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THE NEXT ISSUE will highlight a collection of articles on the early history of morris. The topics include early references to women dancing the morris, an article on the work of Mary Neal, and, finally, an essay on how morris can become part of the local community fabric. AMN has commissioned Vermont artist and morris dancer Mary Azarian to design a special cover for the summer issue following the success of last summer's special design by Peter Klosky.

And November ... We are communicating with a range of sides and individuals in order to compile some articles on "The Next Morris Generation - Where Will They Come From?" - a series on recruiting methods, kids' morris and intergenerational family morris. If you are contacted, please respond. Unsolicited material is also always welcomed. We are looking for the failures as well as the successes in recruitment.

AMERICAN MORRIS NEWSLETTER is published three times per year, in March/April, July/August, and November/December. Subscriptions are $4.00/year. Team subscriptions of at least six issues mailed to the same address are $3.50/copy. Overseas subscribers add $0.50. Mail checks & correspondence to: American Morris Newsletter, c/o James C. Brickwedde, 3101 11th Ave South, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55407 (612) 721-7830.

The editor is James C. Brickwedde, copy editor is Lynn Madow, production assistant Kay Lata Schenkewetter. Thanks to John Cavanaugh and Carol Broady for use of their computer. Cover design and endpapers are design by Barbara Prentice-D'Souza of Hampton, England.
GENERAL NEWS

Ivor Allsop, archivist for The Morris Ring, has notified AMN of another publication by Bert Cleaver. This one is:

**Morris Jigs from Bledington, Headington, Longborough and Bucknell**, by Bert Cleaver. A Morris Ring Publication, 1986. £3.00 post free.

The format, including music notation, is similar to the two books on the dances and jigs from Fieldtown and Sherborne (each £2.00).

**ATTENTION!!** If you can possibly manage, please convert money orders to pounds Sterling when ordering from British sources. If not, add approximately $1.00 extra to your check to cover the charges levied by British banks. Do not expect overseas organizations to continually absorb these costs. **Please be sensitive to this concern.**

**Update:** English Folk Dance and Song Society AMN recently received a detailed notice from EFDSS regarding the fiscal health of the organization. AMN reported in the last issue that EFDSS had recommended the sale of the Cecil Sharp House. That action was blocked, at least for the moment, at a meeting held in late 1986. The Society is deeply in debt, and an emergency fund appeal is being made to help reduce the short term portion of that debt. The debt is caused by the high costs of operating and maintaining the Sharp House.

What has this to do with the morris? Everything! EFDSS publishes two magazines that contain a great deal of historical and contemporary information on all aspects of morris. **English Dance and Song** has, at least for now, suspended publication. If the Society goes bankrupt, the Vaughan Williams Library and all of its valuable contents could be sold at auction. Morris worldwide would suffer as a result.

All Americans who are currently members of EFDSS must attend NOW to the needs of the Society. Its services are important to the entire folk community. EFDSS is not a building. It is people dancing and an information resource. Please support the changes the Society needs to make in order to survive.

**Augusta Heritage Arts Workshop** in Elkins, West Virginia, will be including English clogging as part of its ‘Step-Dance Week,’ August 9-14. For further information write: Augusta Heritage Arts Workshop, Davis & Elkins College, Elkins, West Virginia 26241 or call (304) 636-1903.

The John C. Campbell Folk School in Brasstown, North Carolina includes English Garland, Stave, Ribbon and Cotswold morris as part of its June Dance Week (June 7-13). All levels of experience will be accommodated. For more information write: John C. Campbell Folk School, Brasstown, NC 28902 or call (704) 817-2775. Bruce Hamilton and Catherine Shreve are instructors.

The Christmas Country Dance School at Berea College in Kentucky will be celebrating its 50th Anniversary. To help celebrate, they are collecting reminiscences, old photos, old letters, articles, etc. and movies of your fondest memories. If you have something to contribute please forward to John M. Ramsay, Berea College, CPO 287, Berea, KY 40404. Photocopies are okay.

The Sixth Annual Phi’tone, a women only ale, will once again be based in the Framingham, MA area. The performances will be held June 12-14, 1987. For information or performance schedules contact Ha’penny Morris, c/o Meg Ryan, 11 Park Street #5, Brookline, MA 02146 or call (617) 735-0586.

Hong Kong Morris will be touring British Columbia and Washington State April 10-20. They are to be the guests of Hollytye, Vancouver, and the various Seattle sides.

Penstanton Morris of Cambridgeshire, UK will tour the US in early August. Their hosts will be New Haven (CT), Piddders Reach (ME), Hearts of Oak (NY), and Minnesota Traditional Morris.

In exchange Ring O’Bells, Westery Morris and Kingsessing will all tour England this summer. Happy travels to all!

**Notice**

AMN is preparing a summary for **CDS News** of morris ales, workshops, etc. in an attempt to broaden and cross-fertilize audiences. If you have an upcoming event you wish us to include in this summary, mail it to the editors. The next deadline AMN has to meet is July 1.

**Letter to the Editor**

Through the good offices of the American Morris Newsletter I convey my most sincere thanks to all dance groups who helped to raise money for the Morris Aid project on 6th September 1986. Dance groups from the United Kingdom, the United States, Australasia and the Republic of South Africa all participated and the final sum raised was £ 2164.93, an excellent result.

Once again my thanks to all participants.

Yours sincerely,

Anthony Collett
Traditional Bampton Morris Dancers

**Correction**

Volume 10 Number 3 p. 26 inadvertently substituted Todddington for Taddington. A reader wrote to say, "If anyone from the States were to look up Todddington and go there they would be about 100 miles out."

We apologize for the error. Thanks for the note!
DIRECTORY UPDATE 1987

The 1987 directory of all known morris sides in North America is inserted into this issue. A total of 53 sides are now known to be currently active. Of those, 33 are male, 3 female, 11 mixed and 6 kids' sides.

Thanks to those who responded with copies of team rosters, photos, posters, badges and transcripts. AMN is attempting to keep a growing archive of general information and it appreciates the goodwill of the various bagmen and squires who supply updated information.

Happy Tenth Anniversary to:

- Berkeley Morris
- New Haven Morris
- Foggy Bottom
- Newtowne Morris
- Ritual Drama Team

Lost and Found Department: Does anyone know the contact people for:

- May Apple Morris (KY)
- Old Deerfield Morris (MA)
- (Brattleboro, VT - new side)
- Mason-Dixon Border Morris (PA)

If you see a side missing from the Directory, or if the information given is incorrect, please write to us yourself. Don't simply assume that someone else will write.

SET IT BE KNOWN THAT

IS A MEMBER, AD PERPETUUM
OF THE

OLLY TREE MORRIS

BEGINNING ___ SQUIRE ___

MORRIS IN CANADA

The following material has been compiled from the team histories and other archival material supplied by the various Canadian sides. The clustering of organizations, the synthesis of events represent the editor's viewpoint. AMN hopes to have provided an accurate depiction of events.

The formation of morris sides in Canada falls into two very generalized patterns. To help organize the material for this article, two clusters emerged: 1) sides in Ontario who can trace some direct line of origin from Mariposa Folk Festival/Fiddler's Green Folk Club/Green Fiddle Morris Dancers; 2) the rest of Canada. This latter category is by no means an arbitrary lumping. The pattern of development which was followed by sides in Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia is quite similar. The similarity has much to do with their remoteness from those population centers, such as Toronto, where exposure to the spreading morris dance was more likely to occur.

The oldest of all the Canadian morris sides is Village Green Morris in Winnipeg. Started by John Trevenan in 1974, the side had its roots in an ad hoc group of dancers which John pulled together from the International and Scottish dance groups for special events as early as 1971. John's original exposure to morris occurred through his friend David Williams who had just learned the dance at Pinewoods. Through Williams' urging, John traveled to Pinewoods in the summer of 1970. Trevenan was permanently hooked.

The motivation to form a permanent side came out of the frustration of only being able to dance in the summer (on Pinewoods' annual tours) and on occasional special events. So in 1974, as part of a continental wave of similar events, Trevenan established the Village Green Morris Men.

Winnipeg, as part of this second category of Canadian sides, is different in that it had, through Trevenan's Pinewoods connections, a regular source of up-to-date material and instruction. The circumstances that led to the creation of Village Green is more similar to that of the USA sides which formed in the 1973-74 period such as Binghamton, Ring O'Bells, Minnesota and Marlboro, among others.

The Victoria Morris Men in British Columbia, which also started in 1974, formed in the absence of any such contacts.

David Winn wrote in 1984 that morris in Victoria began out of an urge to learn dances of their native homeland.
we obtained some literature and recordings from the Cecil Sharp House. Using these sparse materials, plus books in the public library, I reconstructed two Headington dances (inaccurately, as I later discovered).

- AMM Vol 8 no 2, July 1984 p. 2

Vancouver Morris Men, in 1981, formed out of similar native feelings but under more amusing circumstances:

...a group of engineers, all working for the same consulting company, were trying to dream up an original sketch for the annual company Christmas party. A number of recent English immigrants were in the group, and someone, no one can remember who, suggested a Morris dance. One of the group (Graham Baldwin) remembered two dances from a previous experience with the Honk Kong Morris Men back in 1977, so the idea was adopted. With the help of two records "Morris On" and "Son of Morris On", much rapid eye-scanning of Sharp and MacIlwaine's Morris Books, a lot of nerve and frivolity, the group performed a rendition of the Winster Processional, Lads a Bunchum/Young Collins, the Wyresdale Greensleeves dance and a Morris Off. A rendition was all it was since the only dances really known were Lads a Bunchum and Wyresdale Greensleeves - the others were essentially made up, using various assorted Morris type moves.

The story goes on to explain:

The group was met with wild enthusiasm, and the dancers experienced such a 'high' from the performance, that they decided to "go public" - The Vancouver Morris Men were born!

The more recent formation of 'Shepherds, Eh?' in Edmonton, Alberta followed a similar pattern of expatriates looking to the morris to fill a local need. Eleanora Park had learned her morris as a primary teacher in her native England. In Edmonton, she drew people from the International Folk Dance population to learn a few dances. The introduction was successful and the dancers urged her to do more.

With "a core of just seven men...She taught Headington's Bean-Setting, and Rigs of Marlow; Adderbury's Lads a Bunchum and Eynsham's Brighton Camp." The Sleights sword dance was also among the first dances taught.

Those of you who know the above mentioned dances recognize the source of information as being the Sharp and MacIlwaine Morris Books. With those groups who rose up in isolation, dependence upon written descriptions of the dances was high. After Ms. Parks stepped down after the first year from leading the morris in Edmonton, dancer Arthur Blades "spent many hours huddled over his Sharp and MacIlwaine Morris Books. His interpretations of the dances form the basis of the side's knowledge today."

Similarly, back in Vancouver, their:
"repertoire was expanded dramatically by many painful hours of studying Sharp and MacIlwaine to produce a rather bizarre version of Princess Royal (Abingdon), soon to be accused of being disco-morris!"

As each side in Victoria, Vancouver and Edmonton struggled under similar circumstances in their beginnings, so each discovered outside morris dance contacts about their second or third year of existence. The result in each case was a welcomed infusion of ideas and a renewed spirit given to the dance. The new exposure reflected a shift from a dependence upon written material to an oral transmission of material.

Victoria/Hollytree discovered David Taylor:

an accomplished folkdance teacher who had just returned from...Kenya. While there, he had belonged to a morris side started by another expatriate from England. With this experience, David was able to straighten out some of our problems of interpretation and styling, to add some more Headington material, and to introduce the Adderbury tradition.

Another dancer, Pat Thompson arrived in 1978 from Toronto where she had danced with Green Fiddle Morris. She helped start a women's side which merged with the Victoria Morris Men to form a joint side known as Hollytree Morris. In 1980, they discovered Mendocino Folk Dance Camp in California and a new tradition, Hampton, was infused into the repertoire.

Vancouver was discovered by Hollytree and "The Other Side" (a spin off of Hollytree led by Ms. Thompson, now defunct) as a result of VMMP appearing on the local TV station. Pat Thompson introduced Adderbury to Vancouver in 1982 and convinced them to attend the North-West Folk Life Festival in Seattle. There, The Vancouver Morris Men met the Mossy Back Morris Men.

When they (MBMM) finally stopped laughing at our rendition of Princess Royal (well - it was unusual) and the intentionally wierd Wyresdale Greensleeves dance, these guys proved to be our new morris mentors, particularly their squire at the time, Bob Greco (...of Binghamton...). All of a sudden, we seemed to be doing all their dances...

We also received our first copy of Bacon's Handbook of Morris Dancing, courtesy of Robert Reed of Portland Morris...

The influx of new outside influences continued for Hollytree through continued attendance at Mendocino, a summer long visit from Eric Foxley of Nottingham Foresters Morris (England) and a regular contact with other northwestern morris sides.

Vancouver had Steve Cleary of Herga Morris Men in England join the side (1983) and Roger Cartright spend a summer (1985) thus "breaking our 'umbilical cord' to Mossy Backs" as their primary source of styling.
Edmonton's Shepherd's Eh? reached similar milestones when they brought Winnipeg's John Tevenan in for a weekend workshop. The workshop covered Readington, Fieldtown and the singular? Upton-on-Severn Stick Dance. This workshop was followed up with a Huntington session with Bob Mumford (originally New Cambridge, Green Fiddle, Hogtown) who now lives in Medicine Hat, Alberta.

One Edmonton dancer, Bruce Ziff, recently spent a year sabbatical in Toronto and took the opportunity to dance with Green Fiddle Morris. He has returned bringing with him a background in Fieldtown which he is now passing on to his sidemates.

Each of these western Canadian sides has had their own unique style in approaching the morris. It has been interesting, however, to recognize a pattern in the stage of development each has followed.

The development of morris in the province of Ontario reflects a different pattern.

Almost all of the Ontario sides can trace their line of decent to either the Fiddler's Green Folk Club or the Mariposa Folk Festival, both in Toronto. Fiddler's Green was founded in 1970. One of the founders, Margo Kearney had "long been a dancer but hadn't seen the Morris... until a 1972 vacation in England." Her interest, along with that of Kate Reid and Christine Manville, who "had been to dance camps about that time and had been exposed to the Morris..." jelled at the 1975 Mariposa Folk Festival when Tony Barrand and the Marlboro Morris performed and taught workshops. Shortly thereafter, an announcement was made at the "Green" that a meeting would be held, and about 30 people showed up..." And so, Green Fiddle Morris was started.

The first dance, taught by Kate and Christine, was Young Collins Longborough followed by Black John Adderbury. Enthusiasm was extremely high with practices twice a week at the club... Practice was held in an L-shaped room with pillars around which two sets had to dance. A few weeks after this beginning, Bob Mumford, who had danced with Binghamton, arrived with his copy of Bacon, aghast that men and women were dancing together.

At this point few of the people had seen "real" Morris and were having trouble figuring out how it should look. Tony Barrand and John Roberts were performing at the "Green", so the opportunity was taken to ask Tony to give a workshop. As an invitation had been made to attend the Marlboro Morris and Green Fiddle. A side of men formed as a result known as Green Fiddle Morris (also briefly known as Mississauga Morris and Muddy Hogtown) who didn't, but it did come close. That membership, as a result of its outgrowth within Fiddler's Green, was drawn from over a very wide area. Individuals commuted sometimes up to 40 100 miles to practice and perform. One such commuter/dancer was Alistair Brown of London.

Alistair first became an ardent morris dancer after workshops he had taken at the 1977 Mariposa Folk Festival. He returned to London "determined to start a morris team in his own home town." Support for his efforts came as a result of a chance encounter between Green Fiddle and a spectator.

Green Fiddle Morris was performing in an indoor hall near Christmas (1977) when a wildly excited man rushed into the group babbling about the Morris. This was John Gillet...from England, and was living in London, Ontario.

...was a morris dancer in his youth... he was put in touch with the London group (principally Alistair) by Green Fiddle, and this contact led to the first meeting of a small group of interested dancers...

Forest City Morris was the group to be formed: the first 'spin off' of Green Fiddle. We will come back to the London sides in a moment. Let's return to Toronto and continue the story of development there.

In 1979-80 philosophical differences precipitated a split within Green Fiddle. A side of men formed as a result known as Hogtown Morris (also briefly known as Mississauga Morris and Muddy York Morris). "The first squire and foreman was Bob Mumford."

Over its six years of existence, the team drew members from a rather large area, from Toronto in the east, to Hamilton and Guelph 60 miles to the west, and eventually even farther. As well as novices and (former) Green Fiddle (men), we added two-veterans of English teams—Peter Redgate (Erewhon, Beaux York Morris) and Chris Allen (Oxford Univ., London Pride, Bathampton). At its largest, the team had 14 men.

The side began with the Bampton Tradition to which they adapted dances from Binghamton and created additions to what has now become known as the Hogtown tradition (see insert). Later traditions were Bucknell, originally from Bampton, (Bouverie Boys) and Brickley. They "also got some eclectic supplementary instruction from Bob Cartwright during his several visits."

Another major legacy of the Hogtown side (besides the Hogtown dances) was the establishment of the Ontario Travelling Morris. The OTM occurred in 1981 and 1982:

Each time for five days at the end of August...the first one took place north of Toronto in Simco County, the second to the west, around Wellington County... They were events just opened to male dancers of Ontario, plus Ann Arbor, (Michigan, USA). Each time 15-20 participated, leaving the base camp for a day's dancing, then returning late in the evening.

Because of the immense amount of time and effort required to set up and operate such a tour, further OTMs never occurred. Those which did occur, however, were quite successful, leading one member of a
THE HOGTOWN TRADITION

The Toronto Morris Men list Hogtown as one of the dance traditions they perform. In following through on the nature and origins of each new tradition, an interesting history of international cross-fertilization emerged. In general, the Hogtown tradition can be described as a Bampton variation and consists of a total of four dances. The initial two dances were originally created in Binghamton, NY and were later transmitted to the Hogtown side where the dances took on additional life of their own.

"Binghamton Stick Dance" was first created around late 1974 or early 1975 according to BMM dancer Ed Szymanski. It was created because BMM "had learned most of the Bampton dances in the Bacon book and thought we needed a stick dance." Sometime after that, the dance "Yankee Doodle" was created.(1)

The connections between Binghamton and the Canadian dancers had largely to do with friendships established at the Marlboro Ale (with Green Fiddle Morris) and the relocation of a New Cambridge Morris dancer, Bob Mumford, also a strong Binghamton friend, to Toronto. When Hogtown, with Mumford as squire and foreman, spun off from Green Fiddle in 1979, the bonds of friendship transferred as well.

Over the course of a few tour exchanges, Hogtown picked up the "Binghamton Stick Dance," "Yankee Doodle," and the Bampton single step. The Hogtown dancers then proceeded to create two more dances on their own: "Al's Banlons" and "The Imperial Ryerson" - both stick dances.

"Al's Banlons," is described as being a corner stick dance named after a lumberjack who lives in Knowlsville, NY. "Imperial Ryerson" is a tossing stick dance named after the Imperial Public Library (a pub) and Ryerson Institute (a school near to the pub). (2)

Hogtown, also known as Mississauga Morris and Muddy York Morris, drew its membership from a broad geographic area. It disbanded in 1985 due to relocations and conflicting commitments among members. (3) The dance tradition, carried by the few remaining Hogtown dancers, moved into the repertoire of the Toronto Morris Men when the team formed in 1985. Thus, the legacy of a past side will survive into the future based upon the dances it created and passed on.

1. MS material, personal correspondence, Szymanski to Brick wedde, dated 1/13/87; private collection. Szymanski also notes that much of the creative initiative behind the "Binghamton Stick Dance" was that of John Dexter. Dexter moved from Binghamton to New York City c. 1979 and founded The Houser Boys. Binghamton MM's first created dance was "The Hoyton," also known as "Sullivan's Glen." It is not clear if anyone other than BMM perform this dance.


3. MS material, personal correspondence, Jamie Beaton, Toronto MM to Brickwedde, dated January 11/87. Private collection.

Green Fiddle Morris in recent years had moved to become more of a mixed side rather than a joint side of male and female sets. Following its 10th Anniversary Tour in England during the summer of 1985, several of the Green Fiddle men decided they wanted to dance separately. They, along with the remaining Hogtown dancers formed the Toronto Morris Men as a result.

TMM is carrying on the Hogtown Dances along with Longborough. The Ontario Travelling Morris may be revived by the side this summer (1987) - another indication of the "traditions" this side is plotting for its course. Their team philosophy states:

We have the best time when we 1) dance well, i.e., with maximum physical effort...2) dance primarily for ourselves...our raison d'etre is the tour to unsuspecting locales as a small group...3) effectively communicate with the people who watch us; 4) spend all our collection on beer.

Previous to the creation of TMM two other sides had spun off the original Green Fiddle side. This time it was women who set off on their own.

Black Sheep Morris was originally formed circa 1980-81 by GFM members from Guelph, which is about 60 miles from Toronto. The primary reason was that the group "found travelling to practice a little rough in wintertime." Not much is known about Black Sheep by the AMN editors. The side is now defunct and appears, in fact, to have only existed for a few years.

A few of Black Sheep's dancers, however, helped to form the core of women who started Bread and Roses Morris in 1982. Pulling membership from the ranks of both Green Fiddle and Black Sheep, Bread & Roses formed around a "shared philosophy for a women's side to do strong energetic dancing." The main founders were Dinny Fowler and Alison Bidwell. The side's regular annual touring events include joining all other Toronto sides in High Park for a May Day dance at sunrise (May 1, 1987 will mark the 10th anniversary of this tradition), started by Green Fiddle, the Green Fiddle's Toronto Ale, held on Labor Day weekend, a summer tour of Orillia, north of Toronto, and a Boxing Day dance-out at a local brewery for a tour and some singing and dancing.

different side to comment that Hogtown's "account of the second annual Ontario Travelling Morris should be required reading for all the Morris."

By 1984, however, Hogtown's membership had dropped badly:

Efforts at recruiting had failed, and men had variously left the side, moved out west, moved further from the city or had increased other commitments.

The group "semi-officially" disbanded at the Toronto Ale in September 1985. Most of the remaining members joined a new men's side known as the Toronto Morris Men.
Green Fiddle continues today as a mixed side. Its large membership over the years has made spin offs a normal developmental process. It has been "Morris Mother" to five Ontario sides and, indirectly, a sixth (Ottawa). The current foreman writes: "Plans this year include a 10th year reunion of all the people who have danced or played as GFM members during the life of the team--a lot of people."

From here, we return to London, Ontario where we left off with Forest City Morris. The developmental processes past through by this side were not unlike those of Green Fiddle's, in terms of dealing with a large membership and a connection with a folk club, yet unique as a result of its being more influenced by outside events.

Forest City's early days were spent dancing Adderbury, Bampton, Fieldtown and Headington. It's early connections with Green Fiddle was evident in as far as for at least one performance, "we had to borrow bells from Green Fiddle."

The London recruits came largely from the membership of the Cuckoo's Nest Folk Club. Numbers swelled rapidly and:

- with that growth there were more internal tensions and complexities. Details about kit were debated at length...as were questions of what we should dance. The issue of continuing as a mixed side also emerged early on.

An invitation to the Marlboro Ale very early on in the process of development had a major impact on the group, demonstrating that ales can have their negative side effects, too. ...

Size became a factor: ...

...Numbers reached 25 at one point which posed a set of problems all of its own for the management of practices and the involvement of all the members at dance outs...

One solution to some of the problems of size and complexity was to create separate men's and women's sides within the team. This was not an easy decision, but when it was finally taken, the dancing of both the men and women moved ahead significantly.

The tug o' war over the ultimate direction of the organization, however, continued. A regular stream of dancers to Pinewoods Dance Camp infused more ideas of what dances to do, on the one hand, and how to focus the group, on the other. This proved to be the deciding debate for in 1981, Forest City subdivided with Thames Valley (men's)


ibid.

ibid.


and Goatshead (women's) establishing themselves as separate sides. In 1982, Malt Mill Morris formed as a mixed side thus completing the realignment.

With much smaller numbers, Forest City began to rebuild:

A few of us had learned the Kirtlington tradition from Tony Barrand at Pinewoods...To this day, we have maintained Kirtlington as our main tradition, and have added a number of dances of our own making. We find it to be unique, and to have a number of interesting features, especially the hey. The growth pains of the past allowed four strong teams to emerge. Tom Siess of Forest City looked back on that time with a philosophical eye:

From this, it is evident that several factors were significant in our development. The large size of the team, in its early days, was apparently a major problem. Breaking down to separate sides helped in this regard. At the same time, we also abandoned our early eclectic style in favor of one major tradition. In my mind, this was one of the most important choices we made, and I still stick by this.

Interest and variety can be maintained by inventing dances within the tradition, but the concentration on one form has been, and still is, important to us.

Thames Valley Morris and Goatshead Morris each started with a single tradition concept in mind. Thames Valley has always been a Fieldtown team; Goatshead originally an Ilmington side. However, since 1984, Goatshead has concentrated on Northwest Morris and Garland.

It is no accident that, as a result, both teams have developed styles which, while still true to the aesthetic of the historical (received) dances, nevertheless are now recognizable "London-style".

Up to 50% of Thames Valley's repertoire is comprised of "inventions" extending the Fieldtown tradition into one of their own.

Goatshead have seven dances in their repertoire including Mayapple, Lancaster Maze and Sweet Garland, Lancaster Processional, Colne Royal and versions of Mossley and Manley.

The influences of these two sides is widely felt across Canada and the USA through the teaching activities of Alistair Brown and Paul Handford. Both are active in teaching morris classes and workshops including Mendacino, Pinewoods and other regional events.

Malt Mill Morris started in 1982 when three married couples decided they would rather dance mixed than as a joint team. Dance traditions include Adderbury, Bampton, Headington, Sherborne, Fieldtown, Bledington and the North Skelton Long Sword. The side has also begun to create some of its own dances.

The London sides do come together every year to host the London Ale in early June, now in its 9th year.

Finally, let us come to the newest of the Canadian sides.

Like Toronto and London, Hogs Back Morris in Ottawa share some common roots and developments. Each city's original side grew out of a folk club. In Ottawa was the Old Sod Society. Also, each original side had a direct connection with Fiddler's Green Folk Club.

After years of resisting the morris epidemic in Toronto, Val and Ian Robb (of Fiddler's Green) moved to Ottawa and started a morris side. They did so with the help of two English expatriates, Duncan Bruce and Dee Stainfield, both of whom had been active dancers in England. Both Duncan and Dee had been associated with the Sherborne side. Dee also had danced Northwest Morris with Women In The Wold.

Hogs Back started out in 1985 with Northwest and Sherborne as its main traditions but found that Sherborne was too idiosyncratic for a bunch of absolute rookies and (so) moved on to Fieldtown, where at least we could count on the guidance and support of our good friends Alistair Brown and Paul Handford, of Thames Valley Morris...Fieldtown continued for a year and was at the dance-out stage when we realized that NW and Cotswold were competing for practice time and brain cells, and that it was only going to get worse. At that stage (September 1986) NW was attracting more enthusiasm and numbers and, of course, promised to be more exciting in the sense that NW sides are not exactly thick ground on this side of the pond... The source of material that Hogs Back is drawing upon comes through Dee's dance experiences from England and from Paul Handford and his work with Goatshead Morris. Yet Hogs Back is moving strongly to stamp its own mark on the dances.
A major task this year has been to develop a style involving hankies, rather than the usual sticks or slings (tiddlers). I had long held the suspicion, recently reinforced by reading other opinions, that the various wavers and twirlers used by contemporary NW teams probably had a common ancestor in the hankie. Over the last few months, we have refined and discarded a number of prototypes, and are now fairly happy with a 'hankie on a handle' which can be waved like a handkie or twirled like a tiddler.

Thus Canada has its morris!

I asked the different sides if they felt if the Canadian public accepted morris dancing any better than the USA public. The general feeling was "no difference". The comments of "jingle bells", "Greek or something?" and "the inevitable teen clusters with green hair and black lips calling us weirdos" can be found on either side of the border.

*******

Attempting to footnote the myriad of quotes drawn upon for this article would have been too cumbersome. So instead, I list the sources of material and those who authored them so history will know who to blame besides the AMN editor.

Bread & Roses Morris - Eileen Markwick
Forest City Morris - Tom Siess
Green Fiddle Morris - L. Redgate
Goatshead Morris - Paul Handford
Hogs Back Morris - Ian Robb
Hogtown Morris - notes from Jim Rootham, correspondence from Jamie Beaton
Hollytree Morris - AMN vol 8 no 2, 1984 article by David Winn, correspondence from Yvonne Thompson.
Malt Mill Morris - Tom Griffiths
Shepherd's, Eh? - Kevin Brown, notes from Arthur Blades
Thames Valley Morris - Paul Handford
Toronto Morris Men - John Mayberry
Vancouver Morris Men - Graham Baldwin
Village Green Morris - notes from John Trevenan

Ed. Note: As AMN was going to press, we learned of two other Canadian sides: 'The Captain's Ladies' in Vancouver (1987) and a Ribbon and Garland side in Peterborough. Addresses and general information is unknown.
"It don't seem like Christmas if the mummers are not here," Granny would say as she'd knit in her chair. "Things have gone modern, and I suppose that's the cause Christmas is not like it was."

(Barf barf knock knock knock) (breathy, squeaky voice) "Any mummers allowed in?"

"Hark what's the noise out by the porch door? Granny, 'tis mummers, there's twenty or more." Her old weathered face brightens up with a grin. "Any mummers, nice mummers 'lowed in?"

"Come in, lovely mummers, don't bother the snow. We can wipe up the water, sure after you go. Sit if you can, or on some mummer's knee. Let's see if we knows who you be."

There's big ones and small ones and tall ones and thin. Boys dressed as women and girls dressed as men. Humps on their backs and mitts on their feet. My bliss, and we'll die with the heat.

There's only one there that I think that I know. That tall feller standing o'er 'longside the stove. He's shaking his fist for to make me not tell. Must be Willy from out on the hill.

Now that one's a stranger if there ever was one. With his underwear stuffed and his trapdoor undone. Is he wearing his mother's big forty-two bra? I knows, but I'm not going to tell.

Don't s'pose you fine mummers would turn down a drop? No home brew or alkie, whatever you got. Not the one with his rubber boots on the wrong feet. He's enough for to do un all week.

"S'pose you can dance?" Yes, they all nod their heads. They've been tapping their feet ever since they came in. Now that the drinks have been all passed around. The mummers are planking her down.
Confederation with Canada in 1949 retained strong cultural ties with a house-visiting custom as one with implications may be interested in Newfoundland mumming as the oldest extant North American tradition. However, a more intriguing viewpoint, and springboard for a nationalist theater revival movement; and a source of customs that both define and create community, continually reiterate in the new society. Men migrated seasonally in family groups to fish the rich waters of the Grand Banks and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, bringing over wives and children to settle permanently in small, isolated coastal areas. This highly localized migration meant that kinship patterns remained the dominant settlement pattern in Newfoundland today.

Life in the outports was harsh, and Christmas was a time of great celebration. The only major holiday in the calendar, Christmas meant a full twelve days of freedom from rough physical labor for men and women alike. House parties or "times," church suppers, dances, and house-visits reaffirmed community bonds of kinship and neighborliness, and celebrated the community's survival through yet another cycle of seasons. Mumming, mummering, or "janneying" as it is sometimes known, was an important part of these festivities, and revolved around two elements: the masked house-visit and the folk play.

Christmas mumming in Newfoundland is the topic of a hit country song: "Good night and good Christmas, mummers me dears. No need for to care how you buckles the floor. Please God we will see you next year. Be careful the lamp and hold onto the stove. Don't swing Granny hard, 'cause you know that she's old. No need for to care how you buckles the floor. "Cause mummers have danced here before."

"My God, how hot is it, we'd better go. I allow we'll all get the Devil's own cold."

Good night and good Christmas, mummers me dears.
Please God we will see you next year.

A TYPOLOGY OF MUMMING

Folklorist Herbert Halpert gives "A Typology of Mumming" in his definitive study of Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland. Halpert points out that "masking, with its frequently attended costuming, is a worldwide phenomenon, connected with religion, ritual, and drama."[5]

...the full range of mumming activities in the English-speaking tradition...is very much wider (than the Newfoundland customs). It includes such contemporary phenomena as the Philadelphia Mummers' Parade, the New Orleans Mardi Gras, the North of England Sword Dance, the St. Stephen's Day wren boys, the Shetland "skaklers," the "belsnicklers" from German tradition in Nova Scotia, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia, medieval and renaissance pageants, the court masque of England, the pachtenlauf of Austria, and the folk plays of Thrace. Clearly we have here an enormous body of customs."[6]

Halpert groups mumming activities into two parallel pairs, as follows.

A. Indoor Activities
1. The Informal Visit
   a) the informal visit (Newfoundland janneys)
   b) the visitation by inquisitors (Eskimo "nayulucks," St. Nicholas and Black Peter)
2. The Visit With Formal Performance
   a) renaissance dumb-show, masque
   b) the dance (Sword dance, Morris dance)
   c) the folk play (Hero-Combat, Plough, Wooing, or Sword Dance play)

B. Outdoor Activities
1. The Informal Outdoor Behaviour
   a) undirected wandering (general carnival behaviour)
2. The Formal Outdoor Movement
   a) groups moving to give performances at fixed points (dancers, players, etc.)
   b) dance procession or "running" (Helston Furry Dance)
   c) the formal procession (parades, pageants)[7]

NEWFOUNDLAND MUMMING

The salient features of Newfoundland mumming are:
1) the house-visit by an informal group;
2) the attempt at complete disguise involving
   a) disguise of face, hands, and body, frequently with sex reversal out (man/woman);
   b) disguise of costume and gestures and body movement (such as dance steps)
   c) disguise of voice, especially through breathy, squeaky, "ingressive" speech (produced by breathing in while speaking);
3) uninhibited, reverse-of-normal behaviour by the visitors, who may sing, dance, or play instruments when asked;
4) the attempt by the hosts to guess the identity of the visitors, who usually unmask when identified;
The strangeness of the mummers allows role-reversal, empowering rural people to take on the roles of local merchants, tax collectors, law officers, and other important people in the community. It also provides a framework for "controlled flexibility in the ties that bind people together as kin, clan, neighbors, and co-workers."[17]

One recent Marxist analysis links the decline of outdoor mumming to the decline of the inshore fishery. Gerald Sider argues that outport mumming was "a reproduction of the relations of production," mirroring and amplifying community relationships in the inshore family fishery.

"Mumming was not so much a Christmas festival as a New Year's festival, providing a framework for the reorganization of social relationships for the coming year. Now that a new era has come to Newfoundland, the era of wage-labour, the new year no longer has the same significance. Mumming declined when its socially reproductive functions were transferred outside the community."[18]

The dying out of mumming, then, is symptomatic of Newfoundland communities' response to radical social change.

Newfoundland's history is one of communities firmly bonded to place, but more importantly one of a geometrically accelerating explosion of place perception. For three hundred years, Newfoundlanders' community was bounded by the isolated, kin-bonded outpost, and seasonal customs like mumming reinforced the sense of community. The seal hunt was done from outside the outpost, and national identity came only after a century of nationhood. When Newfoundland joined Canada in 1949, the island had been independent from Britain for less than a hundred years, and Confederation after thirty years has only begun to create a community of Canadians. In the 1970s, the seal hunt thrust Newfoundlanders into global society while they were still struggling to accept themselves in their Canadian context.[19]

**MUMMING AS NATIONALISM**

In 1978, a theater collective called the Mummers' Troupe toured Canadian cities with "They Club Seals, Don't They?," a political satire on the Greenpeace anti-sealing protest.[20] Organized by Newfoundland Chris Brookes of the CBC and his fellow St. John's residents, the Mummers' Troupe deliberately drew on the existence of mummering and folk drama in Newfoundland to create a sense of nationalistic pride in dramatic expression. However, their process in no way resembled that of the traditional customs described by Halpert above, and their product owed far more to 1970s mainland social protest rhetoric and cultural nationalism than to folklore. Their plays were collectively scripted and theatrically produced, "containing elements of slapstick comedy, puppetry, dance, rock music and satire."[21] Their stated purpose was the promotion of Newfoundland cultural heritage through "useful theater,"[22] their goal "creating indigenous theater material in a way that speaks to people,"[23] and their ideal one of empowerment through collective action. In 1973, the Mummers' Troupe organized a protest of what some West Coast residents saw as forced resettlement for the then-proposed
Gros Morne National Park: their play "Gros Mourn" was written on the spot after interviews with locals, and presented in fishing communities as a consciousness-raising tool to catalyze organized protest of the Park.[24]

Janet Drodge examines the Mummers Troupe and their spinoffs the Rising Tide and Codco Theaters "within the wider cultural renaissance commencing in the 1960s, which resulted in a renewal of emphasis on indigenous and traditional forms of cultural expression such as music, crafts, and literature," and concludes that "nationalist theater evolved in response and in reaction to the perceived loss of cultural pride and identity, and the erosion of traditional values and forms following Newfoundland’s union with Canada in 1949."[25] Nationalist theater groups deliberately and consciously promoted local tradition as representative of a Newfoundland "national" lifestyle, and as much, ironically, must be termed "revivalists" by strict definition.

All three groups, and the kindred folksong revival groups Piggy Duff, the Wonderful Grand Band, and Jim Payne & Kelly Russell, express a powerful theme of the 1970s: the loss of Newfoundland community identity. The provincial government in the 1950s had compounded Confederation with a resettlement program that moved thousands of outport families into "designated growth centres" around the island to create jobs and provide improved education, health, and social services. In many instances, the old community of self-employed families and neighbors with a welfare state of tract houses whose inhabitants were strangers to each other.

Ironically, mummers as strangers depend for their welcome on a community in which they are well-known. "To mum well is to conceal and then reveal."[26] Central to the fun of guessing and guising is the sure knowledge that the mask, once "thrown up," will reveal a familiar face. The loss of this certainty symbolizes a much deeper loss of community, on a much larger scale.

COMMUNITY FROM STRANGERS: THE FOLK REVIVAL

It is no coincidence that the folk revival of the 1970s began in the cities. Creating community among unrelated strangers was paramount in the folk movement, the sense of family the amazing thing."[27] Folk revivalists sought "a return to the kind of ideal folk life that is not available any more in America."[28] One of the fascinating dimensions of Newfoundland folk revival is that it is happening while that way of life is still available.

Or is it? "For reasons other than the obvious chronological ones, it is getting harder and harder to see the pre-confederation outpost for what it really was."[29] Written histories are inescapably revisionist, and oral ones even more so; self-proclaimed preservationists double the risks of sentimentalism and bias in their efforts to "tell the real story." Drodge outlines the basic paradox of nationalist movements thus:

"A certain degree of vagueness or ambiguity is inherent in both economic and cultural nationalism. Both entail mixed feelings and often quite contradictory attitudes toward Newfoundland culture and the identity associated with it...there are themes of independence, rejection, dependence, and demoralization, yet both interpretations are perceived as representing the pre-Confederation reality. Typically reactions of praise for authenticity (and censure for stereotyping) typify the ambiguity with which all peoples alternately perceive themselves and their cultures, both in ideological and expressive terms."[30]

This ambiquity can lead to frustration for those whose intentions are quite earnest. A Newfoundland folklorist-cum-folksinger once denounced a folk club audience for inattention to a traditional song, shouting over the crowd: "Shut up! Can’t you see? We’re preserving your f-king culture!"[31]

A generation of folklorists and revival performers have, then: a) earnestly and painstakingly recorded and thus preserved a rapidly vanished body of traditional customs; b) recreated a romanticized, mythic Arcadian past from their own ritual-starved imaginations. Take your pick.

What seems clear is that we cannot deal with mumming without dealing with community relationships. A custom is inseparable from the cultural context that created it. What does this mean for us as urban mummers in 1980s North America?

THE RURAL/URBAN FLIP/FLOP

Let us assume that mumming, in complex and multilayered ways, both creates and reinforces community: through the physical path of the mummers from house to house; the recognition (and misrecognition) of community members; the cathartic self-expression and group dynamics of the play, the singing, the dancing; the sharing of food and drink. How is this process different in the city and in the country?

At the risk of oversimplifying, I will take the morris team as an example of an urban community, and the outport as a rural one. Rural communities are tied by kinship, both blood and marriage, and by physical proximity. They are multigenerational, in contrast to friendship-bonded urban communities of similar age and interests (morris dancing). Even in urban communities with a wide age spread, it is the exception rather than the rule to find two related generations on the same team. House-visits, especially on foot, are difficult in the spatially diffuse environment of a large city (or even in rural areas where team members drive up to two hours to practice).

Rural communities are bonded by propinquity as well: "everybody knows your business" (and you) in a small town or an outport. In the city, a real fear of real strangers will prevent mummers from acting too strange, for fear we should be feared rather than enjoyed. Guising is an impractical way of interacting with the larger and more dilute community; hence the emphasis, in public performances, on the...
dramatics of the play.

Community values of sharing, trust, honesty, and continuity are much more consciously articulated and sought after in urban communities than in their rural counterparts. The spirit of revival is one of "creating tradition" in a rootless environment, the antithesis of the small-town resident's need for escape from stultifying habit. A common cry of the morris dancer reflects this: "It's traditional! We did it last year!" Or, as we say around Madison, "Twice, it's a tradition. Three times, it's a ritual.

Often, "creating tradition" means resuscitating "fakelore" from books, scripting plays from whole cloth like the Mummers' Troupe, or compiling from several sources. These old ways we revere for their sense of communal closeness may have very different connotations for an outsider to whom they "smell of poverty" and a narrow way of life. As one Newfoundland historian has pointed out, "the question of whether or not a country has a culture is a question for those with a full belly. It is unlikely to occur to the hungry." [32]

It is difficult to justify rural values economically, especially for a "have-not" province in a "have" society. The same scholar has responded to the nationalist nostalgia of the Newfoundland cultural renaissance thus:

"The unforgettable fact of life in the pre-1949 outport was its humbleness...it's need...for mindless, repetitive labour combined with thrift...The decision of the Newfoundland people to join Canada in 1949 expressed their desire for a secure, decent way of life. Only sentimentalists will argue that they made a wrong move." [33]

It is easy to sentimentalize from a warm city office, and just as easy to romanticize the city from a fishing boat. Both are essentially outsider's views, prize the community on the other side of the fence. Bridge's ambiguity is rearing its head again, and dragging with it the hoary old question of "who are the folk anyhow?"

Rural and urban mummers are folk who share a sense of the power of drama as collective action to create community. Whether through the informal, unselfconscious antics of the Janneys' house-visit or the deliberate, conscious pageantry of the Midwest Sword and Mumming Ale--loving re-creations of historic "traditional" English rag costumes or caricatures of Victorian quack doctors, medieval ladies fair and dragons straight from Arthur Rackham. We'd look mighty strange on an outport path, while their squelchy voices, threatening rowdiness, tospy-turvy social antics, oilskins and rubber boots might turn heads in a library or a shopping mall.

But underneath, perhaps, we're analogues. Strangers to each other, we might recognize the community bonds within each group. This is the familiar face we find when we throw up the mummer's mask: the bonds of community that create permanence, never mind how, in a changing world through dynamic repetition. "Please God we will see you next year!"

Footnotes


[3] Personal interviews with Geography and Folklore Department Faculty, Memorial University, St. John's. See Joseph Needham's article on "The Geographical Distribution of English Ceremonial Dance," EPDES Journal, 1936, and "A Geographical Index of the Ceremonial Dance in Great Britain" by Ca'we. Helm et al. in the same. I am unaware of any similar treatment of the folk play specifically and welcome any suggestions.

[4] "Janneying' and 'Janney,' today common and widespread words for the disguised figures (both male and female) of the Christmas season, seem to be peculiar to Newfoundland, while 'mumming' is a common variant of the English 'mumming'" J.D.A. Widdowson, "Mumming and Janneying: Some Explanatory Notes," in Herbert Halpert and G.M. Story, eds., Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland: Essays in Anthropology, Folklore, and History, for Memorial University of Newfoundland by the University of Toronto Press, 1969, pp. 216-217


[6] Ibid. p. 35

[7] Ibid. p. 36
[9] Colin Quigley, CLOSE TO THE FLOOR: Folk Dance in Newfoundland, Memorial University Folklore and Language Archive Publications, 1985
[10] Wilfred Wareham and Neil Rosenberg, Memorial University Folklore Department, personal interviews, July 1986
[13] Ibid, p. 192
[14] I spent the months of July and August 1985 and 1986 in M.S. fieldwork on Newfoundland's west coast.
[18] Ibid, p. 27
[23] Ibid, p. 3
[26] Sider, op. cit., p. 6
[28] Ismael Young in DeTurk and Poulin, op. cit., p. 18
[33] Ibid
TEAM NEWS

BaltiMorris, Baltimore, MD

After regrouping and recruiting some new members, BaltiMorris had a full 1986 season and plan on an active one in 1987. Our Baltimore Inner Harbor tour was a great time for all, and we're planning it again for this Fall as well, along with our usual Spring and Autumn shenanigans. Our main tradition continues to be Oddington, with a healthy dose of Adderbury. This season we will be adding some Fieldtown dances to our repertoire. Our organizational functions are developing, but meanwhile I am serving as squire and foreman. The past two seasons have also brought a new kit. We retired our green vests and brown knickers (too many "are you Irish?" questions) and now dance in whites with baldrics of yellow, blue and green. We retained our green caps, which as new members join are becoming quite scarce.

Our music is provided by Judy Meyers and her seemingly endless varieties of accordions, big and small. Barbara Drummond occasionally fiddles for us as well.

Gene Baron,

Ha'Penny Morris,

1987 promises to be an energetic year for Ha'Penny. With six new members last year, and three new members this year, we are as big a group as we have ever been. Robin Kynoch has retired after serving two organized years as squire and Meg Ryan is currently squire. Jan Elliott is in her second year as foreman and doing a particularly splendid job with the teaching. We are currently working on Oddington and Ascott under Wychwood, but still do the occasional Fieldtown dance. We are planning to hold the sixth annual Ph'ome, a gathering of women's morris groups, this June (Ed. see Announcements section). It is always a special celebration for us, and we hope our guests. There is talk of getting team T-shirts or sweatshirts printed up (a perennial topic). Maybe this is the year!

Meg Ryan,

Manus River Morris, Greenwich, CT

After a long recruitment effort, we have two sets at most practices, and a new musician, Jim Norman, formerly of Shambles Morris in Houston, who will play concertina along with our own Leah Barkan on accordion.

I spent the winter of '86 in California, singing post-practice with Sunset Morris of Santa Monica and Queens Way Morris of Long Beach, so on my return, I moaned that Manus River Morris doesn't sing. Not a bit of it, said our John Lippincott, and he organized sings. We're now a singing, dancing team. We love it!

In November we sponsored a Ducklington workshop taught by Sue Salmons, and welcomed dancers from New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey. After a long day of double steps and capers, Manus River Morris wiggled our collective aching toes, got into kit, and went off to a surprisingly energetic scheduled performance. What trouper?

On January 9, we sponsored the fifth annual Twelfth Night Celebration in Greenwich, along with Six-in-Hand Longsword. We danced Ducklington Nutting Girl, and the Upton-on-Severn stick dance, leading with rowdy yells off the stage in our black face, bowlers and tuxedos, to chase our "preacher," Nelson Beers, who had just given a sermon on the evils of dance. Was it the devil made him creep back into the auditorium and join us for the final morris ring of the dance, to the delight of the audience?

The rest of the evening featured a potluck dinner, caroling, a mummer's play, wassailing for refreshments, Abbott's Bromley, a country dance demonstration, rapper and longsword. Two sides of very happy fifth graders who learn morris from our Paul Kerlee did Litchfield Ring o' Bells. Our audience cheered everything mightily, joined us for the finale, a rousing Lord of the Dance, and stayed after the show for contra dancing, called by Brad Foster. It was a good Celebration, and properly banished the evil winter demons for another year.

Rose and Thorn,

Rose and Thorn hosted an Ale on July 4, 1986, celebrating the 300th Anniversary of Woodstock, CT. Although a formerly dead and annually resurrected team, the interest generated by this event makes us once again active and practicing on Mondays. Our apologies to the Lord High Mayor of Woodstock, England, invited guest of honor (and personal acquaintance to William Kimber), that ... women do occasionally dance the morris also. The new team plans to be at NEFFA in April, the Mixed Morris Ale wherever that might be, along with many of our original non-resident team members from all corners of the Northeast.

Tom French,

Three Village Morris,

Your provocative (survey) questions (such as "What year did your team start?") fostered much discussion and a certain amount of dissension such that we are now resolved to have a scrap book party and get our archives together. Keep up the good work!