230

13.5	ALL	AD HOC	INDIV.	OWN	COMM.	Squire	Leader	Fore	Bag	Treas.	Sec.	Fool	Records	% BY OFFICERS	% NOT BY OFFICERS	TOTAL REPORTS
Hoodening														0	0	0
Mari Lwyd														0	0	0
Wassailing														0	0	0
Custom Unique						1	1							100	0	2
Crossform:repertoire						2	1	1						100	0	4
Border	1	1	1			12	1	3	1					85	15	20
Cotswold		3	3	2	1	78	2	22	1		1			93	7	113
Northwest				1	4	28	10	6			2			98	2	51
Other morris								1		1	2			100	0	4
Pace-egg							1							100	0	1
Christmas hero	1		4				1		1					29	71	7
Other mumming								1						100	0	1
Social (not Welsh)							4							100	0	4
Social - Welsh			2				1				1			50	50	4
Appalachian			1		1		1							67	33	3
Clog		1	1				1							33	67	3
Longsword						1	1							100	0	2
Rapper						3	3	1						100	0	7
Other sword														0	0	0
TOTAL	2	5	12	3	6	125	28	34	4	1	6	0	0	90	10	226

13.6

	ALL	AD HOC	INDIV.	OWN	COMM.	Squire	Leader	Fore	Bag	Treas.	Sec.	Fool	Records	% BY OFFICERS	% NOT BY OFFICERS	TOTAL REPORTS
Hoodening														0	0	0
Mari Lywd	1													0	100	1
Wassailing														0	0	0
Custom Unique	2							1						33	67	3
Crossform repertoire	1					1		3						80	20	5
Border	6	2			1	1		9						58	42	19
Cotswold	10	4	4		1	13		88	1					85	15	121
Northwest	3		3		4	5	7	21	1		2			87	13	46
Other morris		1		1	1			2						60	40	5
Pace-egg	1													0	100	1
Christmas hero	4	1	3											0	100	8
Other mumming	1													0	100	1
Social (not Welsh)							4							100	0	4
Social - Welsh	1		2				1							25	75	4
Appalachian	1		2				1							25	75	4
Clog	1	1	1				1							25	75	4
Longsword	2	1	1					3		1	1			56	44	9
Rapper	5					1	2	2						50	50	10
Other sword								2						100	0	2
TOTAL	39	10	16	1	7	21	16	131	2	1	3	0	0	73	27	247

13.7

	ALL	AD HOC	INDIV.	OWN	COMM.	Squire	Leader	Fore	Bag	Treas.	Sec.	Fool	Records	% BY OFFICERS	% NOT BY OFFICERS	TOTAL REPORTS
Hoodening														0	0	0
Mari Lwyd														0	0	0
Wassailing														0	0	0
Custom Unique		1												0	100	1
Crossform:repertoire			1			2	1	3						86	14	7
Border	2	3			1	3		10			1			75	25	20
Cotswold	3	6	4	3	2	11		91						87	13	120
Northwest	2	3	2	2	4	6	8	21			1			82	18	49
Other morris	1	1						2						50	50	4
Pace-egg														0	0	0
Christmas hero	1	1	1											0	100	3
Other mumming	1			1										0	100	2
Social (not Welsh)							5							100	0	5
Social - Welsh	1		2				1							25	75	4
Appalachian	1		2				1							25	75	4
Clog		1	1				1							33	67	3
Longsword			1					3						75	25	4
Rapper	1					2	1	2						83	17	6
Other sword								2						100	0	2
TOTAL	13	16	14	6	7	24	18	134	0	0	2	0	0	79	21	234

13.8

	ALL	AD HOC	INDIV.	OWN	COMM.	Squire	Leader	Fore	Bag	Treas.	Sec.	Fool	Records	% BY OFFICERS	% NOT BY OFFICERS	TOTAL REPORTS
Hoodening														0	0	0
Mari Lwyd														0	0	0
Wassailing														0	0	0
Custom Unique								1			1			100	0	2
Crossform:repertoire						2	1	1			1			100	0	5
Border	2	1				3		2	8		4			85	15	20
Cotswold	9	3	1	1	8	24		33	33	2	5			88	12	119
Northwest	5		1	1	8	9	8	8	6	1	11			88	12	58
Other morris								2	1					100	0	3
Pace-egg														0	0	0
Christmas hero	1		5											0	100	6
Other mumming														0	0	0
Social (not Welsh)					2		2							100	0	4
Social - Welsh			1		1									50	50	2
Appalachian			1		1			1						67	33	3
Clog	2		1					1						25	75	4
Longsword	2					1		1						50	50	4
Rapper	3					1	2	1						57	43	7
Other sword														0	0	0
TOTAL	57	4	10	2	20	40	16	47	49	3	22	0	0	83	17	237

13.9

	ALL	AD HOC	INDIV.	OWN	COMM.	Squire	Leader	Fore	Bag	Treas.	Sec.	Fool	Records	% BY OFFICERS	% NOT BY OFFICERS	TOTAL REPORTS
Hoodening	1													0	100	1
Mari Lwyd														0	0	0
Wassailing														0	0	0
Custom Unique	2													0	100	2
Crossform:repertoire						2	1	3						100	0	6
Border	3				3	4	2	6	1					84	16	19
Cotswold	17	2			7	30	1	46	1	1	1			82	18	106
Northwest	4	1	1	1	9	15	10	15	1					88	12	57
Other morris					1			2						100	0	3
Pace-egg														0	0	0
Christmas hero	4	1												0	100	5
Other mumming	2													0	100	2
Social (not Welsh)							2							100	0	2
Social - Welsh	1		1				1							33	67	3
Appalachian	2	1												0	100	3
Clog		1						1						50	50	2
Longsword	2						1	2						60	40	5
Rapper	2					2	1	1						67	33	6
Other sword								2						100	0	2
TOTAL	40	6	2	1	20	53	20	77	3	1	1	0	0	78	22	224

13.10

	ALL	AD HOC	INDIV.	OWN	COMM.	Squire	Leader	Fore	Bag	Treas.	Sec.	Fool	Records	% BY OFFICERS	% NOT BY OFFICERS	TOTAL REPORTS
Hoodening														0	0	0
Mari Lwyd														0	0	0
Wassailing														0	0	0
Custom Unique						1	1							100	0	2
Crossform:repertoire	1					1	1							67	33	3
Border	3	1			3	5	1	1						71	29	14
Cotswold	13	2		1	12	42		5	4		1			80	20	80
Northwest	3	1	1		17	13	5	2			1			88	12	43
Other morris	1				1			1						67	33	3
Pace-egg		1												0	100	1
Christmas hero	1								1					50	50	2
Other mumming		1				1								50	50	2
Social (not Welsh)					1									100	0	1
Social - Welsh	2				2									50	50	4
Appalachian	1		1		1									33	67	3
Clog	1						1							50	50	2
Longsword	1				1		1							67	33	3
Rapper	2		1		1		1	1						50	50	6
Other sword														0	0	0
TOTAL	29	6	3	1	39	63	11	10	5	0	2	0	0	77	23	169

13.11

	ALL	AD HOC	INDIV.	OWN	COMM.	Squire	Leader	Fore	Bag	Treas.	Sec.	Fool	Records	% BY OFFICERS	% NOT BY OFFICERS	TOTAL REPORTS
Hoodening	1													0	100	1
Mari Lwyd			2											0	100	2
Wassailing														0	0	0
Custom Unique	2													0	100	2
Crossform:repertoire	2				1			1			1			60	40	5
Border	13	2				2		2	2		1			32	68	22
Cotswold	64	4		1	7	17		4	24	1				43	57	122
Northwest	47				1	1	2	1	1		3			16	84	56
Other morris	4						1	1	1		1			50	50	8
Pace-egg														0	0	0
Christmas hero	8	1	1											0	100	10
Other mumming	2										1			33	67	3
Social (not Welsh)	1		1		1		3							67	33	6
Social - Welsh	3				2									40	60	5
Appalachian	3													0	100	3
Clog	3						1							25	75	4
Longsword	6													0	100	6
Rapper	10													0	100	10
Other sword	1													0	100	1
TOTAL	170	7	4	1	12	20	7	9	29	1	6	0	0	32	68	266

13.12

	ALL	AD HOC	INDIV.	OWN	COMM.	Squire	Leader	Fore	Bag	Treas.	Sec.	Fool	Records	% BY OFFICERS	% NOT BY OFFICERS	TOTAL REPORTS
Hoodening														0	0	0
Mari Lwyd			2											0	100	2
Wassailing														0	0	0
Custom Unique						1		1				1		100	0	3
Crossform:repertoire						2	1	1	1					100	0	5
Border	2	1	1			3	1	1	7		6			82	18	22
Cotswold	8	5	1	3	18	31		1	33	1	6			84	16	107
Northwest	8	2		9		15	4	2	4	2	12			67	33	58
Other morris	2					1		1			1			60	40	5
Pace-egg		1					1							50	50	2
Christmas hero			3				1		1					40	60	5
Other mumming	1										1			50	50	2
Social (not Welsh)		1			1		1							67	33	3
Social - Welsh		1			2						2			80	20	5
Appalachian			1		2									67	33	3
Clog	1													0	100	1
Longsword		1									2			67	33	3
Rapper	2										1			33	67	3
Other sword	1													0	100	1
TOTAL	25	12	8	12	23	53	9	7	46	3	31	1	0	75	25	230

13.13

	ALL	AD HOC	INDIV.	OWN	COMM.	Squire	Leader	Fore	Bag	Treas.	Sec.	Fool	Records	% BY OFFICERS	% NOT BY OFFICERS	TOTAL REPORTS
Hoodening		1												0	100	1
Mari Lwyd			2											0	100	2
Wassailing														0	0	0
Custom Unique	1										1			50	50	2
Crossform:repertoire	2													0	100	2
Border	6		1	1		2		1	4	1	5			62	38	21
Cotswold	21	15	1	17		5		2	44	2	4			51	49	111
Northwest	22	2		18	3	2		2	6	1	5			31	69	61
Other morris	1	4												0	100	5
Pace-egg				1										0	100	1
Christmas hero	5	1	1	1										0	100	8
Other mumming				1							1			50	50	2
Social (not Welsh)		1		2			1							25	75	4
Social - Welsh	1	1	1	1	1						1			33	67	6
Appalachian	2	1												0	100	3
Clog	4													0	100	4
Longsword	2	1		1							1			20	80	5
Rapper	2	2					1		1					33	67	6
Other sword	1													0	100	1
TOTAL	70	29	6	43	4	9	2	5	56	4	17	0	0	40	60	245

13.14	ALL	AD HOC	INDIV.	OWN	COMM.	Squire	Leader	Fore	Bag	Treas.	Sec.	Fool	Records	% BY OFFICERS	% NOT BY OFFICERS	TOTAL REPORTS
Hoodening														0	0	0
Mari Lwyd														0	0	0
Wassailing	1													0	100	1
Custom Unique	2				1									33	67	3
Crossform:repertoire	3				1									25	75	4
Border	12	2			2	2		1	4	3	1			48	52	27
Cotswold	72	3			13	12		1	20	5				40	60	126
Northwest	40				7	4	1	1	3	2	3			34	66	61
Other morris	3								1					25	75	4
Pace-egg	1						1							50	50	2
Christmas hero	8	1							1					10	90	10
Other mumming	2													0	100	2
Social (not Welsh)	1				3									75	25	4
Social - Welsh	3				3					1				57	43	7
Appalachian	3													0	100	3
Clog	3						1							25	75	4
Longsword	5									2	1			37	63	8
Rapper	5		1				1			1				25	75	8
Other sword	1													0	100	1
TOTAL	165	6	1	0	30	18	4	3	29	14	5	0	0	37	63	275

13.15	ALL	AD HOC	INDIV.	OWN	COMM.	Squire	Leader	Fore	Bag	Treas.	Sec.	Fool	Records	% BY OFFICERS	% NOT BY OFFICERS	TOTAL REPORTS
Hoodening														0	0	0
Mari Lwyd			1											0	100	1
Wassailing														0	0	0
Custom Unique									1	1				100	0	2
Crossform:repertoire									2	1				100	0	3
Border			1		2				5	8	1			94	6	17
Cotswold		1	1	1	4	2			64	19	5			97	3	97
Northwest			1		3				12	3	3			95	5	22
Other morris									1		5			100	0	6
Pace-egg														0	0	0
Christmas hero			3						1	1				40	60	5
Other mumming											2			100	0	2
Social (not Welsh)					1		1			1				100	0	3
Social - Welsh			1							3				75	25	4
Appalachian					1					1				100	0	2
Clog							1			2				100	0	3
Longsword									2	4				100	0	6
Rapper			1				2	1	2	3				89	11	9
Other sword										1				100	0	1
TOTAL	0	1	9	1	11	2	4	1	90	50	14	0	0	94	6	183

13.16

	ALL	AD HOC	INDIV.	OWN	COMM.	Squire	Leader	Fore	Bag	Treas.	Sec.	Fool	Records	% BY OFFICERS	% NOT BY OFFICERS	TOTAL REPORTS
Hoodening														0	0	0
Mari Lwyd			2											0	100	2
Wassailing														0	0	0
Custom Unique									1	1	2			100	0	5
Crossform:repertoire			1			2	1		2	1	1			88	13	8
Border			1		4	5		3	6	6	2			96	4	27
Cotswold		2	3	1	15	40		13	67	20	8			96	4	169
Northwest			3		8	19	3	7	9	9	13			96	4	71
Other morris			1		1	1		1	2	4	1			91	9	11
Pace-egg														0	0	0
Christmas hero			3				1		1	1				50	50	6
Other mumming						1	1		1	1				100	0	4
Social (not Welsh)			2		1	1				2	1			71	29	7
Social - Welsh										3	4			100	0	7
Appalachian					2									100	0	2
Clog										1				100	0	1
Longsword					1			2	1	4	3			100	0	11
Rapper			3			2	2		2	3	1			77	23	13
Other sword										1	1			100	0	2
TOTAL	0	2	19	1	33	71	8	26	92	57	37	0	0	94	6	346

13.17

	ALL	AD HOC	INDIV.	OWN	COMM.	Squire	Leader	Fore	Bag	Treas.	Sec.	Fool	Records	% BY OFFICERS	% NOT BY OFFICERS	TOTAL REPORTS
Hoodening														0	0	0
Mari Lwyd														0	0	0
Wassailing														0	0	0
Custom Unique		1									2	1		75	25	4
Crossform:repertoire						2	1				2			100	0	5
Border		1	1		1	1			9	2	6			90	10	21
Cotswold		6	1	2	3	13		2	81		12			83	8	120
Northwest		3		2		12	2		18		20			91	9	57
Other morris								1	2	2	2			100	0	7
Pace-egg							1							100	0	1
Christmas hero	1	1	1						1					25	75	4
Other mumming									1		1			100	0	2
Social (not Welsh)		1			1		1		1		2			83	17	6
Social - Welsh		1	2		1						2			50	50	6
Appalachian			1		1						1			67	33	3
Clog			1				1				1			67	33	3
Longsword		1					1		1		3			83	17	6
Rapper	1	1	1			1	2		1		1			63	37	8
Other sword											1			100	0	1
TOTAL	2	16	8	4	7	29	9	3	115	4	56	1	0	88	12	254

13.18

	ALL	AD HOC	INDIV.	OWN	COMM.	Squire	Leader	Fore	Bag	Treas.	Sec.	Fool	Records	% BY OFFICERS	% NOT BY OFFICERS	TOTAL REPORTS
Hoodening		1												0	100	1
Mari Lwyd														0	0	0
Wassailing														0	0	0
Custom Unique	1	1	1	1										0	100	4
Crossform:repertoire	2		1	2										0	100	5
Border	14			3										0	100	17
Cotswold	32	8		44	2	1			12		1	1		17	83	101
Northwest	15	3	4	16	1			1	1		1			10	90	42
Other morris	3	2												0	100	5
Pace-egg				2										0	100	2
Christmas hero	6	1		4										0	100	11
Other mumming				2										0	100	2
Social (not Welsh)			2	2										0	100	4
Social - Welsh	2		2	2										0	100	6
Appalachian	1	1												0	100	2
Clog	4													0	100	4
Longsword	3			1										0	100	4
Rapper	3	1	1	2			1							13	88	8
Other sword				1										0	100	1
TOTAL	86	18	11	82	3	1	1	1	13	0	2	1	0	10	90	219

13.19

	ALL	AD HOC	INDIV.	OWN	COMM.	Squire	Leader	Fore	Bag	Treas.	Sec.	Fool	Records	% BY OFFICERS	% NOT BY OFFICERS	TOTAL REPORTS
Hoodening														0	0	0
Mari Lwyd			1											0	100	1
Wassailing														0	0	0
Custom Unique	1	2												0	100	3
Crossform:repertoire	1					1							1	67	33	3
Border	4	3	1	1	2									18	82	11
Cotswold	15	15	3	6	5	4		3	13	1	3	2	5	48	52	75
Northwest	12	11	3	2	2	5	1	2	3		3		1	38	62	45
Other morris		2		1				1	1					40	60	5
Pace-egg				1			1							50	50	2
Christmas hero	3		1	2										0	100	6
Other mumming	1	1												0	100	2
Social (not Welsh)				2			1							33	67	3
Social - Welsh	2	1	1											0	100	4
Appalachian		1			1									50	50	2
Clog	1		1											0	100	4
Longsword	3		1											0	100	4
Rapper		2	2			1	1	1						43	57	7
Other sword	1													0	100	1
TOTAL	44	38	13	16	10	11	4	7	17	1	6	2	7	37	63	176

13.20	ALL	AD HOC	INDIV.	OWN	COMM.	Squire	Leader	Fore	Bag	Treas.	Sec.	Fool	Records	% BY OFFICERS	% NOT BY OFFICERS	TOTAL REPORTS
Hoodening														0	0	0
Mari Lwyd														0	0	0
Wassailing														0	0	0
Custom Unique		1	1								1		1	50	50	4
Crossform:repertoire		1	1										1	33	67	3
Border	2		2	1	3								4	58	42	12
Cotswold	1	9	10	1	1	5					2		32	66	34	61
Northwest	3	4	8	1	3	3	2			1	6		7	58	42	38
Other morris													2	100	0	2
Pace-egg							1							100	0	1
Christmas hero			4							1				20	80	5
Other mumming														0	0	0
Social (not Welsh)					1		2							67	33	3
Social - Welsh			3										2	40	60	5
Appalachian			1		1									50	50	2
Clog			2											0	100	2
Longsword					1		1				1			67	33	3
Rapper	1	1	2				2						2	50	50	8
Other sword			1											0	100	1
TOTAL	7	16	35	5	8	8	8	0	0	2	10	0	51	58	42	150

Appendix 9: Motivational areas of focus reported by the groups

This appendix shows the occurence of motivational areas of focus in the text replies to Q16 of the Initial Questionnaires as explained in the text report on this question in Ch.9..

Ref. No.	collect	continuity	develop traditon	educate	enjoyment	exercise	local	other	richness of life	socialisation	standards	to dance	to demonstrate	to entertain	to learn	to perform
001		X			X	X				X						
002			X							X						
003		X											X			X
004		X			X									X		
005			X													
006		X			X									X		
007					X											
008		X	X							X	X					
009					X						X					
010			X							X						
011					X											
012		X			X											
013		X			X			X		X	X					
014					X					X	X					
015		X	X				X							X		
016	X	X														
017		X	X											X		
018	X				X											
019													X			X

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Ref. No.	collect	continuity	develop traditon	educate	enjoyment	exercise	local	other	richness of life	socialisation	standards	to dance	to demonstrate	to entertain	to learn	to perform
020				X	X											
021	X				X											
022																
023		X		X	X					X						
024										X		X				
025					X											
026		X			X						X			X		
027					X				X							
028					X						X	X		X		
029		X								X						
030											X	X	X	X		
031					X	X							X			
032					X											
033		X		X										X		
034		X			X											
035		X														
036													X			
037													X			
038													X			
039		X														
040		X								X						
041													X			
042													X			
043																
044					X									X		

Ref. No.	collect	continuity	develop traditon	educate	enjoyment	exercise	local	other	richness of life	standards	to dance	to demonstrate	to entertain	to learn	to perform
045					X										
046					X				X						
047											X				
048	X										X				
049															
050					X				X						
051									X		X				
052								X							
053															
054		X			X										
055		X													
056											X				
057								X							
058	X				X									X	
059											X				
060		X								X	X				
061		X			X										
062									X		X				
063	X	X													
064											X				
065					X					X					
066											X				
067			X												
068											X				
069									X		X				

Ref. No.	collect	continuity	develop traditon	educate	enjoyment	exercise	local	other	richness of life	socialisation	standards	to dance	to demonstrate	to entertain	to learn	to perform
070	x				x						x			x		
071																
072	x				x											
073	x															
074											x					
075	x															
076	x				x											
077	x								x							
078	x				x						x					
079			x		x					x				x		
080	x				x											
081					X											
082	X								X							
083	X									X						
084	X									X	X					
085	X				X									X		
086	X		X													
087			X		X											
088	X				X											
089	X													X		
090					X											
091	X															
092											X					
093			X		X											
094			X													

Ref. No.	collect	continuity	develop traditon	educate	enjoyment	exercise	local	other	richness of life	socialisation	standards	to dance	to demonstrate	to entertain	to learn	to perform
095										X		X				
096									X							
097											X					
098											X	X		X		
099			X		X											
100		X			X											
101		X	X													
102		X										X				
103		X	X		X					X		X		X		
104		X			X							X		X		
105																
106					X											
107												X				
108												X				
109	X				X	X				X						
110												X				
111												X				
112					X							X				
113												X			X	
114		X	X			X				X		X			X	
115		X														
116					X	X				X				X		
117					X											
118					X					X						
119					X									X		

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Ref. No.	collect	continuity	educate / develop traditon	enjoyment	exercise	local	other	socialisation / richness of life	standards	to dance	to demonstrate / to entertain	to learn	to perform
120		X		X									
121		X	X										
122			X		X			X					
123				X				X		X			
124				X							X		
125				X							X		
126		X											
127				X				X			X		
128										X			
129			X	X				X			X		
130				X		X							X
131	X	X		X					X				
132				X							X		
133		X											
134				X						X			
135		X											
136									X	X			
137				X				X		X			
138		X				X							
139		X									X		
140		X				X			X				
141		X				X							
142				X				X		X			
143									X	X			
144		X				X		X					

Ref. No.	collect	continuity	develop	traditon	educate	enjoyment	exercise	local	other	richness of life	socialisation	standards	to dance	to demonstrate	to entertain	to learn	to perform
145						X					X						X
146	X	X		X		X					X						X
147		X				X		X									
148		X	X	X				X									X
149		X															
150						X											
151		X						X									
152													X				
153																	X
154																	
155		X											X				
156						X										X	X
157		X				X											
158		X		X				X								X	X
159		X									X						X
160						X				X							X
161		X				X											X
162																	X
163						X											X
164		X				X											
165		X				X											
166																	X
167		X						X									
168						X						X					X
169						X				X							X

Ref. No.	collect	continuity	develop	traditon	educate	enjoyment	exercise	local	other	richness of life	socialisation	standards	to dance	to demonstrate	to entertain	to learn	to perform
170						X											
171																	X
172		X						X									
173																X	X
174						X											
175		X						X									
176		X						X									X
177						X											
178																	X
179						X											X
180									X	X							X
181		X				X											
182		X						X									X
183						X						X					X
184		X				X											
185		X				X								X			
186		X				X						X					
187																	
188		X		X													
189						X						X					
190						X											
191						X								X			X
192						X				X							X
193												X		X			X
194		X	X	X		X		X								X	

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Ref. No.	collect	continuity	develop	traditon	educate	enjoyment	exercise	local	other	richness of life	socialisation	standards	to dance	to demonstrate	to entertain	to learn	to perform
195	X					X											X
196						X											
197	X			X													
198		X				X											
199	X	X						X							X		
200						X									X		X
201		X				X						X					X
202												X					X
203																	X
204		X				X		X		X							X
205		X				X		X	X			X					
206										X							
207						X						X					
208						X			X	X		X					
209				X													
210						X						X					X
211	X	X				X											
212		X	X														
213		X	X									X					
214						X									X		
215								X									X
216						X											
217						X											X
218						X						X			X		X
219		X				X											

Ref. No.	collect	continuity	develop traditon	educate	enjoyment	exercise	local	other	richness of life	socialisation	standards	to dance	to demonstrate	to entertain	to learn	to perform
220	X				X		X									
221			X													
222		X			X								X			
223		X	X							X						
224								X	X							X
225	X	X								X						
226		X			X		X									X
227	X															X
228																X
229																X
230										X						
231		X											X			
232					X					X		X				X
233					X		X						X			
234					X											
235		X	X		X								X			
236																X
237		X	X													
238		X	X		X		X									
239																X
240		X														
241		X							X							X
242		X										X				X
243		X			X			X							X	
244		X			X								X			

Ref. No.	collect	continuity	develop traditon	educate	enjoyment	exercise	local	other	socialisation	richness of life	standards	to dance	to demonstrate	to entertain	to learn	to perform
245		X											X			
246		X			X		X	X								
247					X			X								
248					X											X
249																
250					X											X
251		X			X									X		
252	X	X	X		X											
253		X														
254	X				X				X							
255							X								X	X
256			X							X						X
257		X			X			X								
258					X							X				
259			X		X											
260		X	X		X									X		
261			X													
262		X			X									X		
263		X			X											
264										X						X
265										X						
266					X											
267		X			X					X						X
268					X	X										
269		X														

Ref. No.	collect	continuity	develop traditon	enjoyment	exercise	local	other	socialisation / richness of life	standards	to dance	to demonstrate	to entertain	to learn	to perform
270				X										X
271				X									X	X
272														X
273		X				X								
274		X												
275		X		X				X						
276		X							X					
277				X										
278			X	X										
279				X										
280				X				X						
281		X		X		X								
282		X		X			X							
283	X	X		X										X
284		X				X								
285			X											
286									X				X	X
287		X		X		X						X		
288			X											X
289		X		X										X
290				X				X						
291		X	X	X								X		X
292				X										
293														X
294														

Ref. No.	collect	continuity	develop	educate traditon	enjoyment	exercise	local	other	socialisation richness of life	standards	to dance	to demonstrate	to entertain	to learn	to perform
295	X	X	X	X	X				X						
296		X													
297		X	X									X			
298		X			X										
299		X			X		X								
300								X							
301					X				X	X					
302															
303															
304															
305															
306															
307					X					X		X	X		
308		X			X										
309					X				X						
310		X			X				X					X	
311		X			X									X	
312								X							
313														X	
314														X	
315														X	
316															
317					X										
318					X			X							
319					X										

Ref. No.	collect	continuity	develop traditon	educate	enjoyment	exercise	local	other	socialisation	richness of life	standards	to dance	to demonstrate	to entertain	to learn	to perform
320					X											
321	X															
322					X											X
323			X		X											X
324	X				X											X
325																
326								X		X		X				
327											X			X		
328	X						X					X				
329			X		X					X	X					
330	X				X									X		
331																
332	X													X		

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