University of Roehampton London

Barn Dances, Ceilidhs, and Country Dancing in England 1945-2020: An Examination of Non-Specialist English Social Folk Dance

Chloe Elizabeth Middleton-Metcalfe MA, BA (Hons)

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of PhD
Department of Dance
University of Roehampton
2021



Abstract

This thesis is a genre-centred investigation of one dance form which is known by a variety of names including: barn dance, ceilidh, country dance, and (English) folk dance. A hitherto academically neglected dance genre, this thesis takes a mixed diachronic and synchronic approach to explain and contextualise the developments of English social folk dance from the mid-twentieth century. In so doing it contributes to an under-studied area of research: the experiences of occasional, or novice adult dancers.

In order to answer the central question of 'why do people hold English social folk dances?' this thesis examines the genre's recent history. The approach of Douglas Kennedy, head of the English Folk Dance and Song Society (EFDSS) from 1924-1961 is examined. Consideration is given to the influence of other dance genres (in particular square dance and old time) on the formation of an English folk repertoire. The neo-traditionalist approach of the ceilidh movement in the 1970s and the quest for an English sound and dancing style is examined. Folk dance in English schools is charted, providing a counter-story to modern educational dance centred histories.

The second half of this thesis utilises ethnographic fieldwork from thirty dance events (2017-2018), supplemented with interviews and questionnaire data. I locate dance events in time and space, analyse how and why they are financed, document who attends such events, investigate what choreographies are utilised, and discuss how they are taught and realised.

Finally, in order to assess the role national identity plays in encouraging participation I consider whether this dance form is associated with notions of Englishness. I conclude that amongst non-specialist dancers, there is a largely ambiguous relationship. This uncertainty has at least three identifiable causes, the use of Celtic and/or North American terminology, music, and themes; a disassociation between traditional dance and Englishness; and a broader societal discomfort amongst the white middle classes with identifying as English rather than British. Instead of identity the importance of 'fun' is emphasised by participants and organisers. How fun is experienced and construed by attendees is analysed building upon approaches advocated by sociologist Walter Podilchak (1985, 1991).

Contents

I. Acknowledgements 8
II. Preface 10

Part One: Setting the Scene

1:1 Introduction
1:1:1 A Church Barn Dance in Buckinghamshire 15
1:1:2 Research Aims and Objectives 17
1:1:3 Nomenclature 20
1:1:4 Thesis Structure 29

1:2: Literature Review and Methodology
1:2:1 Introduction 30
1:2:2 Literature Review 31
1:2:3 Theoretical Framework 39
1:2:4 Dance and Music Analysis 44
1:2:5 Writing History 46
1:2:6 A Multi-Sited Dance Ethnography 48
1:2:7 Data Collection and Analysis
1:2:7:1 The Field Site 52
1:2:7:2 Event Criteria 55
1:2:7:3 Fieldwork 58
1:2:7:4 Interviews 63
1:2:7:5 Questionnaires 66
1:2:7:6 Difficulties 67
1:2:8 Conclusion 68

Part Two: Folk Dance Past

2:3 The Douglas Kennedy Years: 1945-1961
2:3:1 Folk Dance in the 1920s 70
2:3:2 Douglas Kennedy's New Approach 72
2:3:3 Kennedy's Justification and Influences 83
2:3:4 The Square Dance Boom 94
2:3:5 Conclusion 103

2:4 The Post-Kennedy Years: 1962-2019
2:4:1 Introduction 105
2:4:2 Neo-Traditionalists and The Ceilidh Movement 107
2:4:3 The Decline of the EFDSS 119
2:4:4 The Development of Tyro Folk Dancing 123
2:4:5 Conclusion 136

2:5 Folk Dance in Education
2:5:1 Introduction 137
2:5:2 Douglas Kennedy and Folk Dance in Education 138
2:5:3 The Slow Decline of Folk Dance Provision in Schools 142
2:5:4 Creative Folk Dance Provision 149
2:5:5 Conclusion 151

2:6 Repertoire
2:6:1 Introduction 152
2:6:2 Collected Dances 154
2:6:3 North American Influences 165
2:6:4 Couples Dances and the Old Time Dance Revival 172
2:6:5 International Dances 181
2:6:6 Newly Composed Dances 186
2:6:7 Conclusion 196

Part Three: Folk Dance Present

3:7 The Dance Event
3:7:1 Introduction 198
3:7:2 Contemporary Social Context
3:7:2:1 Organisers 199
3:7:2:2 Locating Events in Space and Time 203
3:7:2:3 Themes 210
3:7:2:4 Music 215
3:7:3 The Economic Event 221
3:7:4 Attendees
3:7:4:1 Demographic 229
3:7:4:2 Orientation to English Social Folk Dance 240
3:7:5 Conclusion 247

3:8 The Realisation of the Dance
3:8:1 Teaching 249
3:8:2 Music 261
3:8:3 Stepping 270
3:8:4 Conclusion 275

3:9 Core Tenets
3:9:1 Introduction 277
3:9:2 Fun 277
3:9:3 Participation 285
3:9:4 Inclusion 288
3:9:5 Conclusion 294

3:10 Identities
3:10:1 Introduction 296
3:10:2 Britishness and Englishness 299
3:10:3 Non-English Identities
3:10:3:1 Celtic Associations 305
3:10:3:2 American Associations 308
3:10:3:3 'A Bit of Everywhere' 311
3:10:4 English Identities
3:10:4:1 Community, History, and Heritage 314
3:10.4:2 Whiteness 319
3:10:5 Conclusion 325

Part Four: Conclusion

4:11 Thesis Conclusion 327

Appendices

A1: Thesis Support
A1:1 Writing Conventions 334
A1:2 Abbreviations 334
A1:3 Set Formations 335
A1:4 Training Days 337
A1:5 Film Links 337
A1:6 Research Ethics 337

A2: Interviews and Methodology
A2:1 Event Attendee Questionnaire 338
A2:2 Information Leaflet 340
A2:3 Interview Consent Form – Optional Anonymity 341
A2:4 Interview Consent Forms - Anonymised 342
A2:5 List of Interviewees 343
A2:6 Anonymised Biographies of Interviewed Event Attendees 345
A2:7 Video and Audio Recording Chart 348

A3: Dance Events
A3:1 Buckinghamshire Event Map 359
A3:2 Attended Events 350
A3:3 Missed Events 353
A3:4 Barn Dances by Month 355
A3:5 Images: Examples of Online Advertising 356
A3:6 Images: Examples of Physical Advertising 357
A3:7 Number of Musicians in the Band 358
A3:8 Instruments 359
A3:9 Decoration, Layouts, and Venues 360

A4: Repertoire

A4:1 Most Popular Dances 373
A4:2 Dance Examples
DE:1 Bridge of Athlone 374
DE:2 Circassian Circle 375
DE:3 Cumberland Square Eight 376
DE:4 Heel and Toe Polka alias Patacake Polka 377
DE:5 Lucky Seven 378
DE:6 Coming Round the Mountain 379
DE:7 Strip the Willow alias Drops of Brandy 380
DE:8 The Snake Dance 382
DE:9 The Snowball 383
A4:3 Average Number of Dances Per Event 384
A4:4 Time Spent Teaching and Dancing 384
A4:5 Circassian Circle Music Selection 385

A5: Attendee Questionnaires

A5:1 Response Rate 387
A5:2 Miles Travelled 388
A5:3 Age 388
A5:4 Who Did Attendees Arrange to Meet With? 389
A5:5 How Many People Did They Recognise? 389
A5:6 Educational Qualifications 390
A5:7 Occupation 394
A5:8 Relationship with Dancing 402
A5:9 Types of Dancing 403
A5:10 British Folk Music 404
A5:11 Reasons for Coming to the Event 404
A5:12 Country Born In 406
A5:13 Ethnicity 408

A6: Additional Data

A6:1 EFDSS Membership Chart 410
A6:2 Folk Dance in Schools 411

Bibliography

Personal Communication 412
All Other References 413

I: Acknowledgements

Thank you to all the event organisers, dancers, callers, musicians, and event attendees who helped me with this research. Thank you for your assistance, time, and support.

I was truly fortunate for have two absolutely brilliant and enthusiastic supervisors. Thank you Professor Theresa Buckland and Dr Sara Houston for all your comments, advice, and expert guidance.

A big thank you to the Techne research funding and doctoral training partnership scheme. Being a funded researcher gave me not only financial security but validated both the subject area and my abilities as a researcher. Techne also supported a six month placement with the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, during which I was able to complete *An Introductory Bibliography of Traditional Social Folk Dance* (2019).[1]

The staff at the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library did so much to help me with my various requests. Thank you Laura Smyth, Nick Wall, Malcolm Barr-Hamilton, and Martin Nail. Thank you to the inter-library loans team at Roehampton University who provided me with so many texts from across the UK. Thank you also to the staff of the EFDSS who helped me with my requests for information and allowed me to attend the various caller training initiatives (listed in A1:4).

It is hard to imagine a field of more congenial experts. My thanks to Derek Schofield and Sean Goddard for all of their help and advice. Thank you Mike Heaney for supporting my original Techne application and being an ongoing source of help and wisdom.

[1] Available at: https://www.vwml.org/topics/study-guides (Accessed: 4.2.19).

Thank you to my father Andrew Metcalfe for being able and willing to listen, and provide critical commentary of draft after chapter draft. Your patience and questioning enabled me to hone my written eloquence, thank you.

Thank you also Val Webb for taking the time to proof read and provide feedback on my penultimate draft.

Thank you to my husband Jake Middleton-Metcalfe for being the most wonderful emotional support. Thank you for checking that I left the house on time and in suitable attire.

One of the joys of completing a PhD has been the regular contact with other research students. Thank you Ellie Grace, Doris Dornelles, Lizz Fort, and Lanora Callahan for your friendship and the 2016-2020 Techne cohort for your inspirational support.

II: Preface

At the turn of the twentieth century Cecil Sharp (1859-1924) helped to foster an interest in historical dance forms. In addition to collecting morris and sword dances Sharp also collected social dances. He was particular about the types of social dances he was interested in, spurning couple dances and quadrilles as recent imports (Sharp 1909:7-8). Sharp was most interested in *country dances*. Whilst the term *country dancing* in 2021 might refer to social folk dances of any formation, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries *country dancing* referred to dances in longways set formation with partners facing each other across the set, in two gender-segregated lines (A1:3).[1] Between 1909 and 1922 Sharp published six volumes of *The Country Dance Book*. Indicating their relative importance within the English folk revival the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 6th volumes contain historical materials which are collectively known within the revival as *Playford* dances. *Playford* refers to the repertoire from the various editions of *The Dancing Master*, the first volume of which was compiled and published by John Playford in 1651.[2] In contrast the first volume of Sharp's *Country Dance Book* (1909) contains eighteen country dances collected from individuals and communities in rural England[3] whilst volume five (Sharp

[1] In the United States *English country dancing* came to have a more specific meaning and currently refers primarily to longways set dances drawing upon seventeenth and eighteenth century repertoires (Walkowitz 2010, Morgenstein 2013, Barraclough 2010). In England this type of dance is commonly referred to as being in the *Playford* style. *Country dancing* in America and *Playford* dancing in England are primarily club activities. Groups may hold costumed balls to perform the dances, and they might give costumed displays. Both American interpretations of English country dance, and Playford dances are on the periphery of this investigation.

[2] The label *Playford* has since been used to include other historical dance manuscript books and contemporary dances written in a similar style. The Playford style dances, as I experienced them 2009-2019 are often performed differently to other forms of social folk dance. The tempo of the music is often slower, the musical style at Playford events can be quite similar to a classical music performance, and the typical movement used is a gliding step.

[3] Sharp did collect social dances which were not in country dance (longways) formation such as the *Swedish Dance* collected in 1909 from Gloucestershire (VWMLDA:

1918) contains an improvised dance form known as *The Running Set* which Sharp had collected during a trip to Kentucky in 1917 (Spalding and Woodside 1995:2-3, Jamison 2015:60-74).

In 1911 Sharp formed the English Folk Dance Society (hereafter the EFDS) to display and promote English folk dance. In 1932, eight years after Sharp's death, the EFDS merged with the Folk Song Society to become the extant English Folk Dance and Song Society (hereafter the EFDSS). Today English social folk dance is still danced by specialist groups, many of whom are affiliated to the EFDSS, but since the 1940s it has become normal for non-folk groups to organise occasional dances hiring a folk band and 'caller' to teach the dances.

In the 2010s such English social folk dance events were commonly known as *barn dances* or *ceilidhs.* In brief, events usually featured: a live band with a repertoire of tunes popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (or contemporary melodies inspired by historical dance music); a caller who selected the dances, explained them, and gave verbal prompt calls once the music has begun; and a selection of pre-choreographed dances. These dances consisted of short repeating sequences of simple figures such as 'Swing' or 'Circle Left' (see dance examples in A4:2) and were normally based around units of couples arranged in groups called *sets*. English social folk dance appears to have fared well when compared with other incarnations of participatory sequence dance,[4] particularly

CJS2/10/2240). However, these dances were not published in any edition of *The Country Dance Book.*

[4] In this thesis I occasionally describe English social folk dance as a *sequence* dance form. This is because the genre consists of discreet dances which are comprised of a number of figures set in a sequence which is repeated each turn through the dance (see A4:2). *Sequence* dancing is predominantly used in England to refer to couple ballroom dances (such as *The Valeta*) which, like English social folk dance, have a number of figures which are fixed in a repeating sequence. My usage of *sequence* expands upon the core meaning of a dance comprising a set of repeating figures in a fixed sequence. This is applicable to many genres of dance and discreet dances such as the disco favourite *The Macarena*.

ballroom. *Barn dances*, and more recently *ceilidhs*, have become a popular alternative to disco/club dancing, and for some individuals a go-to dance genre for some larger social occasions.[5]

My interest in the genre is familial, however, like many who enjoy the occasional ceilidh or barn dance my parents would not describe themselves as dancers. They met, I am told, through a mutual interest in music, singing Beatles songs at a friend's party. Later my father introduced my mother to folk song. The recordings of Steeleye Span, an iconic folk-rock band (established 1969) permeated my childhood, as did my parents' own renditions of the songs recorded by Tim Hart and Maddie Prior on *Folk Songs of Old England* volume one (1968) and two (1969). When my parents married in 1985, their wedding celebrations included a local folk band, but no barn dancing. I was born in 1991, at which point my father was playing rhythm guitar with Northamptonshire-based barn dance band The Squarecrows (established 1964). Barn dances and ceilidhs were a regular part of my childhood. Summer holidays, for the most part, involved Folk Camp, a week of musical activities with a social dance every evening.[6] It was here that I was given, at about the age of seven, my first opportunity to *call* - to teach and lead a dance. Some winter holidays we attended Halsway Manor, a residential folk arts centre in Somerset for events with music, social folk dance, craft, and song. Outside of the holidays, I attended dances at some of the weddings of family friends, a fundraising event for the Parent-Teacher-Association (PTA) at my junior school, and some of the dances held in the village of Moulton (Northamptonshire) which were then organised twice yearly by the local morris

[5] A Wedding Blog www.hitched.co.uk/ has two threads: 'Has anyone been to a wedding with a Ceilidh band?' (2012), and 'Barn Dance With Hog Roast' (2015). In both of these British users discuss the merits of having a barn dance or ceilidh rather than, or as well as, a disco for their wedding reception entertainment.
[6] Folk Camps were originally an EFDSS initiative, headed by Bill Rutter. The first camp ran in the summer of 1961 (De Frettes 2019).

team. I asked for a barn dance for my fourteenth birthday party and even chose Goddess Camp, a woman-orientated Pagan festival in Leicestershire for my eighteenth birthday celebrations because it was advertised that there would be a ceilidh.

As an adult I decided to learn folk revival morris dancing. This is a performative but non-competitive folk dance form with three main styles and over 800 active teams.[7] Morris dancing opened up a world of folk festivals with their attendant ceilidhs, regular dance *series* (monthly or twice monthly events by the same organisers), and social dances at the weddings of folk friends. Upon my own marriage to another morris dancer in 2015 deciding to hold a ceilidh for the reception was one of the easier choices. Shortly after our marriage we formed Innocent Hare, a family band primarily consisting of myself (fiddle, percussion, calling), my husband (concertina), and my father (fiddle, guitar) and we started to tout for barn dance/ceilidh bookings. When the time came to pursue a doctorate, I knew that social folk dance was seriously under-studied in comparison to its performative folk dance cousins. As I will discuss in my literature review, research in this subject area had mostly focused on the early days of the folk dance revival and the life and work of Cecil Sharp (1:2:2). My experiences seemed to provide a good starting point for scholarly research into more recent incarnations of social folk dance.

The participatory nature of this genre and its comparative popularity means that a large number of individuals, many hundreds of thousands, have an opportunity to engage with it each year. A hint at the numbers that might be involved comes from headcounts undertaken during my own research. Over the course of twenty-six events, I counted some 2,280 individuals in attendance. While not all attendees would have danced, nearly all would have had exposure to the dancing, and most would have been invited by the caller to

[7] Folk revival morris is different from the carnival morris style which is female dominated, competitive, and particularly popular in the north of England (Wright 2017, 2019).

participate. The popularity of English social folk dance events amongst non-specialist participants raises pertinent questions about the appeal of this folkloric activity within contemporary society. Most dances are organised by individuals or groups who shoulder the financial risk of hiring the venue and musicians. Outside of the funding given to the EFDSS,[8] there is little direct government support (centrally or locally) for such activities, nor does there seem to be many commercially minded organisers creating events for financial profit. I wanted to find out, what inspires these organisers, who are not folk enthusiasts to arrange events at personal financial risk?

Contemporary folk and traditional practices are regularly explored in relation to personal and political constructions of identity. Similar social dance forms in Ireland and Scotland are often associated with national identity.[9] With the political uncertainty precipitated by Scottish and Welsh devolution in 1999, and the 2016 referendum in favour of the British exit from the European Union, there has been a growing interest in the saliency of 'Englishness'. Writing this thesis offered an opportunity to understand the relationship between 'Englishness' and contemporary social folk dance. Are these dance events associated with Englishness? And if so, how? Such questions, alongside a desire to identify the links between past and current practice, formed the basis of my initial research proposal.

[8] Since 2009 the EFDSS have received regular and substantial funding from Arts Council England (Spicer 2009:26). They are currently (2021) one of the Council's National Portfolio Organisations.
[9] For example: Ballantyne 2016, Brennan 1999, Foley 2013, Lorrain Smith 2008, Morrison 2003/4, O'Connor 1997, 2013, Shoupe 2001, and Whiteside 2017.

Part One: Setting the Scene

1:1 Introduction

1:1:1 A Church Barn Dance in Buckinghamshire

It is a Sunday afternoon in early February 2018 and the members of the congregation of a Roman Catholic Church in South Buckinghamshire are preparing for a family barn dance. The event has been primarily advertised through the church. Entrance to the dance event at £8 for an adult ticket is comparatively cheap for an afternoon's entertainment.[1] The organisers hope to raise money for church building maintenance. A duet Toucan Play are arranging a small display of toy toucans and getting their equipment, an amplified violin and the church's electric piano ready. The musicians stand at the front of this modern, circular church on the few steps which divide the apse and altar from the rest of the building. Groups mostly consisting of families or older couples in middle-age or later life arrive for the dance. Individuals greet each other and, after depositing cold food such as sandwiches, crisps, salad, cake, and biscuits upon a long table at the back of the room, find a place to sit near friends and family. Most are dressed in regular smart/casual attire but one group of about twelve Filipinos (a mixed age group with individuals who look to be in their 30s-50s, with one couple who have brought their baby) come in full 'Country and Western' attire with checked shirts, denim skirts or jeans, and cowboy hats.

When the dancing starts, guests are welcomed by one of the event organisers. Unusually there are two callers at this event, a married couple Val and Ian McFarlane. Val and Ian take it in turns to teach and lead dances. While one is calling, the other is assisting on the floor. The McFarlanes are involved with the Chiltern Folk Association. Until 2009

[1] See section 3:7:3 for more details about the economics of these events.

this group was known as the EFDSS's Buckinghamshire District. At the start of each dance Val or Ian encourage attendants onto the floor, they usually announce the name and describe the set formation (A1:3), sometimes they give additional information about the dance's provenance.

Once the dancers come onto the floor, the caller verbally explains the movements and the participants 'walk through' the figures of the dance without music at least once before the musicians strike up a tune for the actual dance. Throughout the dance, the caller gives timed verbal prompts keeping the dancers in phrase with the 4 bar repeating structure of the music. Nearly all the melodies are in $\frac{4}{4}$ or $\frac{6}{8}$, and many are unknown to me, but I catch a number of tunes that I am familiar with from playing in music sessions and being in a folk dance band.[2] The dances comprise fixed sequences of figures such as 'Swing', 'Lines Forward and Back', and 'Circle Left', which are repeated throughout the duration of the dance.[3] This event includes dances from a range of different time periods. The oldest *Black Nag*, dates from 1670, whilst the newest *Holmfirth Square* was created by folk dance enthusiast Eileen Keys in the 1990s. The proposed set list shown to me by the callers also includes titles with non-English geographic identifiers *The Virginia Reel* and *The Caerphilly March.* Most attendees join in at least one dance, and there is much laughter, especially when instructions are misunderstood and the figures go wrong, as they regularly do. When the dancing is over, participants help set up seats in time for the evening service. The chairs are laid out and the room quickly reverts to being a church awaiting the evening's congregation.

[2] Namely: *Nae Luck About the House, Black Nag, Leaving of Liverpool, The March of St Timothy, I Wanna Be Near You,* and *The Irish Washerwoman.*
[3] Descriptions of these and other figures can be found in the dance examples located in A4:2.

Events such as this church dance are the focus of this investigation into non-specialist English social folk dance. This thesis is one of the first explorations of such dancers' experiences. Most studies of non-professional practice focus on the experiences of the keen dancer (e.g. Brown 2007, Thomas 1993, 1997, Hamera 2007, Williams 2018). One problem encountered by scholars interested in the non-specialist perspective is the disbelief of such individuals that their experiences are valued and worth researching. Sociologist Maxine Leeds Craig elucidated this point in *Sorry I don't Dance: Why Men Refuse to Move* (2014). She interviewed men with a range of dancing experiences, including the generally reticent as well as the enthusiastic. Exceptions to the comparative death of research about the experiences of non-experts can be found in research involving dance in schools (e.g. Giguere 2011, Stinson 1997, and Whiteside 2017:172-184), and in more 'traditional' dancing contexts often involving social parties within geographically bounded communities (e.g. Cowan 1990, Maeland 2018, Quigley 1985, Shoupe 2001).

1:1:2 Research Aims and Objectives

This is the first detailed study of contemporary English social folk dance. Being able to document current practices for future researchers was a central reason for embarking on this thesis. It has long been recognised that social dance is the under-studied cousin of theatrical dance (see 1:2:2) and I believed that social folk dance's low academic standing could be raised through the process of documentation and analysis. Non-specialist events were of particular interest, not only because intermittent adult dancing experiences form such a small part of the wider social dance literature, but because these events offer a gateway into understanding how folk dance is perceived by the wider public in England.

The comparative popularity of this dance form, and its engagement with a wide variety of individuals who were neither self-assigned 'dancers' or 'folkies' was an appealing

reason to make this study. I wanted to find out why English social folk dance had such wide appeal. Moreover, a contrast could be found in the literature between non-specialist events and the frequent folk dance events attended by a greater proportion of regular dancers. Authors often conceptualised non-specialist events as holding a special kind of authentic traditionality (see 1:2:2). Such attitudes further piqued my interest in events hosted by and for non-enthusiasts, which operated outside of folk dance clubs or folk festivals.

English social folk dance suffers from a scarcity of written history (see 1:2:2); the research that has been done to date has largely focused on the period 1900-1940, before non-folk-dance groups became interested in hosting barn dances/ceilidhs. In order to understand this phenomenon better, to find out how, when, and why, folk dances were adopted by non-specialist groups I felt that it was necessary to take a long view. As Buckland has discussed (2001) diachronic research perspectives have been particularly prevalent in dance genres which have been conceptualised as being part of the classic folk paradigm, wherein aspects of past dance practice as seen as particularly relevant to its present manifestation (cf. Buckland 2006c). I was optimistic that exploration of the recent past through oral history interviews and the study of documentation, particularly the long running EFDS/S house magazine *English Dance and Song*, would help to illuminate present practice.

Outside of an English context it is not uncommon for studies of traditional/folk dance to focus on links to political, regional, cultural, or national identity (e.g. Brandes 1990, Buckland 2006b, Lorrain Smith 2008, Morrison 2003/4, Shay 2002, Wilkinson 2003). To what extent, if any, is identity important for attendees at English social folk dance events? Whilst many people born in England still use *British* rather than *English* as their chosen

category of national identity (Yougov/BBC 2018), the number of individuals identifying with the *English* label appears to have grown since Scottish and Welsh devolution in 1999 (Curtice 2011:58). By focusing outside the keen folk scene I hoped to explore whether members of contemporary English society associated barn dances and ceilidhs with English folk culture or tradition. The relationship between contemporary morris dancing and Englishness has already been explored in both England (Goodwin-Hawkins 2016; Spracklen and Henderson 2013; Winter and Keegan-Phipps 2013), and the Canadian diaspora (Greenhill 1994). I wanted to examine the extent to which social folk dance implicitly or explicitly supported identity formation; and in the process add a new research perspective to the growing body of work about Englishness and folk (see literature review 1:2:2).

Why do groups of individuals, who do not classify themselves as folk dancers organise events which include English social folk dance? This multifaceted query was my central research question and it warranted an answer which could draw upon a number of connected areas, in particular the disjunctures and continuities between past and current practices. I identified four principal areas of inquiry which structured my investigations and helped to answer my central research question.

1) **History:** What were the key changes in the development of English social folk dance between 1945-2020?
2) **Choreography**: Is there a repertoire of commonly performed dances? What canon can be identified? How are these structured movements taught and danced?

3) **Contemporary Social Context:** What demographic does this dance attract? From which socio-economic backgrounds? Who hosts these dances? Why do they hold them?
4) **Identities**: What is the relationship between national identity (particularly Englishness) and this dance form? Does identity matter? What, if any, are the identities which are perceived by participants? To what extent does English social folk dance infer and/or support concepts of belonging to local, national, or even transnational communities?

1:1:3 Nomenclature

The phrase *social folk dancing* is regularly used to discuss a range of dance events and types of dances. In 2016 Milton Keynes Council's Community Information Database advertised the Chiltern Folk Association as an organisation which:

> Encourages the enjoyment of participation in English folk dance, song and music. Also known as *social folk dancing*. Folk dance club members dance for fun not display.
>
> (Milton Keynes Council 2016 [emphasis added]).

A 2018 EFDSS job advertisement for a trainee folk dance tutor made clear the Society's understanding of the term *social folk dance* as:

> The family of dance styles referred to as country, ceilidh and barn dancing from England, occasionally complemented by similar dances from further afield.
>
> (EFDSS 2018a:3).

It seems appropriate that it should be *social folk dance* that is used as the genre title at the centre of this investigation. *English social folk dance* is a useful genre descriptor for events which share not only choreography and music but also historical lineage. I hope that my usage of *English social folk dance* as an inclusive term clarifies, for the purposes of study, a group of similar dance events, practices, and choreographies. The choice of *social folk* avoids selecting one pre-existing term as the primary or dominant genre descriptor and allows for the inclusion of dance styles which have a variety of names including: country dance, folk dance, ceilidh dance, and barn dancing.

Cecil Sharp appeared to view country dance as a subcategory of 'social dance'. In *The Dance*, published shortly after his death and co-authored with A.P Oppé, country dancing is discussed in the 'Social Dance' chapter. This is contrasted with 'Spectacular Dance' where sword and morris are discussed (Sharp and Oppé 1924). From the 1970s onwards overviews of English folk dance increasingly used *social* rather than *country* within a context already delineated as folk or traditional (Buckland 1994,1998, Rippon 1975, Simpson and Roud 2000[2003]:88, Trubshaw 2002). These categories have often sat side by side with alternative binaries, such as *participatory/performative* (Winter and Keegan-Phipps 2013:16). *Social* was the preferred descriptor by the staff of the EFDSS in the 2010s. Their *Beginners Guide to English Folk Dance* uses a binary of *social*/*performance* to differentiate between dance types (Fletcher 2014).

A key benefit to the usage of the word *social* is its alignment with dance scholarship. *Social* is a widely used dance descriptor which normally aims to delineate between dancing in performative, theatrical, often professional contexts and dances enjoyed off-stage normally in an amateur, leisure context (Brainard 1998, Cohen-Stratyner 2001, Franks 1963, Hanna 1979:55, Zimring 2013). A straight-forward division between

the theatrical and the social is unsurprisingly problematic. Dance researcher Sherril Dodds summarised that a number of social dance styles are 'transmitted across both theatrical/performance and vernacular/social contexts'. She argued that the label *social dance* can be too broad for some scholars, who might prefer the locality and 'community production' implied in the term *vernacular* dance. Such statements of co-creation are missing when *social* dance is interpreted simply as being 'participatory or recreational' (Dodds 2011:68). A number of dance scholars have chosen to use *social dance* as a descriptor which explicitly excludes folk dance (Malnig 2009:4, McDonagh 1998). Malnig's exclusion is predicated upon the supposition that folk dancers exist in a community apart from the dancing, whilst social dancers in contrast create a community '*as a result* of the dancing' (Malnig 2009:4 [original emphasis]). However studies focusing on folk dance specifically would not support such a division. The idea of a dancing community, individuals brought together by love of dancing, rather by than prior social knowledge is the norm among scholars of contemporary folk dance participation in Britain and North America (e.g. Hast 1993, Jamison 2015, Walkowitz 2010). Horton's North American 'dance gyspies' who travel significant distances to travel to contra events, would seem to exemplify this approach (Horton 2001:212).[4] My usage of *social* is not predicated upon prior familiarity or unfamiliarity amongst the attendees. Instead, understanding rests less on the role of dance to draw people together and create communities of dancers, and more on the context of the dance event and the emphasis upon involvement, rather than performance. Such a usage accords with a brief definition by North American dance anthropologist Erica Nielson in *Folk Dancing*. Here *social* is used as a dance descriptor to

[4] There are a number of studies of contemporary contra dancing focusing on different aspects of this contemporary traditional North American dance form. These include studies about: choreography (McNab Dart 1995); gender (Snyder 2019); clothing (Horton and Jordan-Smith 2004); and attendance (Carlin (1995),

describe events where: 'the primary purpose is to interact with people in a fun recreational setting, with or without formal instruction' (Nielson 2011: xvii).

Although I use *social folk dance* as my primary genre description, the majority of events I attended during my field research were advertised as *barn dances* (19/30), whilst a minority (6/30) were advertised as *ceilidhs*.[5] At two events both *barn dance* and *ceilidh* were used interchangeably whilst three events used alternative terminology; there were two *tea dances* and one *winter dance*.[6] Callers would occasionally discuss how *barn dance* and *ceilidh* could be used interchangeably. At one event I attended in a primary school, the caller announced: 'some of you will know this as a barn dance, some of you as a ceilidh' (FN: 8.6.18). Another caller conjoined the two words welcoming attendees to a 'barndanceceilidh or a ceilidhbarndance' (FN: 5.8.18). At some events, the application of terminology could be quite arbitrary. I spoke to one organiser who had been responsible for the event posters and she said that she picked *barn dance* because she was not sure how to spell *ceilidh* (FN: 10.3.18).

In the course of my fieldwork, I was lucky enough to sit at a table with two female event attendees, both retired teachers in their 60s, who were unknown to each other prior to the event. The more experienced attendee (A1), was more firmly rooted in English traditional dance and was married to a morris dancer and is a singer-songwriter in the folk style. The other attendee (A2) is less involved with folk, saying that she was 'new to this'.

[5] On all the advertising for ceilidhs, the Scottish Gaelic reformed spelling was used i.e. *cèilidh*, but missing the grave accent. This is the spelling I use throughout this thesis except when I am referring to Irish dance events where the Irish form *ceílí* is used instead.
[6] At the 2019 Chippenham folk festival, *dances* indicated a different repertoire and pace to the *ceilidhs*. At this festival, ceilidhs often had figuratively simpler dances to louder music and attracted a younger demographic. Similarly in my Buckinghamshire fieldwork, the three *dances* I attended appeared to use *dance* to describe a greater alliance to the current folk dance club repertoire.

The three of us discussed whether there is a difference between barn dances and ceilidhs. A2 said that there is a difference, that ceilidh is Irish or Scottish, whilst A1 opined that it is the same thing except that a ceilidh would include spots of alternative entertainment alongside participatory dancing (FN:17.2.18). The understanding of A1 reflects the structure of many regular folk dances such as the ceilidh series which ran at Haddenham, Buckinghamshire from 1970 to 2017. These events had a *floor spot* in the interval with entertainment such as morris or clog dancers. Whilst the idea of the floor spot still appears to be an important element in differentiating ceilidhs from other types of events amongst keen dancers, floor spots of any description were unusual at the dances I attended during my research.[7] As labels neither *barn dance,* or *ceilidh,* are as problematic as *folk,* which is a notoriously contested term. In the deconstructionist framework of the 1970s and 1980s, the nineteenth century tenets on which the concept of folk culture had been based were subjected to rigorous critique. Particularly influential in Britain was the publication of *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British Folk Song 1700 to the Present Day* by Dave Harker (1985) which built upon claims in his earlier paper 'Cecil Sharp in Somerset: Some Conclusions' (1972). Harker's revisionist stance fed into a wider re-evaluation of the biases and nationalistic incentives of the Victorian and Edwardian folk collectors (cf. Gammon 2003, Gregory 2009). *Working-class*, *vernacular*, and *popular* are three alternatives which have, since the 1970s, been substituted for *folk* in an English context (Buckland 1983:321-322, Pickering 1990). By the 1980s, *folk* was seen by some scholars as having negative 'antiquarian and fossilized connotations' (Gammon 1986:155). A

[7] With the possible exception of 'heads or tails' or whisky rolling (3:7:3) I did not see any skits or party games at these events either. However floor spots were a common feature of the ceilidhs I attended at Towersey, Chippenham, and Sidmouth Folk Festivals in 2019. At one church barn dance I talked to an attendee in her late 60s who told me that she does tap dancing. I asked if she would be doing any this evening and she said that it would not be the right thing to do at a barn dance, but I did not press her on why she thought that was the case (FN:24.2.2018).

significant step towards the eschewment of *folk* was taken in 1981 when the International Folk Music Council (established in 1947) changed its name to the International Council for Traditional Music. Musicologist Philip Bohlman considered that this name change epitomised the wider academic move away from *folk* as a useful construct (Bohlman 1988:xi).

At the same time the meaning of the word *tradition* (a key component of the historical concept of *folk*) was also being re-evaluated (Handler and Linnekin 1983). Political historians Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's edited collection *The Invention of Tradition* (1983) sought to debunk the notion of timeless, authorless customs by exposing the history, development, and political importance of traditions such as the wearing of the kilt, and the pomp of British royal weddings. Whilst the theoretical underpinnings of their division between authentic and invented traditions have been critiqued by folk dance scholars and ethnomusicologists, especially those interested in revivals (Bradkte 1997:5, Groth 1999:22-23, Rosenberg 1993:20-21), Hobsbawm and Ranger's influential work helped to enculturate a lasting scepticism, particularly amongst British historians, towards the serious study of folklore (Hopkin 2012: 376-377).

In the 1980s and 1990s *folk* was also rejected by some academics because it was associated with revival practices and groups who self-consciously adopted the folk label. In 1995 North American dance scholars Susan Spalding and Jane Woodside referred to their choice of *vernacular* as a way of dissociating the dance contexts they were interested in from more recently formed *folk* dance groups (Spalding and Woodside 1995:2). In Britain it has been more commonplace, though no less problematic, to make a similar

differentiation using the binary of 'tradition' and 'revival' (Groth 1999, Sughrue 1988).[8] *Folk* can also have negative, pejorative connotations. Musicologist Fintan Vallely refers to the 'trivialisation implied in the use of [the word] 'folk'' in his discussion of Irish instrumentalists' preference for the word *traditional* (Vallely 2008:10). In the *International Encyclopaedia of Dance* LeeEllen Friedland argued that historical lineage is the only reason why certain dances should be called *folk* and not *vernacular*.

> The term folk dance is valuable only when this historical connection is maintained. Folk dance is that subset of dance forms and customs that can be traced to folk communities and repertories so defined by nineteenth-century concepts; it is a historical term that refers to a particular interpretation of the history of human culture and expression.
>
> (Friedland 1998)

This idea of historical continuation, and interest in the consistencies and ruptures between past and current practices is a key reason for my own adoption of the term social *folk* dance.

Whether or not individuals were adhering to the boundaries proposed by Friedland, *folk* continued to be used in England as a genre category which had scope for meaningful use because of its wider recognition and familiarity (Pickering 1990). The mid-twentieth century had ushered in a new folksong revival which further helped to popularise the folk concept (Williams 1976:137). From music genres to personal identity, humans regularly utilise negative comparativity, or oppositional modelling, to categorise and

[8] As early as 1972, Kealiinohomoku noted that such divisions between traditional and revival practices do not take social dance forms into account. Referring to modern square dancing she noted that these types of dances 'are performed primarily for the benefit of the dancers rather than for spectators' (1972:398).

compartmentalise the world (Chapman 1992:208-264, Wodak et al. 1999:189). Music historian Matthew Gelbert writes of 'the specific historical interdependence of "folk" and "art" as a binary, dialectical pairing' (Gelbert 2007:7). Indeed, attempts to delineate folk dance usually continue to utilise a paradigm of opposition. Folk is considered, and compared to other dance types, most commonly popular and classical forms (Buckland 1983:326, Dodds 2011: 50-51, O'Connor 1997:158-163). My use of the term is not meant to imply bounded definitions. *Folk* is a human construct; its boundaries are open for discursive re-interpretation and challenge and as dance historian Theresa Buckland argued in 1983, such malleable constructs as genre categories should never be treated as absolutes (1983:328).

Whilst the International Folk Music Council took the decision to replace *folk* with *traditional* during the upheavals of the 1980s, both the Folklore Society (established 1878) and the EFDSS retained their names. Newer initiatives continue to give their support to the term. Newcastle University (in 2001) and Leeds College of music (in 2018) both initiated new undergraduate degrees which included 'folk' in their titles: 'Folk and Traditional Music' and 'Music (Folk Music)' respectively, whilst in 2019 the University of Hertfordshire established an MA in 'Folklore Studies'. In 2017 folklorist Steve Roud published *Folk Song in England,* the most important work on the subject since A.L. Lloyd's seminal book of the same name (1967). My use of *folk dance* reflects such contemporary usages and, following Friedland deliberately invokes a historical lineage back to Cecil Sharp and the formation of the EFDS in 1911.

I will utilise two etic descriptors: *keen* and *tyro* throughout the remainder of this thesis. I have adopted the word *keen* to refer to specialist dance events (folk dance clubs, folk festivals, and ceilidh series) and the individuals who regularly attend them. Inspiration

for its use came from a reference to an Edwardian ballroom dance club The Keen Dancers Society later renamed The Boston Club, which was established in London c.1903 (Buckland 2013:57, Nott 2015:15). Whilst the genres and context are very different, the word *keen* is appealing as it appears to circumnavigate the question of skill by stressing eagerness instead. I feel that *keen* is less pejorative than alternative labels such as *enthusiast,* or *hobbyist.*

I have applied *tyro* in preference to 'one night stands' (*EFDSS News* 1970) or 'PTA-type' labels, to refer to events which are hosted by and for groups whose primary interest is not folk dance. The word *tyro* comes from the Latin 'recruit' and has the general meaning of beginner or novice. My usage was influenced by Douglas Kennedy's descriptions of novice dancers in the 1940s (Kennedy, D. 1941:70). An influential figure in the development of English social folk dance, Douglas Kennedy became the director of the EFDS after Sharp's death in 1924 and he remained in position until his retirement in 1961.

Whilst any binary division will always be problematic, I have chosen this unusual terminology as a more neutral alternative to some of the descriptions I have encountered in the field itself. That there are notable differences in these events is well recognised amongst callers and bands who will differentiate between the keen folk scene and tyro events for 'ordinary' people. In a recent article for *The Living Tradition* musician Simon Haines addressed this difference: 'today's public ceilidhs – at least the English variety – are more likely to be monthly and tend to attract people […] who are sometimes regarded as eccentric, to put it kindly' (2020:27). The theoretical labels of *tryo* and *keen* are applied predominately to the dance event itself, rather than attendees as keen dancers can and do attended tyro events and visa versa. In fact, as I discovered it is highly unusual for there to be no keen involvement whatsoever in any tyro event. However I wanted to differentiate

event types and to explain my emphasis on the wider public experience of folk dance and my relative lack of research into the contemporary dance clubs, festivals and ceilidh 'series' which make up the core of keen folk dance activity.

1:1:4 Thesis Structure

This thesis is structured in four distinct parts. The first 'setting the scene' consists of this introductory chapter, my literature review, and methodology. The second 'folk dance past' addresses the history of English social folk dance post-1945. 2:3 analyses the approach of Douglas Kennedy and the formation of contemporary English social folk dancing. 2:4 considers the waning influence of the EFDSS after Kennedy's retirement in 1961, and the further development of tyro dances since then. 2:5 explores social folk dance in school education, the genre's most influential and far-reaching arena. 2:6 uses my field research and analysis of popular dances as a starting point from which to uncover the historical influences of other dance genres. The third part 'folk dance present' focuses exclusively on contemporary practice by distilling the findings of my field research. 3:7 outlines the context of dance events; 3:8 describes how the dance is realised, focusing upon approaches to teaching, music and movement; 3:9 covers the core tenets of tyro dances today, exploring the emphasis placed upon having fun; whilst 3:10 is an investigation into identity and specifically Englishness. The final part of my thesis contains the concluding chapter which provides answers to my central research question and four areas of inquiry: history, choreography, context, and identity.

1:2 Literature Review and Methodology

1:2:1 Introduction

Influenced by Buckland's edited collections *Dance in the Field: Theory, Methods and Issues in Dance Ethnography* (1999b) and *Dancing from Past to Present: Nation, Culture, Identities* (2006a) it became clear that dance ethnography would provide an appropriate method which could be used to examine contemporary practice. Ethnography is a method of studying the lived experiences of others through direct contact and first-hand knowledge (O'Reilly 2005:3). Through immersion in the field dance ethnography seeks to find out how, what, where, why and when various groups dance (Buckland 2010). Whilst the focus of the study English social folk dance was new, my combined diachronic and synchronic quest followed a path beaten by a long line of other scholars who had already taken an ethnographic approach to the study of dance (e.g. Foley 2013, Jamison 2015, O'Connor 2013, Quigley 1985, Spalding 2014). As Buckland has noted, methodologies which mix historical and contemporary data gathering are long familiar to folk dance scholars (Buckland 2006c:4), and particular parallels can be found in the approach of ethnochoreologists (see 1:2:2).

My literature review (1:2:2) outlines existing research on social dance more broadly, and English social folk dance in particular. Then follows a consideration of my broader theoretical framework and approach to knowledge construction (1:2:3), a brief outline of my approach to dance and music analysis (1:2:4), and a resume of the key issues around historical source analysis (1:2:6). The rest of this chapter focuses on my methodology and approaches to fieldwork. I anticipate that it is my approach to exploring contemporary tyro events which will be of primary interest to other scholars. As there are so few recorded methodological approaches to adult non-specialist dancing practices, I

hope that my approach can act as a case study for future researchers. Of particular importance is how I delineated the field as this set the methodological parameters of the inquiry.

1:2:2 Literature Review

In Julie Malnig's introduction to her social and popular dance reader she argued that until the 1990s dance studies often neglected social forms, instead focusing on well-known dancers and choreographers (Malnig 2009:2-4). The study of social dance was disadvantaged by a wider bias in Western culture towards so-called high rather than popular arts (Dodds 2010:343). When it was considered, social dance often suffered from sweeping generalisations regarding its function and purpose (Ward 1993).

Whilst remaining comparatively marginal there have been a number of excellent academic considerations of social dance since the 1990s.[1] Some research has been ideologically motivated. Dodds has chronicled how the unquestioning precedency of the high/low artistic division came under overt criticism in the mid-1990s, when an increasingly relativistic approach across the arts problematised the special status accorded to high cultural forms (Dodds 2010:346). Social dance also benefitted from the broadening of disciplinary interplay. Buckland's article on the subject of dance studies and anthropology examined the relationship between such new interdisciplinary approaches and the increased interest in non-theatrical dance forms (Buckland 1999a). One influential publication in this vein was *Dance, Gender and Culture* (1993) edited by Helen Thomas

[1] At the 2017 conference *Dance Fields: Staking a Claim for Dance Studies in the 21st Century*, held at the University of Roehampton, only four lectures/workshops appeared to deal with social dance as their primary subject matter. The programme, detailing all 96 conference events can be found here: http://roehamptondance.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/df_programme_new.pdf (Accessed 15.11.2019).

which drew upon disciplinary methodology from sociology, and considered a range of dance genres including Irish set dance.[2] Studies of social dance forms have since entered mainstream dance discourse and, like dance academia more generally, the number of studies has continued to grow.[3] Some recent PhD thesis examples of various social dance forms include: Paul Kiddy's study of Cajun, Zydeco, and Scandinavian social folk dancing in Britain (2015), Bethany Whiteside's study of diverse participatory and performative dance practices in Scotland (2017), Siri Maeland's research into social dancing in rural Norway (2018), and Deborah Williams' study into non-professional dancers' relationship to dance (2018).

Although I utilised dance ethnography, it is worth making reference to ethnochoreology which has made a significant contributions to the study of social dance. Since the 1960s participatory dances were included in dance research conducted in European countries including Hungary, Ukraine, Romania, Denmark, and Norway (Giurchescu and Torp 1991). Ethnochoreology has a distinct disciplinary trajectory which developed within folklore and musicology (rather than dance, theatre, or anthropology) departments. The discipline privileges dance documentation and analysis (Lange 1983), and usually the researcher studied dances in their home country or culture (Quigley 1998). The International Council for Traditional Music's study group on ethnochoreology (established in 1962 as The Folk Dance Commission) remains an important forum for the

[2] Irish *set dance* refers to two distinct genres. One is a dance for four couples in quadrille or square formation, and the other is a solo percussive, competitive dance form. It is the first type of 'set' to which I will occasionally refer to throughout this thesis. Irish set dancing underwent a vigorous revival in the 1970s which has been well documented (see Brennan 1999:159-163, Cullinane 1994, Foley 2018, Murphy 1995, O'Connor 2013:80-103, and Tubridy 1994).

[3] In 2007 'Popular Music and Dance Matters' was established at the University of Surrey. Re-named PoP Moves in 2010 this annual conference and networking group connects scholars across the world who have an interest in the field of popular dance.

dissemination of ideas between researchers. The publication of their bi-annual conference proceedings, articles in the Council's *Yearbook for Traditional Music* (e.g. Bakka 2001, Bakka and Karoblis 2010, Giurcescu 2003, Quigley 2001), and stand-alone publications such as *Dance Structures: Perspectives on the Analysis of Human Movement* (Dunin and Kaeppler 2007) help the wider dissemination of ethnochoreological ideas into the anglophone world. Illustrating the increasing heterogeneity of contemporary ethnochoreology Catherine Foley, who established the MA in ethnochoreology at the University of Limerick in 1996, has recently advocated a more catholic understanding of the discipline with has a reduced focus on dance analysis and an increased emphasis on dance context and meaning (Foley 2019).

Historically, as with the broader trend towards studies of western theatrical dance, English social folk dance has received less academic interest than its performative cousins (Schofield 1985c:19). There have been a number of important studies of contemporary English morris and sword dance (e.g. Buckland 1991, Carter-Gordon 2018, Wright 2017, 2019). That said, English social dance has not been entirely neglected, although most research has focused on the genre's development in the first half of the twentieth century (Boyes 1993, Schofield 2016). Both Gammon (2008) and Bloomfield (2001) have published articles which examine Cecil Sharp's work with the Board of Education. Gammon's investigation into Sharp's log books, written during his time as a dance inspector give an unsurpassed insight into Sharp's aesthetic ideals. Gammon concluded that Sharp wanted 'straightforwardness' in social dancing (Gammon 2008:91), putting emphasis upon healthiness, naturalness, and unselfconscious 'gay simplicity' (Gammon 2008:81).[4] Allison Thompson's chapter 'Meeting the Prophet' (2001) explored how social

[4] A term borrowed by Sharp (1911[1927]:22) from Barclay Dun's *Translation of Nine of the Most Fashionable Quadrilles* (1818:13-14).

folk dance was taught in the Edwardian revival, through analysing its fictionalised portrayal in the 'Abbey Girls' series by Elsie Oxenham (1914-1959). Modernist scholar Rishona Zimring in *Social Dance and the Modernist Imagination in Interwar Britain* (2013) provided an analysis of folk dance which contextualised it alongside other social dance forms. Less influenced by the genre's historic self-categorisation into ritual and social genres Zimring considered morris, sword and country dancing to all be examples of social dance. This refreshing approach emphasised the social element of these dance types, which for the dancers themselves is often more importance than the performance itself. 'Continuity, Change and Performativity in Leisure: English Folk Dance and Modernity 1900-1939' by Robert Snape (2009) examined the context of social folk dance participation in the 1930s. Using sources from the archives of the Manchester branch of the EFDSS, and diary entries from Mass Observation (established in 1937). Snape contrasted the school halls frequented by the folk dancers with the popular dance halls, arguing that the latter venues were unattractive for the single middle-class women who made up the majority of folk class attendees.

Zimring followed historian Frank Trentmann (1994) in examining the folk dance revival of the 1930s through *English Dance and Song*.[5] Trentmann took the folk dance and music revival as one example (alongside the ramblers and the Woodcraft Folk) of a broader cultural ambiguity towards modernity; 'the cross and the sword in their cultural crusade against the rise of the individualistic, mechanistic and ahistorical outlook of modernity' (Trentmann 1994:596). Although Trentmann's article lacks detailed treatment of the English folk dance revival it is particularly helpful for contextualising and building

[5] Abbreviated to (*ED&S*) within in-text citations.

upon the ideological rhetoric found in *English Dance and Song* and the theories of Douglas Kennedy.

Developments in English social folk dance post-WWII, particularly the influence of Douglas Kennedy and the introduction of American square dancing have been examined briefly by cultural historian Georgina Boyes (1993[2010]:202-210), in her influential book about the English folk revival *The Imagined Village* and in greater detail by sociologist/historian David Walkowitz (2010:177-187). Walkowitz explored the way in which Kennedy's influence re-shaped the context of folk dancing in England, with an emphasis on simpler material, collected country dances, and square dances from America.

There is an even smaller body of secondary published material which considers post-1960s developments. Derek Schofield's histories of two folk festivals Sidmouth (2005), and Towersey (2014), provide invaluable contextual histories about the influence and structure of folk festivals throughout the latter half of the twentieth century. Self-explanatory chapters such as 'Folk Dance in Devon in the 1950s', and 'Folk Music and Dance in 1965', bring local colour to the broader national scope as explored by Boyes and Walkowitz. In 2011 Schofield also authored a number of brief, but important articles on the history of social folk dance for a general readership which were published in *English Dance and Song* (Schofield 2011a-f).

A different approach to social folk dance in England can be found in Mervyn Rex Davey's PhD thesis on Cornish dance and music traditions (2011). Davey posits the existence of a historically distinctive Cornish dance repertoire, which he contrasts with a homogenised English dance tradition epitomised and controlled by the EFDSS. Davey considers the recent popularity of *troyls* (the Cornish word for barn dances/ceilidhs) at weddings in Cornwall in relation to the concept of authenticity. He

suggests that the inclusion of these dances might be part of a broader consumerist model for weddings rather than an increased interest in Cornish folk dance and music (Davey 2011:242).

There have been short summaries of late twentieth century social folk dance developments in a number of publications. In *Discovering English Folk Dance* (1975[2008]) Hugh Rippon, a caller and dance writer who worked for the EFDSS from 1960-1968, considers Douglas Kennedy's developments (explored in 2:3:2) to have brought 'a new and healthy dimension' to English social folk dance. Rippon goes on to consider the informality of folk dancing as key to its success (1975[2008]:74). Using the terminology *community dance* Rippon emphasised the importance of tyro events. These are: 'of prime importance because they establish a vital contact with a much wider public in what is a happy and often hilarious occasion' (1975[2008]:77). In their brief examination of country dancing Steve Roud (who is also a caller) and Jacqueline Simpson in *The Dictionary of English Folklore* concluded that: 'the repertoire is deliberately revived/contrived but the informal gathering – the event itself – has many claims to be termed 'traditional'' (Simpson and Roud 2000[2003]:90). These two accounts appear to imply that tyro social folk dance events are, in essence, more authentic or traditional than those hosted by keen clubs, or found at folk festivals. In the summary of his historical essay Snape turned his attention to the present use of social folk dance. He stated:

> [T]he least regulated and most common occurrence of the English Country Dance is as an entertainment at weddings, parties and general social occasions in which it is enjoyed for fun on a casual basis by dancers, where seemingly little presentational content is attached to it; it is in this context more akin to a spontaneous performance of social dance for its own sake. Further research might test the hypothesis that in this context, its performativity may have recovered some of the imagined communal, classless and non-representational social dance that Sharp believed he had found.
>
> (Snape 2009:308)

Like Rippon, Roud and Simpson, Snape suggested that tyro events are closer to Sharp's folk ideal than those which occur at festivals and folk dance clubs. He therefore appears to align the concept of unselfconsciousness with authenticity. In the 1980s and 1990s authenticity was an important concept in English folk dance studies wherein it was often used to delineate 'traditional' from 'revival' dance forms (Buckland 1982, 1983:322, Groth 1999, Sughrue 1988). Attempts to align unselfconsciousness with authenticity have been at the heart of some problematically simple attempts to differentiate between revival (viewed as conscious) and traditional (viewed as unselfconscious) instances of dance (Hoerburger 1968, Nahachewsky 2001, 2011:235). Such ideas appear to elevate the status of tyro dance events by utilising a schema of authenticity, which privileges distance from the folk revival, as being closer to true tradition. Such schemas often serve to benefit the interests of the researcher, and their desire to differentiate between different dancing contexts. Claims to authenticity are dubious as the very concept is inherently relativistic. I do not attempt to delineate authentic from inauthentic social folk dance in this thesis, perceiving both the fruitlessness and bias of judgement involved in such a task. I am, however,

intrigued as to why, for some commentators, the apparent contextual distance of tyro events from the folk revival imbues them with an aura of authenticity.

Moving from social folk dance texts to an exploration of identity within contemporary English 'folk' culture, it is clear that this thesis is part of a small but growing body of work on the relationship between Englishness and 'folk'. Examples include: Jonathan Roper's chapter 'England – The Land Without Folklore?' (2012); Richard Sykes' article 'The Evolution of Englishness in the English Folksong Revival, 1890-1914' (1993); Boyes' monograph *The Imagined Village, Culture, Ideology and the English Folk Revival* (1993); John Francmanis' article 'National Music to National Redeemer: The Consolidation of a 'Folk-Song' Construct in Edwardian England' (2002); Simon Featherstone's monograph *Englishness: Twentieth-Century Popular Culture and the Forming of English Identity* (2009:28-46); and Robert Colls and Katie Palmer Heathman's chapter 'Music of Englishness: National Identity and the First Folk Revival' (2017). With different angles and interpretations all of these works explore the relationship between English nationalism and the Edwardian folk revival. Matt Simon's thesis *Morris Men: Dancing Englishness, c.1905-1951* (2019) continues this exploration with a more explicit focus on dance. Winter and Keegan-Phipps' *Performing Englishness: Identity and Politics in a Contemporary Folk Resurgence* (2013) also explicitly addresses Englishness in the present day folk scene. This sudy, focused on culturally prestigious elements of contemporary folk culture, including *On English Ground* a performance that utilised choreography derived from morris dancing. Winter and Keegan-Phipps suggest that there is a growing awareness of Englishness amongst folk performers, which is unrelated to expressions of Englishness found in right-wing discourse. Implying the religious fervour of the acolyte or folk dance enthusiast, Winter and Keegan-Phipps re-emphasise Rippon's stress on the importance of tyro events as an area of outreach where people 'who have little

or no identification with folk more generally' could be converted to folk dance (Winter and Keegan-Phipps 2013:18).

In explorations of similar dance genres from neighbouring countries, identity has been an important construct. In Ireland attention has been paid to the influence of the Gaelic League (established in 1893) in the creation of ceílí dancing (Brennan 1994, Cullinane 1998, Foley 2013, Hall 2016, O'Connor 2013). Work on Scottish folk dance forms have similarly explored issues of identity (Lorrain Smith 2008, Shoupe 2001, Whiteside 2017). In contrast American texts have usually focused primarily upon community or personal, rather than broader national identities (Feintuch 1981a, 1981b, Hast 1993, Spalding 2014, Spalding and Woodside 1995). The exception being square dancing which has been subject to analysis based on broader notions of national identity (Jamison 2015:177-192, Quigley 2001). My focus on Englishness thus provides a further contribution to those studies of national identity and traditional dance practices.

1:2:3 Theoretical Framework

Ethnomusicologist Timothy Rice has explored how after the theoretical turn of the 1970s, and the move away from a positivistic methodological framework, ethnomusicological theory has largely existed in an implicit rather than explicit fashion. He noted that although implicit, a framework does exist and is generated and modified through peer-interaction (Rice 2010). Such I would argue is also the case for dance studies, and the theoretical framework of this thesis has been constructed through interaction with the broader field. I have been particularly influenced by scholars of similar dance genres, and the mixed diachronic and synchronic approaches of Catherine Foley (2013), Phil Jamison (2015), Barbara O'Connor (2013), and Daniel Walkowitz (2010).

As O'Shea discussed in *The Routledge Dance Studies Reader* (2nd edition) the approach of dance studies at the time of publication (2010) exemplified broader trends in the humanities 'from a "neutral" approach to knowledge gathering towards an acknowledgement of the relationship between positionality, power and knowledge production' (O'Shea 2010:13). My approach has been informed by the current academic zeitgeist, particularly the acknowledgement of the role of researcher in knowledge-production (Buckland 2010:336). However, I do not subscribe to the more extreme elements of post-structuralist discourse which were present in the 1980s and 1990s (Buckland 2006c:11). Indeed, I have been particularly influenced by the robust defence of dance knowledge proposed by Catherine Foley in *Step Dance in Ireland* (2013:15-22) and I refer the reader to her opening chapter for a succinct defence of ethnochoreology against the critical theorists of the post-structural turn (cf. Buckland 2010).

Regarding my ethnographic data analysis, I propose, and this is particularly evident in my identity chapter, a number of equally valid and at times contradictory approaches to identity in English social folk dance, garnered through interviews with callers and attendees. However following anthropologist Sharon MacDonald I do not believe that an 'individual can design their identities just as they choose' as 'there still exists in any particular context a repertoire of sources for imagining which enable and constrain the possibilities' (Macdonald 1997:12). I therefore contextualise individual testimony by utilising additional data. That is not to say that I believe in a unified, immutable concept of society or culture, in which individuals are unwitting worker ants, but I do subscribe importance to the influence of human-human-interaction and its manifestations in, for example, official governance and education alongside informal interactions amongst families and friends. *Society* and *culture* are accessible and easily understood terms which have a wider resonance amongst the general public. I follow sociologist Steve Fenton's

argument, outlined in terms of his study of the concept of ethnicity that such ideas (community, society, ethnicity, race), cannot be understood wholly as abstract constructs, existing apart from quotidian experience. They must be analysed alongside and as part of 'the structuring of the modern world' (Fenton 2003:2).

Nonetheless the concept of community played a limited role in the formation of this research. For many years scholars have questioned the assumption of relationships between individuals in one geographical vicinity, howsoever defined (e.g. Cohen 1985). More recently this scepticism has been extended to include communities which are centred around a shared activity. This is a relatively new concept of community, but one which has been influential in studies of amateur dance, particularly in North America (e.g. Hamera, 2007, Hast 1993, Horton 2001, Jamison 2015, Sachs Norris 2001, Spalding 2014, Thomas 2001). Anthropologists Vered Amit and Nigel Rapport have discussed the fragility of consociate networks, arguing that links between members often falter when the mutual activity ceases (Amit and Rapport 2002:64). Similarly, in Finnegan's research she discovered that (in contrast to her expectations) most amateur music groups did not have a shared social life beyond their music making (Finnegan 1989[2007]:302). Ethnomusicologist Bert Feintuch's 2001 article 'Longing for Community' expands such concerns by focusing upon the application of the word *community* in situations where individuals shared only one sphere of contact. Such one-dimensional understanding of community misses, he argues, the 'combination of continuity and obligation' that is 'vital' to the concept (2001:149). Such re-evaluations of the community-ness of consociate activities reassured me of the validity of exploring many different dancing groups, rather than a small number of regular dance events, and warned me off automatically assigning the concept label of *community* to such events.

Persuasive arguments for more an analytically diverse range of methods in studies of dance have been put forwards by a number of influential ethnochoreologists. In dialogue with philosopher Gediminas Karoblis, Egil Bakka argued in 2010 that 'other-personal methodologies, such as conventional interviews, have been prioritized at the cost of other methodologies and may have exhausted their potential if they are not renewed and resituated' (Bakka and Karoblis 2010:187). After completing my analysis and re-reading my thesis I was struck, by how similar my mixed methodological approach was to that advocated in a recent article by Colin Quigley and Siri Maeland. Focusing on dance-music relationships Quigley and Maeland argued for an approach which combines diachronic and synchronic research methods, utilising formal analysis alongside ethnographic field encounter and interview (Quigley and Maeland 2020). Whilst my focus was less upon dance analysis and notation, my mixed methods approach appears to be in line with a wider disciplinary zeitgeist.

I have been particularly influenced by my supervisor Theresa Buckland, my relationship with her work began when as an undergraduate in a drama school I read her publications on the subject of early twentieth century morris dancing in the North of England. Later I came across her more theoretically orientated edited collections (1999b and 2006a) which were invaluable in helping me to navigate the nuances of dance ethnography, in particular the reflexive place of the researcher, as well as the cultural importance of the body in motion and through time. Discussing dance ethnography, Buckland noted the mix of methods currently utilised by dance ethnographers and the normative framework of investigation based upon '[f]undamental questions of who, what, where, when, how and why' (2010:335). Such an approach was central to how I conceptualised and structured this research. From the outset I believed that these core questions could be answered through ethnographic and historical research and analysis.

O'Shea identified Buckland's approach as being both anthropologically and historically informed 'retaining a focus on the cultural creation of meaning through dance while also considering intentional cultural production.' (2010:5). Core to my theoretical positioning is this desire to combine diachronic and synchronic methodologies in order to adequately situate a dance genre within its wider social context.

It would not be true to say that dance studies was my only theoretical underpinning. The theory behind this thesis is somewhat heterogenous and the reader will find many references to research from other disciplines from geographers to political scientists. I came across a number of inspiring pieces of research which, for the sake of brevity I do not discuss in my literature review or methodology, yet these pieces helped to shaped my theoretical positioning and my amalgam of research methods and critical frame of analysis. Examples include Susan Condor's work on discourse analysis (2011), Walter Podilchak's research into fun (1991), Robin Mann and Steve Fenton's monograph about contemporary Englishness (2017), and Jonathan Murdoch and Terry Marden's (1994) geographical research in Buckinghamshire. Common to all these researchers is their clarity of presentation, their mixed methodology and strong, focused conclusions. I was also inspired by late twentieth century studies of Britain conducted by anthropologists. I read a variety of monographs and essays which utilised a range of different types of representational techniques and methods of data analysis.[6] I was particularly influenced by the use of quantitative data displayed alongside the ethnographic research which could be found in Stacey's *Tradition and Change: A Study of Banbury* (1960), Strathern's *Kinship at the Core* (1981), and Daniel Miller's *Social Media in an English Village* (2016). My regard for anthropological methods was heightened through attending dance anthropologist Andrée

[6] For an overview of methodological approaches in British community studies see Harper 1989.

Grau's MA lectures in 2016. Such a wide range of influences shaped my own theoretical framework, my deliberate mix of a range of research methods, and my belief that it is both possible and desirable to draw generalisable conclusions about the place of English social folk dancing in contemporary England.

1:2:4 Dance and Music Analysis

One of the aims of this thesis was document practice and record the choreography danced at these events. I was particularly excited at the prospect of charting choreological similarities and changes over time, and initially a proposed a formal system of analysis based on dance notation. However, a number of factors, particularly the limitations of time, mitigated against its final deployment. I decided to limit the documentation of the dancing to a system which falls somewhere between the 'word descriptions' and 'single-use systems' discussed by Brennan (1999:284). My approach largely follows the conventions used by callers today, and readers will find these descriptions in the Appendices (A4:2). Concise written descriptions, structured around musical phrases, are regularly used by callers to learn new dances and digital or paper versions are used by many callers as aide memoirs prior to and during dance events.

The nature of this genre itself contributed to my approach to dance analysis. In this arena specialist dancing knowledge is largely outsourced to the caller and pedagogy is critical to the genre as it is currently experienced. Common teaching methods rely on verbal description and prompting, it is a largely undemonstrated dance form. The questions such a detailed movement analysis would answer would necessarily approach the genre from a different angle. I wished to focus on the historical-cultural situatedness of this dance form in order to address why these events continue to be held outside of the auspices of the keen folk dance movement. The unfamiliarity of the genre amongst tyro participants

also raised its own set of problematic quandaries, which of the dancers would be selected for movement analysis, the most competent, or the most novice?

My final approach was similar to that used by Colin Quigley in *Close to the Floor* where he uses emic terminology to describe the dance movements (1985:29). I considered this to be a particularly beneficial aspect of this method of documentation because I wanted my thesis, and the recording of the dancing to be accessible to the community itself. I was aware that eventually this thesis would be publicly accessible through the British Library. My video documentation provided further reassurance that fuller analysis could be conducted in the future, by myself or another researcher, answering a different set of research questions. At the time I was in discussion with former director Laura Smyth at the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library over the possibility of storing some of this footage in their archive for posterity.

In the end I made the difficult decision that a detailed movement analysis, including dance notation, needed to be the result of a future study, which had a less diachronic focus. I hoped that my thesis would provide the groundwork for such a study which could be more focused on the act of dancing itself. Thus I hoped that my concise descriptive approach would fulfil my goal of recording current practice, and give the examples necessary to illustrate the movement types found in this genre.

My approach to music analysis focused upon exploring broader choreo-musical themes which can be found across the various dances in my ethnography. For example, I considered the limited connection between melody and choreography, and discussed the emphasis callers and more experienced dancers place upon phrasing (3:8:2). In this I relate these developments in musical awareness to the role of the caller, and the essentially pedagogic nature of the dance form as it is currently presented. I acknowledge that

exploration of choreo-musical interactions are regularly missed from both dance and music studies (Quigley and Maeland 2020), and such a blind spot hampers a fuller understanding of both phenomena. However, the dance events at the heart of my study are of a slightly different nature to many other Western dance arenas because the attendees have little choreographic autonomy. The whole event is shaped around the caller who often verbally prompts throughout the whole dance.

During my research my supervisor Sara Houston asked me what difference metre made to the dancing. As is evident from the lack of metre given in A4:5 'Circassian Circle Music Selection' I found such questions hard to address. A particular area of difficulty was the wide diversity of musician competencies in the field which made it extremely challenging to generalise across dance events. When it came to analysing the music even the question of assigning metre was somewhat fraught. Whilst there is a common sense understanding of a hornpipe metre amongst English social folk dance musicians, the level of variability in the field was noticeable. Again, I took comfort in my video-recordings of dance events, and the possibility that these would be publicly accessible. Whilst it would not be possible to gather participation elicitation, the footage increased the chance of further musical analysis to be carried out in the future.

1:2:5 Writing History

In the introductory chapter to the 2nd edition of *The Routledge Dance Studies Reader* Janet O'Shea suggested that dance history 'offered dance studies a tangible object for interpretation and thus served as a means to validate an otherwise ephemeral art' (2010:11). As Buckland outlined in 'Traditional Dance: English Ceremonial and Social Forms' her contribution to *Dance History: A Methodology for Study* there are a variety of forms which can be use to study English folk dance, from Edwardian field notes to

contemporary ephemera and video recordings (Buckland 1986). In a later publication 'Dance History and Ethnography' she argued for the need for 'precise scholarly procedures of critical evaluation and reflection upon source materials' (2006c:11).

This thesis presents a history of a dance genre utilising a range of source materials, each of which comes with its own strengths and weaknesses (Layson 1998). My primary source was the long-running periodical *English Dance and Song,* the house magazine of the EFDS/S. This publication, published up to four time a year provided substantial and detailed evidence about the changing policy of the Society. Whilst the letters section gave fascinating accounts of divergence of opinions within the EFDS/S, it is self-evident that this publication is far from being neutral, as its express purpose is to further the aims of the Society. Specifically, for my purposes, it provides an account of tyro events from outside the host communities, focusing on the experiences of callers and bands.

I have attempted to address this focus on the written past, and vary my sources by utilising oral histories. Whilst individual testimony is again imbued with the agendas of the teller, alongside worries of the fallibility of memory, such is its richness and usefulness that it has been argued that historians now need to justify not using oral testimony in studies of near-contemporary events (Winslow and Smith 2012:372). The chapters within *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History* (2012) and *Oral History Reader* (2nd ed. 2006), illustrated the diversity of this field of data collection alongside some of the ethnical issues involved in disclosure, which are similar to those experienced by ethnographers. Oral histories, which were predominantly with callers, were particularly useful for garnering information about tyro events in the twentieth century, and gathering further information about how the EFDS/S policy was actually enacted by callers.

A further part of my research involved a public request for information. I asked individuals to contribute their memories of folk dance and was circulated through local newspapers and magazines, including the *Buckinghamshire Herald*, and *Essentially Local* (Milton Keynes). From this I had 15 short responses which contained concentrated accounts of folk dancing, primarily from respondents' school days. This was designed as a way of gathering additional information about past experiences outside of the direct auspices of the EFDS/S. However, distance communication proved less effective at eliciting detailed commentary than more conventional face-to-face interview techniques.

1:2:6 A Multi-Sited Dance Ethnography

As it originated in anthropology, ethnography involved an extended period of time with one group or community situated far from the anthropologist's home culture. However, many different approaches have since been pioneered. Of particular relevance has been the normalisation of anthropology 'at home' (Jackson 1987).[7] My methodology was able to draw upon many existing ethnographic, anthropological, dance and ethnomusicological accounts of working within one's home culture.[8]

I was aware that my focus on transient dancing groups was different from other studies of 'traditional' dance I had encountered whereby continuity of place and people appeared to reinforce ideas of traditionality (e.g. Spalding 2014, Jamison, 2015). I intended to utilise multi-sited ethnography, which applied ethnographic research practices to multiple geographic locations. As outlined by Marcus (1995) approaches to multi-sited

[7] There were earlier British precedents in the form of ethnographies such as George Orwell's *Road to Wigan Pier* (1937), and Mass Observation.
[8] From dance studies particularly Buckland (1999b), and Dankworth and David (2014). From British anthropology: Edwards (2000); Stacey (1960); Strathern (1981); and Miller (2016).

ethnography were largely pioneered outside of anthropology. This form of research is characterised by following paths which utilise an 'explicit, posited logic of association or connection' (Marcus 1995:105). Multi-sited ethnography was initially treated with suspicion by anthropologists who privileged detailed research in one geographic location. Whilst remaining comparatively marginal, it has now become more widely accepted (Wulff 2015). Publications such as *Constructing the Field: Ethnographic Fieldwork in the Contemporary World* (Amit 2000) emphasise the changing nature of ethnography, and the usefulness of exploring multiple geographic locations, particularly when the research focus is on globalisation and/or translocation (Coleman and Von Hellerman 2011).

Anthropologist Helena Wulff has been an important voice in the advocation of multi-sited fieldwork in dance studies and she has used the technique to explore both ballet (2000), and theatrical dance in Ireland (2007). Comparisons can be drawn with anthropologist Ruth Finnegan's pioneering monograph *The Hidden Musicians* (1989); and Hamera's *Dancing Communities: Performance, Difference and Connection in the Global City* (2007). Finnegan combined quantitative surveying methodologies with ethnographic techniques to explore amateur music making within the vicinity of her hometown of Milton Keynes (Buckinghamshire). Similarly, Hamera's study was an early and influential multi-focused dance ethnography which examined the practices of a number of dancing groups based in the city of Los Angeles.

There are, however, particular differences between the methods utilised by Wulff, Finnegan, Hamera, and myself, which stem from the genre-focused nature of my research proposal, and the transient nature of the events at the centre of my research. Wulff, Finnegan, and Hamera studied groups who were comparatively stable in their composition

and whose members shared an interest in the same activity.[9] In contrast most of the individuals in the groups I worked with did not hold an active interest in the cultural form I wanted to study. This type dancing was not what drew and held these individuals together within that consociate network. Most groups held at the most, one dance per annum. Whilst I could have opted to work with three or four organisations attending their non-dance activities over the course of a year, I was primarily interested in the genre itself and the broader role of social folk dance in contemporary England and therefore wanted to record as many different dance events as possible.

A further consideration in the creation of my methodology was the place, role, and approach of myself as researcher. As anthropologist Charlotte Aull Davies has argued reflexivity is particularly important in ethnography because 'the involvement of the researcher in the society and culture of those being studied is particularly close' (1998[2008]:4). Contemporaneous with the acceptance of anthropology 'at home' came the critical turn in the 1970s and an increasing awareness of the importance of one's own subjectivity (Robben and Sluka 2012).[10] It was recognised that the researcher is influenced by their own cultural conditioning and that their research will be inevitably shaped by their pre-existing prejudices.[11] The argument that critical distance is more difficult to achieve in anthropology conducted 'at home' is premised upon the idea that one is working with people, contexts, and places with which one is familiar (Greenhouse 1985). My study

[9] It has become common to differentiate between 'community dances' and a 'dance community' in studies of folk dance (Jamison 2015:176), the latter concept drawing upon Wenger's concept of *Communities of Practice* (1998).
[10] The 'turn' played a part in validating anthropology 'at home' with the realisation that Euro-North American ideas were themselves culturally constructed and could not represent an objective scientific position (Edwards 2000:9-12).
[11] I was particularly influenced by Buckland's account of how her affiliation to the north of England affected her research and attitudes towards the use of northern traditional dance forms by people in the south of the country (Buckland 2006b).

included contact with strangers as well as acquaintances, and I would argue that the process of distancing oscillated throughout my time in the field as I travelled through familiar and unfamiliar environments (cf. Koutsouba 1999). This did not, however, mean that my approach was exempt from the truth that 'ethnographers help to construct the observations that become their data' (Aull Davies 1998[2008]:5).

There is increasing emphasis on the importance of practitioner reflexivity in research (Dowling 2008). My active role in the field as musician and caller made the question of how to appropriately document my own subjectivity more complex. I initially considered a grounded theory approach which heightened my awareness of the ways in which the researcher's subjectivity could impact the outcomes of the research (Birks and Mills 2011, Charmaz 2014, Gibson and Hartman 2013). I then investigated the possibility of using autoethnography and consulted a range of publications on the subject (including: Adams, Holman Jones, and Ellis 2015, Chang 2008, Collins and Gallinat 2010, Ellis and Bochner 2000, Holman Jones, Adams, and Ellis 2013, Short, Turner, and Grant 2013). However, there was little guidance in such texts about how to use one's experiences as a part of, rather than as the main focus of, the research.[12] Instead of adopting autoethnographic methods wholesale I developed an approach towards my own practices which was based upon my broader ethnographic methodology. I video recorded events and then analysed my performances. I also kept a diary which combined my thoughts as 'caller' or 'musician' with those of 'researcher'. This helped me to increase my awareness

[12] After rejecting a self-proclaimed autoethnographic approach I later learnt that the term *autoethnography* was coined in 1979 by David Hayano as a term to describe an anthropological study of the researcher's home culture (Quinn Patton 2004:47). This interpretation of the term (now quite uncommon) is ironically close to my chosen methodological approach.

of my own positioning and biases. Where pertinent I explicitly refer to my own experiences, memories, and positioning in the field throughout this thesis.

1:2:7 Data Collection and Analysis

1:2:7:1 The Field Site

In considering how to approach this study I turned to conventional sampling methods, considering three principal types: transnational, tri-regional, and mono-regional (De Leeuw, Hox and Dilman 2008). In my final choice I was influenced by Finnegan's study (1989). She emphasised that charting all forms of amateur music in one geographical vicinity allowed her to explore broader aspects of humanity's relationship to music. It was also apparent that limiting her study to one particular town was pragmatically helpful in securing information (Finnegan 1989 [2007]:342-347). This regionally specific approach was also advocated by Buckland. Pushing back against the nationwide secondary source based analyses which were prominent in the field in the 1960s, Buckland stressed the need for 'studies of traditional dance to be carried out on a local basis' (Buckland 1986:173). In conversations with callers during the planning stages, regional differences were considered to be slight in comparison with variability in caller practices.[13] This supported the argument for a detailed mono-regional study which would be able to incorporate different caller practices in one geographical area.

I decided to select a region based on the ceremonial counties of England.[14] These counties provide a level of formal and informal geographic identification within British

[13] Phil Heaton of Tyne and Hugh Rippon of Coventry.
[14] Britain has two recognised county types: Historical counties – based on ancient demarcations including counties such as Westmorland and Sussex and 48 Ceremonial or Lieutenant counties established in 1997. All parts of Britain are included in ceremonial

society. Choosing a county allows the boundaries of the study to follow widely accepted geographic delineation which I hoped would help with data analysis (such as access to population statistics). In selecting a county, I felt that I would be able to communicate my research more effectively to participants as the geographical boundaries of counties are clearly delineated cartographically and topographically, particularly through road signs.[15]

There are a number of areas of England which could be viewed as folk dance hubs. These include the nation of Cornwall which has seen a recent revival of local music (Davey 2011), the city of Newcastle where the university runs a folk and traditional music degree, the county of Somerset which has a residential national centre for folk arts (Halsway Manor), and the capital London where the EFDSS is based. There are also a number of towns which have annual folk festivals with social dance events including: Broadstairs (Kent), Bromyard (Herefordshire), Chippenham (Wiltshire), Eastbourne (East Sussex), Shrewsbury (Shropshire), Sidmouth (Devon), Towersey/Thame (Oxfordshire), and Warwick.[16] Then there are cities which have active university folk societies including Bristol, Cambridge, Durham, Exeter, and Sheffield. However, whilst the influence of the keen social dance scene is relevant, it was not of primary importance to this study. Therefore, I did not consider it necessary to select an area which was known for being a keen folk dance hub.

In most accounts of ethnographic research, field immersion is considered to be critical (e.g. Atkinson 2001, Brewer 2000, O'Reilly 2005, Robben and Sluka 2012). This

county boundaries which normally include a range of separate local authority district bodies.

[15] The delineation of Buckinghamshire for this study uses the 1997 ceremonial country boundaries (Data.gov.uk (2016)).

[16] In 2020 Towersey Festival was due to be held at the Claydon Estate in Buckinghamshire.

would favour a study site which is local to me and to this end the county of Buckinghamshire was selected as the primary study site. I hoped that it would be easier to collect in-depth data on the frequency of local events if I focused on an area in which I had good local connections.[17] Buckinghamshire is a county in the centre of England, which is not known for being a folk dance and music hub. The county has an informal designation as a 'home county', its most southerly border nestles the western part of the Capital, and hundreds of thousands of London workers travel home to Buckinghamshire each day. Buckinghamshire's location in the wealthy and densely-populated South-East of Britain offered an opportunity to explore social folk dance within the geographical vicinity which has historically been integral to popular construction of rural Englishness (Mischi 2009). Preparatory investigations in November 2016 were encouraging, showing that tyro public events appeared to occur almost bi-weekly. This gave me hope that there would be an appropriate number of public social folk dance events to study. Whilst I attempted to mitigate the problem of extrapolating wider geographic trends from a mono-regional study through conducting interviews with seven callers who were located outside of Buckinghamshire,[18] I did not attend events in other regions and I acknowledge that there is a distinct southerly bias in my data collection.

[17] I was born less than ten miles from the county boundary in Northamptonshire, my parents moved to Milton Keynes (north Buckinghamshire) shortly after I had left for my undergraduate studies in London in 2009. On starting this thesis in 2016 I had been an intermittent resident for eight years, regularly returning home to Milton Keynes from study and work in other parts of England.

[18] Interviewed callers were located in: London, Surrey, Berkshire, Hertfordshire, Sussex, and Cornwall (a list of all interviewees can be found in A2:5).

1:2:7:2 Event Criteria

Whilst the selection of the field site is always critical, the nature of a genre-focused, multi-sited ethnography creates a situation whereby the researcher arguably has even more power to decide what to include and what to exclude. The data produced is dependent upon the selection of events which fit the criteria for inclusion (Buckland 2010:338). In 1986 Boyes criticised scholastic approaches to traditional song which utilised implicit criteria for inclusion. Discussing the role of the tradition bearer she noted a common yet problematic approach: '[M]ost fieldworkers then take a circular path to the point that defines as suitable for traditional song research those items which are known by the individuals they classify as tradition bearers' (1986:16). To address such biases I made my own criteria and reasoning for event inclusion explicit from the start.

In an ideal ethnography categories of identity would emerge emically from the field. However, from the start Englishness was a central research interest. I had to delineate the field of study and I wanted to focus on tyro events which had a connection to English social folk dance. I made the decision to include American themed events, my reasons for this came from my experiences of themed dances prior to commencing research. For English musicians and callers it is a source of comment that they are regularly hired for barn dances which have an American theme (3:10:3:2). I had childhood memories of attending such events and I had even organised one in 2007 as a fundraising barn dance for my Church of England choir.[19] The link and association between 'English' folk dance

[19] Another chorister became very excited by the prospect of a barn dance and started to do American impressions and talk about what she would wear in order to attend dressed as a cowgirl. Influenced by her enthusiasm and optimistic that a themed dance would attract more attendees I advertised the event as having a "Cowboys and Indians" theme. The announcement of the fancy dress theme was much to the chagrin of my father who had agreed to provide the music and who despite his burgeoning passion for North American old time and bluegrass music would have preferred a non-themed event. In retrospect I

(callers and bands who have some affiliation to the wider keen folk dance and music scene); and tyro North American themed dances appeared to be strong and warranted further investigation.

In contrast I excluded Irish and Scottish themed events.[20] I was conscious of the existing research into Irish and Scottish social dance practices and wished to address the balance by focusing on English events (e.g. Ballantyne 2016, Brennan 1999, Foley 2013, Lorrain Smith 2008, Morrison 2003/4, O'Connor 1997, 2013, Shoupe 2001, Whiteside 2017). I anticipated that other identities were likely to be more prominent assuming (rightly or wrongly) that such events would attract members of the Irish or Scottish diaspora. Burns Night events are a focus for the Scottish diaspora in England, in addition to ceilidh dancing such events often feature archetypal 'Scottish' food (such as neeps, tatties, and haggis), highland bagpipes, Scots poetry, and the wearing of kilts and tartan.[21]

I was therefore searching for events that would fit the following criteria:

1. To not be run by a keen folk dance group, or if it was then it had to be aimed at attracting or catering to a broader, non-specialist demographic;
2. To be within Buckinghamshire;
3. To include dancing either to live or recorded music;
4. To be advertised as a barn dance, ceilidh, or if advertised as a dance it had to have some additional links to English social folk dance.

regret the decision as I now realise how hurtful such stereotyping and cultural appropriation can be for First People.

[20] I would have had similar reservations about including Welsh themed dances if *twmpaths* had a wider following outside of Wales. Unlike ceilidh/ceílí, the word *twmpath* has limited cultural resonance in England.

[21] Such was my experience of attending a Burns Night event at Gerrard's Cross (Buckinghamshire) hosted by the resident's association (26.1.2018).

Whilst most of the events I attended matched my research criteria a number of events did not. Because it could be challenging to secure permission to attend events, I refrained from discounting dances that I had attended which did not directly match my criteria. One dance was held in the town of Linslade (Bedfordshire) less than half a mile from the Buckinghamshire border. I had attended this dance thinking that Linslade was in Buckinghamshire and made the decision that the short distance from the border was not great enough to discount the event from my research. Another event, a ceilidh for which I was booked as a musician/caller turned out to have a Scottish theme, but this was unknown to me prior to attending the event. I decided not to exclude this event from my analysis as it provided a useful insight into caller/organiser relationships. Importantly the cross over with keen dance events was more complicated and integrated than I had initially anticipated. So intertwined and yet so often covert is this relationship that it would have made this study impossible if I had discounted all events with a keen dancer presence. This inter-relationship would go on to form an important part of my final analysis (3:7:2:1).

I limited my focus to public events as I anticipated that it would be harder to negotiate access to private events such as weddings, family reunions, or work parties. However, my final data did include five private events. At three of these I was booked as a musician, another was the birthday party of a family friend, and one was held as part of a residential course which I was attending as a workshop leader. At two of these I had permission from the organisers to film and conduct questionnaires whilst at the other three, rather than conducting full research, I limited myself to making notes about the choreography and the context of the event.

1:2:7:3 Fieldwork

Notwithstanding my local connections, my most successful method for hearing about forthcoming events was through the internet. I compiled a list of all the towns in Buckinghamshire and then used the following search formula for each one "Town + Barn Dance OR Ceilidh + 2017[2018]". Depending on the results I added the following search terms "charity" and/or "- hire". Unfortunately, it was not time efficient to run the search for smaller settlements (although my method did bring up some events in surrounding villages) and it is possible that due to this method of searching I did not uncover dance events which did occur in the town-less central western areas of the county (A3:1). I wanted to attend a large number of events, optimistically predicting that it would be possible to attend 50 over a two year research period. In the end I went to 30, the first being 8 July 2017 and the last 29 August 2018.

When I had found out about an event, I contacted the organiser to explain what I was doing and so the process of data collection varied between events depending on the conditions set by them (A2:7). When permission was declined, refusal was usually due to the propriety of filming/photographing children. For example, one event organiser was a secondary school teacher. She did not want to give consent for me to film and/or photograph the event without prior written parental consent. Schools often have a policy regarding photographing children to optimise safeguarding and child protection.[22] This has led to false assumptions that it is illegal to photograph children at all without written

[22] The National Society for the Protection of Cruelty to Children advocates that schools and similar organisations should have a written policy regarding how they use images of children. Their filming and photography consent form example (September 2019) states that: 'This is an example of one of the documents organisations need to ensure safeguarding is at the heart of their activities'.
https://learning.nspcc.org.uk/media/1677/photography-filming-consent-form-example.pdf (Accessed: 6.2.20)

parental consent. Some organisers, particularly those who are more aware of safeguarding concerns, withheld consent and I agreed not to take images at these events (for more information see 1:2:6:6).

As Bakka and Karoblis discussed (2010) The use of film to record events has historically been contested within dance and ethnographic studies, whilst the use of photography has proved less controversial (Crawford and Turton 1992:3). For dance scholars anxious about the preservation of choreography, there was a concern over what is lost when recording a dance on film rather than by notation. Dance scholars were uncertain about such issues as: the raw unprocessed state of film; the 'flat' nature of screen production; the loss of understanding of variation; and the reduction of dance to visual images only (Blum 1986, Farnell 1994, Van Zile 1999). Later, attention was drawn to specificities of the relationship between the medium of film and the subject of dance (Mitoma et al. 2003). I had to translate these concerns into a modern British context, where for many photo taking and video filming of family and friends on mobile phones is a daily occurrence (Pink et al. 2016). Indeed I took a particular interest in the moments when participants decided to make their own films. This was most likely to happen when members of their party, particularly children, were participating in the dancing.

I had two primary objectives when filming events. My first was theoretical and motivated by the relative absence of social folk dance in the historical visual record. Whilst attendees commonly filmed each other and some of these films do end up on publicly accessible websites such as Youtube, these clips were not ideal research material. There was often little contextual detail, the film is often brief showing only one dance or one dance segment, and the long-term availability of the film is uncertain. My second objective was practical. I foresaw that the camera could be a second pair of eyes. Attached to a

power source and equipped with a large memory card, the camera could run without attendance for the entire duration of the evening. This allowed me to do other aspects of research, to talk to individuals, distribute questionnaires, and participate in the dances. As such the footage was more than 'complementary' it was intrinsic to the research process (Krüger 2008:92). In many respects my use of film aligned well with the concept of *research footage*, an un-edited continuous piece of filming which is not designed to be circulated to a wider audience (Banks 1992). When it was not possible to film events, I substituted audio-only recording making sure to detail *how* people were dancing. In the process of making such notes I lost opportunities to talk to participants and to become involved in the dancing itself, a point to which I will return later.

In addition to video footage I also took some photographs. The place of photographs in ethnography has been critiqued as showing too little (Hastrup 1992, Farnell 1994), or conversely revealing too much without appropriate contextualisation, allowing for almost limitless reader interpretation (Pinney 2002). I used photos as visual field notes, taking pictures of the venues, the band, the table decorations and the raffle prizes. Less frequently did I take photographs of the dancers, especially after I discovered that extracting stills from the films could produce a clear image. Inspired by Hughes-Freeland's (1999) and Pink's (2007[2013]) calls for a dialogic use of film, I was nonetheless restricted by the terms agreed with Roehampton's ethics committee which prohibited giving copies of films and photographs back to the organisers without express written participant consent.

At each event I positioned the camera in a place where it could record as much of the dancing as possible. Often this was on the stage behind the musicians. Audio and video recording allowed me to make transcriptions of how the caller described the choreography

and how they introduced the dances. During the course of the research I became more adept at realising which elements were important to my analysis and which were difficult to ascertain from the video footage alone. For example, head counts were particularly problematic to gather from the film, and so I took to making hourly counts at each event.[23] The video recordings allowed me to make transcriptions of the dance teaching, and accurately record tunes, tempos, and dance duration. Small details, which I had missed at the event, were often subsequently picked up on film. This was a useful by-product of the filming process which anthropologist Kirsten Hastrup has referred to as the 'blow-up' effect (1992:11).

I aimed to arrive early at each event, before the majority of the guests. I talked to the band and caller and explained my research and my intention to film the event. After setting up the camera to record, I then moved to the entrance to be with the gatekeeper/s who would usually be dealing with entry and raffle tickets. I told attendees about my research and gave out an information leaflet (A2:2). At some events the gatekeepers were hard to find. One evening I ended up positioning myself at the door of the marquee, greeting guests and telling them to keep their ticket for the food (FN: 5.8.17). When it was not possible to greet attendees at the door, I distributed information leaflets among the tables. I deliberately attended most events on my own which made it easier for me to talk to event attendees, their comments became an important aspect of my data collection. I would listen and then write down a brief note as soon as I was able, I later expanded upon these in my neat field notes which were invariably typed the next working day.

[23] These were useful in attaining information on attendance levels, and the popularity of the dancing compared to general socialising.

Despite the body of work in dance studies which supports understanding of analysis through physical engagement (e.g. Davinda 2011), at the start of the research I was worried that my movements would influence how others danced and that this would adversely affect my collected movement data. I was aware that when I went to social folk dances for amusement I would execute more complicated stepping (the preferred term for footwork) and additional movements.[24] When attending dances as a researcher I tried to confine my personal interpretation, but I was still a confident participant, and an obvious 'expert' as I was doing a PhD on the subject. I noticed that even with my toned-down approach other dancers copied my arm and feet movements. Instead of worrying about contaminating the field, I realised that this was an insight into the informal teaching aspects of the dance. Eventually the importance of inter-peer learning became crucial to my analysis of dance dissemination (3:8:1).

Just how easy it was to participate in dances depended on a number of factors. In particular whether or not I was already acquainted with any of the attendees. At events where I was unknown, occasionally someone might ask me to dance, and I would then oblige. More commonly, however, I would not be asked[25] and I would not volunteer, often deliberately positioning myself in an obscure location so that I could observe the event and make notes, or talk to an organiser or an event attendee.[26] If pressure was being applied for more dancers to fill a set then I was happy to get up and take a place, especially if only one more person was needed to complete the set.

[24] Such as adding in a 'Swing' with my dance partner.
[25] This was different to keen dance events I had experienced where inviting strangers to dance was more usual.
[26] This has parallels with female tactics of avoiding dance partners employed in twentieth century British dance halls (Nott 2015:178).

Although not my primary goal, participation did allow for conversation and insights which I would not have uncovered through observation alone. Being involved allowed me to notice subtle interactions with other dancers such as the avoidance of eye contact, or the discomfort of having my hand held too tightly. Participation highlighted inter-set conversation/communication (3:7:4:2) which was not always obvious to bystanders. I also found it was easier to talk to individuals with whom I had recently shared dancing experiences which proved to be a great help in recruiting interviewees.[27]

The next working day I would transfer my handwritten brief notes onto the computer adding in as much detail as I could (Emerson et al.1995). Much analysis was spent on the film or audio recording of the dancing. I would transcribe many of the callers' dialogues, whether they were encouraging people onto the floor, introducing the dances, or describing how to do the figures. I would then note key elements of the dances, how many people got up to dance, the set formation, the component movements or figures, and ways of moving.

1:2:7:4 Interviews

The line between ethnographic encounter, interview, and oral history, is notoriously blurry (Quinlan, 2012:26) especially since approaches which were directed at quelling positivistic fears about the reliability of such methods have fallen out of favour (Yow 2006). Skinner's edited collection *The Interview: An Ethnographic Approach* (2012) considers many varied methods and it is towards an acceptance of plurality that such interview technique handbooks increasingly advance. Within my ethnographic research, I

[27] This phenomenon has also been recounted by anthropologist and salsa dancer Jonathan Skinner (2010:124).

often deliberately engaged event attendees in casual conversations, asking them about their experiences of barn dancing or reasons for attending the event. Conversations in these contexts were never recorded on audio-devices, instead I made brief notes which were expanded upon when I came to write up my field notes.[28]

My arranged interviews had a more formal procedure. I interviewed 62 individuals: 10 callers who teach in Buckinghamshire; 7 callers from other locations; 26 'oral history' interviewees chosen for their experiences and knowledge of past practices; and 19 event attendees.[29] Interviews were conducted face-to-face (57), by Skype (3), and by e-mail (2). On a few occasions couples, families, or friends were interviewed together. Whilst I had initially thought that there would be a marked difference between my oral history and caller interviewees, in reality conversations in both cases drifted seamlessly between the past and the present. There were no overt differences in approach between interview types, save in the initial participant selection process. I did, however, modify my approach for each interviewee, selecting questions and phrasing them in a way which I hoped would elicit the most relaxed, detailed, and even enjoyable response. My conversations with event attendees had a markedly different feel. Not only was there a greater emphasis on the near-past, and their experiences of the specific event at which I had met them, but many denied knowledge or expertise and were more cautious of expressing personal opinions (as discussed in 1:1:1).

After arranging to meet an individual for an interview, we would usually convene in their home or a local café. My style of interviewing became increasingly relaxed over the duration of the research and whilst I started interviewing with a list of pre-prepared

[28] Similar methods are recorded by Macdonald (1997:26), and in Emerson et al. (1995).
[29] A list of interviewees can be found in A2:5. Anonymised biographies of event attendees can be found in A2:6.

questions, by the end of the process this list rarely left my rucksack. I recorded the interview on a dictaphone and jotted down 'prompt' or follow-up questions while the interviewee was talking. In interviews conducted by e-mail much detail was lost as respondents succinctly answered the questions posed and I did not have the flexibility of adapting the interview schedule in response to their answers. Where possible I would try and arrange a face-to-face or a Skype meeting. At the end of the interview I always asked people if there was anything they wanted to add, or anything they felt I had missed out. This is an adaptation of folklorist Pravina Shukla's final question 'is there anything you want to ask me?' (Shukla 2015:68). After previous research experiences when I had to note down post-interview disclosure shortly after the microphone was turned off, I followed the advice of psychologist Simon Watts and delayed stopping the recording, relaxing and changing the tone of the conversation in the hope of eliciting some more casual comments.[30] Whilst I explained about the consent form at the beginning of the interview, I left the option to remain anonymous or be identified until the end, so that interviewees could make the decision once they knew what they had said.

Restricted by the terms of the research agreed with Roehampton University's ethics committee, but reassured by Lensvelt-Mulders research on surveying sensitive topic areas (2008), the working study title was printed on the participant consent form (*English Social Folk Dance Identities and Repertoires*). Lensvelt-Mulders' research showed that revealing the area of research interest usually resulted in more open and detailed responses. However, because of the widespread negative associations of Englishness I personally found it difficult, especially at the start of the research, to ask people directly about it.[31] I

[30] Simon Watts. 'Qualitative Interviewing'. University of East Anglia and South East Network for Social Sciences (SeNSS) online training session (attended on 8.3.17).
[31] This is something social commentator Ben Fogle memorably described as 'Engst': English-Angst (2017:257).

was also concerned that I might end up pushing pre-ordained identity categorisations. I often used a more indirect method which commonly elicited comments on Englishness/Britishness by asking callers and dance attendees what made folk dance different, or why it was important to them.

1:2:7:5 Questionnaires

In order to find out more about who comes to barn dances, I devised a short participant questionnaire (which can be found in A2:1). Questionnaires or surveys were used by Carlin (1995), Penny (1999), and Walkowitz (2006) to discover details about dance participants in contra, ballroom, and English country dancing respectively. Musicologist Niall Mackinnon also used questionnaires in his research into the British folk club audiences of 1986/7 (1993). All of these researchers were able to draw upon quantitative data to support their ethnographic findings and so a questionnaire seemed an appropriate way to learn more about participation. It has been argued by anthropologist Kate Fox that British cultural norms work against verbally asking strangers questions about their age and occupation (Fox 2004:44-46). A questionnaire therefore provided a more culturally acceptable way to find out about peoples' age and occupation. This information was critical in contextualising contemporary dance events.

My questionnaire was designed following the guidance provided in *The International Handbook of Survey Methodology* (De Leeuw, Hox and Dilman 2008). Accordingly, care was taken regarding question formation and accidental biases. The questionnaire contained both closed and open questions (Robson 1993:253), it was tested in advance on a number of individuals who had previously attended barn dances and amended according to their comments. It was changed again to fully comply with Roehampton University's ethics committee's recommendations. At events where

questionnaires were distributed I received anything from 6 to 68 completed questionnaires with the response rate varying from 13% to 100% (A5:1). In addition to increased personal confidence on my part some events were more conducive to questionnaire completion than others. Factors such as the brightness of the lighting and the availability of tables were important in securing a good response rate. At dance events where I knew the caller, or I was the caller, it was much easier to motivate people to complete a questionnaire. I gave each questionnaire response a unique number and entered the responses into an Excel data sheet. Half-finished questionnaires were included as far as they were completed. In the end the 726 completed questionnaires provided invaluable demographic information about event attendees and their orientation to social folk dance.

1:2:7:6 Difficulties

Event access proved to be one of my biggest practical difficulties because a large proportion of tyro events are private rather than public (see 2:4:4). When public events were held, it was not always possible to hear about them with enough time to arrange attendance. Sometimes multiple events were held on the same day, or I was unable to attend due to other commitments. Even if I did hear about an event in good time some organisers decided that they were not happy for me to be there. My focus on tyro events meant that, beyond an e-mail or a phone call, I was unable to build trust with organisers (let alone attendees) prior to an event. Some organisers were concerned that my research would impact negatively upon their event. A small number asked me not to film, some expressed the view that attendees were there to have a ‘good time’ and that filming would be inappropriate. Others were worried about the legalities of filming without express written consent. For my ethics form I utilised consent methods more common amongst journalists than academics. This relied on me informing attendees that I was conducting

research which included filming and asking attendees to let me know if they wanted me to desist. Offering attendees a consent form to be completed in advance was not a feasible option, especially as many organisers wanted me to be unobtrusive. For some organisers, questionnaires were inappropriate but unobtrusive filming was allowable; for others filming was not appropriate but the questionnaires were warmly supported; for others, as long as no attendees were upset by any part of the research then all things were permissible. Despite these problems, most organisers whom I contacted were happy for me to attend and to carry out research and, where filming was not possible, audio recordings and field notes enabled me to make a record of the event.

I recruited interviewees by leaving a space at the back of the questionnaire requesting the contact details of those who might be happy to be interviewed. This was a very successful method: I had more individuals self-refer than I was actually able to contact, and these volunteers had a wide range of experiences with social folk dance. However, I had far more women than men agree to be interviewed. Two of my four male interviewees were spouses of women who had already been interviewed. If more male interviewees had been required, the technique of 'snowball sampling' may have been a more fruitful method.

1:2:8 Conclusion

To date published studies about English social folk dance have mostly concentrated on keen dance practice in the first half of the twentieth century. Tyro dances are infrequently mentioned in the literature; however, when they are mentioned, it is not uncommon for discussion to be rather superficial. In such writings, tyro events are sometimes classed as more authentic than keen folk dance events. The reasons for this

appear to stem from both attendance (as tyro dance events are believed to attract a wider section of the English demographic) and context.

This thesis used a variety of methods to analyse changes within one distinct cultural form in the period 1945-2020. A wide range of data types were utilised to create a detailed picture of sporadic dance events. This allowed comparisons to be made between different periods in time, analysing changes in both repertoire and context. Studying English social folk dance in its present form allowed for detailed information to be garnered about dance attendees and their attitudes and understandings of this dance form. This method of data collection and analysis brought a richness and detailed understanding that the archival record inevitably lacks. In particular, fieldwork allowed for an exploration of current practice and investigation into the contemporary relationship between Englishness and tyro social folk dance. Using Buckinghamshire, a wealthy county in the south of England, as my field site opened up an opportunity to conduct research into 'folk' dance in an area which has been considered to be at the heart of a certain, pastoral, essence of Englishness (Mischi 2009). Despite its rurality and southern location, Buckinghamshire is not renowned for having a strong British folk dance and music tradition, and arguably provides an example of folk-dance activity in a seemingly 'folk-less' place.[32]

[32] This is a deliberate reference to the title of Kaminsky's study: *Swedish Folk Music in the Twenty-First Century: On the Nature of Tradition in a Folkless Nation* (2012).

Part Two: Folk Dance Past
2:3 The Douglas Kennedy Years: 1945-1961

2:3:1 Folk Dance in the 1920s

This chapter starts to address the recent history of English social folk dance in order to answer the question of why barn dances continue to be held by multifarious voluntary membership groups. In particular attention is drawn to the influence of Sharp's successor to the directorship of the EFDS. 'Anglo-Scot' Douglas Kennedy (1893-1988) was born in Edinburgh, moved to London when he was fourteen and discovered folk dancing whilst studying at Imperial College (Kennedy, D. [1973]). Through folk dance classes he met his wife Helen Karpeles (1888-1976), the sister of Maud Karpeles (1885-1976), Cecil Sharp's secretary and amanuensis. Helen Kennedy worked for the EFDS/S alongside Douglas, and they often collaborated, co-authoring a number of publications. Unlike her husband, Helen Kennedy had considerable expertise in the realm of education and Sharp had made her the occasional inspector of folk dance in elementary schools in 1920 (Loveless 1976:190). Douglas Kennedy continued his studies at Imperial, where after service in WWI he accepted a teaching post on the botany staff. After Sharp's death in 1924, Kennedy resigned from teaching at the college to become the organising director of the EFDS in 1925 (Kennedy, D. [1973]).

After a decade following Sharp's lead Kennedy embarked on a different approach to social folk dance which was a marked departure from his forebear. Sharp's efforts were focused on pedagogy and he was successful in his campaign to have folk dance included in the Board of Education's official recommendation for physical training in elementary schools in 1909 (Gammon 2008). The EFDS/S issued folk dancing certificates at three levels: elementary; intermediate; and advanced. Indicating their relative level of difficulty,

stemming from the complexity of the figures, the advanced certificate included Playford dances such as *Oranges and Lemons* and *Grimstock*, whilst the elementary certificate featured collected dances such as *The Butterfly* and *Three Meet* (Sharp [1926]). Society qualifications were recognised by Local Education Authorities (hereafter LEAs), as a result the EFDS/S attracted a great number of school teachers who were, reflecting the profession more widely, predominantly female (Holbrow 1946:49).[1] The Society organised vacation schools where folk dancing was taught and students could undergo an examination for their folk dance certificate/s.[2] Willing dancers could also join a country dance class, these were typically scheduled to coincide with the school term, and were graded according to student ability. Whilst performances (often called demonstrations) were a regular feature of these classes, more informal dancing was not entirely absent, and parties were held where pre-learnt routines could be danced in a more informal manner. As Kennedy would later recall Sharp 'insisted' that there should be 'side to side' with the teaching 'occasions when people should just get together for the fun of it, for the hell of it, and enjoy life' (Kennedy, D. 1973). This 'social' element is something that Kennedy wanted to build upon.

Kennedy deliberately aimed to conventionalise folk dancing, that is, to encourage its use as a normative social activity and enforce the view that 'mixed dancing, man and girl' is the 'normal commonplace accepted thing' (Kennedy D. 1946c:44). He wanted to remove folk dance from the sphere of specialism and, in particular, from association of exclusively female participation. In 1946 he went so far as to write that, in the view of the

[1] At the turn of the century 73% of teaching staff in English and Welsh schools were female (Albisetti 1993:255).
[2] One account of certification and the EFDS vacation schools can be found in Thompson 2001:153-162.

general public, folk dancers were nothing more than a 'few pale-faced intellectuals' (Kennedy, D. 1946b). This was a stereotype he wanted to change.

2:3:2 Douglas Kennedy's New Approach

> The main object of the E.F.D.S.[S.] is to widen its public and when I speak of recruiting I mean something more than the active enrolment of a Member or an Associate. I mean rendering down an ordinary chap into a dancer.
>
> (Kennedy, D. 1946a:73**)**

Whilst both Sharp and Kennedy aimed to bring folk dancing to wider audiences, Sharp favoured links with the educational establishment and the creation of a formal learning structure. Kennedy's proselytisation deliberately took a different form, and a key part of this was his creation of *community dances*, the forerunner of the tyro social folk dances of today. Kennedy emphasised the importance of the country dance party as an arena where people could watch and join in immediately, rather than learning though a formal teaching process (Kennedy, D. 1944b:14). Kennedy's emphasis was upon tyro involvement rather than performances by trained dancers. EFDSS member Kenneth Loveless recalled that it was only with reluctance that Kennedy agreed to the formation of a demonstration group in 1952, known as London Folk or the Sunday Club (Loveless 1973:89).[3]

Douglas Kennedy was keen to re-contextualise folk dancing as a social activity, an alternative to the couple-based repertoire of waltzes, foxtrots, and quicksteps which dominated the dance halls at that time. Kennedy argued that there was a desire for more

[3] Although its importance had lapsed by the early 1950s, the headquarters demonstration team, formed at the inception of the EFDS had played an important part in promoting the Society (Schofield 2016).

sociable forms of dancing a 'hungering for community expression' (Kennedy, D. 1939b:268). The EFDSS was not alone in perceiving a need for more sociable dances (Russell 1958:14). Novelty ballroom dances such as the *Palais Glide*, *Lambeth Walk* and the *Chestnut Tree* had taken dance halls by storm in the 1930s (Abra 2017, Kennedy D. 1939b), and old time dancing, which included *set* dances as well as couple dances had developed a distinct following (Nott 2015:86-97).[4] In the 1930s it had become common to use *old time* or *olde tyme* to refer to the music, songs and dances of the late Victorian era (Mainey 1953:48). Whilst *old time* would develop in North America in the 1970s to become in many ways synonymous with folk or traditional music (Bealle 2005), in England the old time movement was associated with professional dancing associations and remained largely separate from the folk revival (for more information see 2:6:4).[5] The square dance craze of the early 1950s, discussed later (2:3:4), could also be read as part of this interest in more sociable forms of dance.

By the end of WWII, it was estimated that there were ten female members of the EFDSS to every man (Kennedy, D. [1973]:187, cf. Snape 2009). In the words of one male Society member, the backbone of English folk dancing was a 'clique of middle-aged spinsters' (Hawkins 1952:8). It was common for women to partner women at both social evenings of folk dance and public displays. Kennedy felt that demonstrations by all-female, or female majority groups, did not give a public image which would encourage

[4] In this context *set* has a similar meaning to Irish (quadrille) set dancing. In old time dance sets (such as *The Lancers*) are lengthy dances in quadrille formation. Set dances have a number of discrete parts (known as figures). Each figure is about as long and complex as an entire dance found at tyro events today (see A4:2).
[5] For example, Michael Gwynne author of *Old Time and Sequence Dancing* (1950) was a lecturer of the Dance Teachers Association, a fellow of the National Association of Teachers of Dancing, a life member of the Imperial Society of Teachers of Dancing, a member of the International Dance Masters Association, and a member of the British Association of Teachers of Dancing.

mass participation (Kennedy, D. 1940b:33): 'the desirable condition for all dances is, of course, a man to every woman' (Kennedy, D. 1944b:14). The feminisation of folk dance and its popularity amongst women was the source of wider contemporary criticism of the revival. Although his attention is on performative rather than social dance, Laurence Whistler, an advocate of reviving and restoring festivals of the past argued in *The English Festivals* (1947), that the absence of men created a limp, mediocre dance revival:

> It does seem that the Folk Dance Movement will need to escape from an atmosphere of whimsy, exuded by the very word "Folk," if it is ever to introduce the English dances into English life again. Children can walk in white and gyre about the Maypole naturally enough; but these were the dances of grown men, exhausting, and not without dignity: the agility of the Women's Institute only renders the Morris ridiculous.
>
> (Whistler 1947:164)

During the nineteenth century, dancing more broadly had undergone a process of feminisation and whilst this was most noticeable upon the stage (Burt 1995[2007]:11), the masculine presence in social dancing had also declined (Buckland 2011:118-127). Although dancing in the 1940s was the second most popular leisure activity after the cinema (Abra 2017:6), men often had a lower level of dancing skill than women (Nott 2015:161). Indeed, the ability of a man to dance well might even have been distrusted and could have led to charges of effeminacy (Nott 2015:41, Abra 2017:118), which in turn was often used as a lightly veiled accusation of homosexuality (Fisher and Shay 2009:10).

From the mid-1940s onwards Kennedy explicitly encouraged male participation in a number of ways.[6] Mixed-couple partners were given preferential ticket rates at EFDSS events.[7] At the annual Stratford-upon-Avon festival tickets were distributed based on gender, rather than demand, so that there were an even number of male and female attendees (*ED&S* 1946:56). In his feature 'The Director Writes' Kennedy made regular appeals to the membership not to display all-female social folk dance groups: 'In my inmost heart I do not believe that any country dance, Playford or Traditional, can receive justice by a team of girls or women' (Kennedy, D. 1940b:33). Limitations were imposed at the Society's prestigious public Saturday night dances in central London.[8] In the first Society magazine printed after WWII it was announced that 'for certain dances only mixed couples will take the floor' (*ED&S* 1945a:21). Over the next two years this policy was extended, eventually covering all the dances at the Saturday night events until September 1974, thirteen years after Kennedy's retirement. Understandably this discriminatory approach was a source of frustration and sadness to some female attendees who were prevented from participation (Badrick 1986:3, Diana Campbell Jewitt I: 5.12.17). Arguably the policy also reflected the wider sexism prevalent within the Society at that time (Boyes 1993[2010]:164).

Kennedy's writings emphasise the masculinised role of leading: '[T]he social folk dance is a man's dance, and it is the man who chooses his partner, leads her, turns her, swings her, [and] promenades her home' (Kennedy, D. 1946a:74). In line with wider

[6] Kennedy actively discouraged female participation in morris dancing, and was an enthusiastic and influential supporter of the all-male Morris Ring (established 1934).
[7] In 1951 tickets to the festival ball cost 15s for a 'double (man and partner)', and 10 shillings for a single. Similarly, a weekend ticket for the 1951 Easter holiday course had a 15 shillings fee for 'double entry (man and partner)' whilst single entry was 10 shillings and 6 pence (*ED&S* 1950:85, *ED&S* 1951:117).
[8] In 1940 Cecil Sharp House was bombed, until its re-opening in 1950 events were held at a number of different venues across London.

conventional attitudes of the period (e.g. Franks 1952b:753), Kennedy felt that the future popularity of folk dancing lay 'with the man firmly taking the initiative'. When calling, he directed his instructions towards the men only (Kennedy, D. 1971:89-90).[9] The woman is led, swung, met, greeted, and generally done *to.* This approach is commensurate with the propensity for a binary, oppositional construction of gender found in the European and Anglophone world (Fisher and Shay 2009:8-11), which pairs 'aggressive, domineering males' with 'delicate, sexually receptive females' (Leib and Bulman 2009:603). In a cultural practice (i.e. dance) which is typically associated with femininity, Kennedy's gender-directed commands created a distinctly *male* role which adhered to conventional gendered binaries of leader/follower, and arguably made the dance a more comfortable place for hetero-normative male participation.[10] Such changes appeared to work. An *English Dance and Song* article excitedly reported that the Saturday night square dance evenings held at Cecil Sharp house (the Society's London headquarters) in 1945 attracted 'a hundred dancing couples, three-quarters of them duly "mixed"' (*ED&S* 1945b:37).

Douglas Kennedy's position could be seen as being nothing more than an attempt to align English social folk dance with the popular dance hall culture of the 1940s. However, in banning female pairings Kennedy went further than the commercial dance halls of the same period where female dance couples were not treated with the same degree of concern (Nott 2015:240). Moreover, Kennedy's policies discriminated against the very same women who had been Society stalwarts during the 1930s. In 2019 with wider society

[9] Legacies of this can still be found in recent publications such as the 2015 edition of the *Community Dances Manual*.

> A. Each man goes behind his partner to the woman on the right, who moves to meet him and they balance and swing
> A2. Men return to partners; balance and swing (Barclay and Jones 2015:44).

[10] Maxine Leeds Craig's work on male dancing reticence has discussed how highly codified gender roles in dancing appears to embolden male participation (2014:15-16).

increasingly sympathetic towards non-binary gender identification (Heywood 2017), Kennedy's approach could be read as both chauvinistic and homophobic. However, I would argue that in terms of radicalism, perhaps the most extreme part of Kennedy's social dance policy was not so much his specifically conservative attitude towards gender normativity, but rather the change of context from social folk dance as art (Sharp 1909 [1913]:15), to social folk dance as participation (Schofield, D. 1988:25). With this came a change in perception of acceptable British dancing masculinities from the marginalised (performative) to the normative (participatory). This is possibly one of the reasons why many of the barn dances I attended in 2017 and 2018 had a near equal gender representation on the dance floor.[11]

Inspired by his experience of square dance in North America, Kennedy encouraged and nurtured the technique of *calling* folk dances. There were already British precedents for such verbal prompting. Calling was used at old time dances for the longer and more complicated set dances (*Old Time Dancing* 1951, Corbett 2013:16). Calling was also occasionally done in ballrooms for the introduction of new sequence dances (*The Park Parade* 1939). The introduction of calling into English folk dance, however, appears to be linked to the introduction of square dancing. The Kennedys' 1942 booklet *The Caller's Manual*, contains instructions for teaching square dances, which are presented as an improvised dance form. Rhyming calls are suggested and there is an expectation that callers will be able to add witty asides during the dance to fit the rhythm of the music

[11] Whilst I collected data on the gender of dance participants and attendees, I did not include this in my final analysis. Events advertised as *barn dances*, however, appeared to have a higher proportion of male attendees than *ceilidhs*. This was possibly because four of the barn dances I attended were organised by male organisations, including: a Cricket Club (boys side); Rotary (formerly all-male); and the Round Table (still all-male).

(Kennedy, D., H., and P., 1942).[12] Calling was seen as a helpful way to encourage participation and it was soon utilised for country as well as square dances. This resulted in an eventual calling style which is different from that advocated by the Kennedys' 1942 booklet. In 2017-2018 calling was usually used to prompt dances which had a fixed pattern repeat. The majority of English callers rarely use additional witty patter or entertaining improvised verbalisations. These are, however, a feature of American style calling, which is still utilised by a minority of English folk dance callers, in particular those calling square dances.

Kennedy thought that calling liberated the dancers as they no longer had to memorise the order of the figures and could thus immerse themselves completely in the dance itself (Kennedy, D. 1944b:14, 1971:89, Kennedy, D., H., and P. 1942). Calling also furthered Kennedy's pro-male agenda, he argued that having a prompter to guide the participants dissolved the reticence of young men who, he thought, had previously been 'hesitating on the brink' of joining in (Kennedy, D. 1952a:111). Kennedy hoped that calling would relieve their worries as they 'were drawn to the social folk dance, but feared to mess things up for others, through ignorance of the routine' (Kennedy, D. [1973]:272). In his embrace of callers, Kennedy started a shift in emphasis away from predominately female teachers, to Masters of Ceremonies (MCs, later known as callers) who in the 1940s and 1950s were usually male (Kennedy, H. 1945:4). It is interesting to note that choreographic simplicity and verbal guidance were linked by Kennedy to greater male participation. It is possible that the (often male) caller added a further layer of acceptable mediation between an undesirably effeminate display of dancing skill and an acceptably masculine level of dance

[12] Two singing squares *Jingle Bells* and *When Johnny Comes Marching Home* called by Peter Kennedy performing with his band The Haymakers, were recorded by Decca [1952] and can be found on *Listen to the Band: Dance Music from the Sound Archives.* EFDSSCD12 (2007).

participation.[13] Dance historians have discussed male reticence towards formal forms of dance tuition in the early and mid-twentieth century (Buckland 2011:126, Nott 2002:183). Such attitudes towards tuition would surely also have mitigated against male attendance at folk dance classes. The on-the-spot tuition offered by callers, which was directly linked to an actual social dance situation, was perhaps more palatable to male attendees.

In addition to introducing calling, Kennedy also moved away from Sharp's prescription of footwork (discussed further in 3:8:3). The dance walk was considered by Kennedy to be an 'ideal introduction' to English country dancing 'particularly for those whose only previous experience has been of Ballroom Dancing' (EFDSS 1947:2). In their 1939 instructional pamphlet *Walking On Air*, the Kennedys wrote that:

> Country dancing is only a glorified walking about by a group of people in a musical design. At times additional small steps are interposed between each walk giving such variations as skipping, gallop (slipping) and polka, etc. But all the dances are, in fact, built upon this simplest form of step, the walk, which everyone employs in everyday life, each in his individual way.
>
> (Kennedy, D. and Kennedy, H. 1939:1).

Such a description of the walking step gives the impression of non-tutored movement. However, the dance walk demonstrated in the Kennedys' 1955 instructional video *The Cumberland Square Eight* shows a deliberate, practiced glide which is far from natural (Kennedy, D., and Kennedy, H. 1955). In this film visual metaphors of gently undulating

[13] Thanks to Clive Barrett for raising this point in conversation (13.4.18).

natural rhythms including the lap of waves, the flight of a seagull, and the running of a cat are employed to encourage dancers to move in a lilting, smooth fashion.

No matter how tutored the Kennedys' dance walk was for keen dancers, *walking* appears to have been an important part of the evangelism of folk dance; and folk dance was not the only genre in which the simplification of movement steps was considered to be key to increased participation. Modern ballroom dance teachers in the first half of the twentieth century emphasised, like Kennedy, 'natural walking movements' with a popular mantra being: 'if you can walk you can dance' (Abra 2017:32-33). The popularity of the one-step in the first two decades of the twentieth century was perhaps also emblematic of this change, as Buckland argued it 'removed any obvious need for specialist dance tuition, inviting dancers onto the floor to walk beat for beat' (Buckland 2018a:7).

Kennedy also changed approaches to folk dance music. He encouraged the training of musicians, creating a Players' Club in London for aspiring learners and the first massed musicians or folk orchestra to play for dancing in the open-air.[14] By 1945 Kennedy had formed The Square Dance Band. The line-up consisted of himself on snare drum, his wife Helen on English concertina, Nan Fleming-Williams on violin, and her spouse Brian on guitar (Judge et al. 1988:535). The use of 'traditional melodies' was key to Kennedy's vision of community folk dance, and as I will discuss further in 2:6:4, the music was an important way to differentiate folk dance from choreographically similar dance styles, particularly old time dancing (Kennedy, D. 1946b:128).

Diverse terminologies were tried for these social dance events with varying levels of longevity and popular use. In the 1940s Kennedy advocated *community dancing* (Ekin

[14] Prior to WWII the EFDSS had mostly relied on a brass band for outdoor occasions or upon a solo musician, often a piano player, for indoor ones (Schofield 2011b:13).

1943, Kennedy, D. 1944a) which was used by EFDSS members into the 1960s (Rippon 1963).[15] *Social dance* was also used for such events (Hyland 1983), but both *social* and *community* were largely ousted in popularity in the early 1950s by *square dance*, and what would become a popular choice for tyro events *barn dance*. Confusingly from the 1970s until the early 2000s using the term *barn dance* for an event had a contradictory double meaning; it was either a dance event organised by and for tyro dancers or an event organised by and for keen dancers with a correspondingly different selection of choreographic material (Schofield 2006:17, Watson 1983, Leech 1993:3). *Hoe-Down*, which was used by proponents of square dancing in the 1950s was also used as an alternative to *barn dance*, particularly for tyro events, from the 1970s onwards (*Folk Directory* 1970:106, Rawson 1989:7).[16]

The promotion of *barn dance* as an event descriptor has been credited to Douglas and Helen Kennedy's son Peter (1922-2006) (Schofield 2006a).[17] Peter Kennedy was enrolled onto the staff of the EFDSS at the end of WWII and he was posted to the Society's North-East Area (Durham, Northumberland, and Yorkshire) in 1947. During the war the BBC had broadcast *National Barn-Dance* '[h]alf-an-hour of cheerful music and song', on the forces radio, and had followed it in 1947 with *Northumbrian Barn Dance* on

[15] Derek Schofield has noted how Kennedy's use of *community* corresponds to the contemporaneous building of community centres (2001:93).
[16] By the 1990s *Hoe-Down* could also refer to an American and/or Country and Western themed party which might or might not include line, square, or English social folk dance.
[17] The term *Barn Dance* would have been most familiar to the readers of *English Dance and Song* as a reference to the eponymous couple dance. *The Barn Dance* a simple sequence schottische comprising of two repeating figures was imported to Britain from North America in the late nineteenth century and was popular in society circles from 1888 (Buckland 2011:55). Joan and Tom Flett's fieldwork indicates the continuing popularity of *The Barn Dance* at village dances in Northumberland into the twentieth century (see Short 1960). Similarly, Sibyl Clark included instructions for it in the EFDSS published *Swing Partners* (Clark and Evans 1964:13).

the home service.[18] *Northumbrian Barn Dance* had involved the musicianship of Jack Armstrong (1904-1978) who was shortly to become the official piper to the Duke of Northumberland. Peter Kennedy made contact with Armstrong when he moved to the North East and adopted the term *Barn Dance* from him (Kennedy, P. 1950a). Referring to the village or community dances he found there, Peter Kennedy conceptualised a barn dance as: 'A social evening which includes dancing, songs, stories, games and other interludes'. He considered the term *barn dance* to be a suitably English alternative to the Scottish and Irish *ceilidhe*, and the American *square dance*, *frolic*, or *junket* (Kennedy P. 1950b:42). By the early 1950s the epithet *barn dance* appeared to be growing in popularity for folk dance events, although it initially competed with older event names such as *country dance parties*, *dance parties*, *reel clubs,* or just *dances* (Shaw 1951/2:80, Kennedy P. 1951: Introduction, Kennedy D. 1955:153). Tyro usage of the term *barn dance* was probably boosted by the decline of *square dancing* in the late 1950s, and the use of *barn dance* in radio programmes made by the BBC from the 1950s to the 1990s (Schofield 2011c).

Financial support from the Ministry of Labour's Further Education and Training Scheme for Service Men and Women at the end of WWII allowed Douglas Kennedy to train EFDSS field staff members whose primary duty was to 'convert' individuals to folk dance (Davies 1996:28, Fink 1975:30, Maycock 1996:14). In the retrospective words of Kennedy he was creating 'dance missionaries, or minstrels, capable of taking over a region and guiding its development' (Kennedy, D. [1973]:254). In the 1950s and 1960s EFDSS regional staff members such as Sibyl Clark (1915-1999), Bill Rutter (1914-1986), Peter

[18] Details from BBC Genome Project. Available at: https://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/ (Accessed 25.2.20). Derek Schofield suggests that the term *barn dance* was taken from the 1920s American radio programme *National Barn Dance*, later retitled *Grand Ole Oprey* (Schofield 2018, see Peterson 1997).

Dashwood (1928-1990), and Tony Foxworthy (1932-2020) led dances for many different organisations, inspiring new adherents to take up dancing, calling, or playing music.

As well as establishing regular community or barn dances, one of Douglas Kennedy's biggest innovations was the re-imagining of the folk festival. The Stratford-upon-Avon festival was re-launched post-WWII and ran annually until 1956 (Schofield 2011c). Here, participation, particularly audience participation, was considered key to success. Kennedy encouraged women to wear contemporary attire, for he was worried that distinctive dress could deter the public from joining in the open-air social dancing (Kennedy, D. 1946a:73 and 1949c:25). Similarly, when Kennedy directed the annual EFDSS festival at the Albert Hall, his shows often included participation, with the audience being encouraged to join in a mass social dance at the end of the performance (Kennedy, H. 1952).

2:3:3 Kennedy's Justifications and Influences

Three external groups of dancers influenced Kennedy's decision to change the approach of the Society. These were: North American dancers who would enthuse the Kennedys with the joys of square dancing (discussed later in 2:3:4); 'traditional' English dancers who were operating outside the direct auspices of the folk-dance revival (Kennedy, H. and D. 1961:3, Kennedy, D. 1971:84); and European folk dancers.

In 1949 Douglas Kennedy commented that: 'In the North they have the spirit of the dance and the way of it […] each year something of this live tradition must be imported to the south' (Kennedy, D. 1949e:58). Rural communities, particularly in Northumberland were generally viewed by Douglas and Peter Kennedy as having retained a continuation of an older form of social dancing which was now fairly distinct from that exhibited in the

more urbanised areas of England (Kennedy D. 1947-1948, Kennedy, P. 1950a, 1950b). Peter Kennedy collected a number of social dances from these communities such as *La Russe* and *Kielder Schottische*. In a 1940 article directed to EFDSS members Kennedy discussed the growing appeal of these 'traditional' dances:

> I think that the reason for this change in favour of the traditional dances is that they are more direct in their appeal, simpler to perform and carry no distasteful reminiscence of the school-folk-dancing that was reserved for wet days.
>
> (Kennedy, D. 1940b:32)

Whilst his contact with traditional dance events does not appear to be extensive, he does recommend that EFDSS members adopt approaches that he had seen in the field (e.g. Kennedy, D. 1946d:94).

European dance groups had performed at the EFDSS's annual Royal Albert Hall festival in the 1930s and reciprocal arrangements were made to host the Society's demonstration team. This allowed for direct comparison between different dance styles and methods of performance. Kennedy reflected that: 'It was always noticeable that by the side of these foreign folk dancers our own country dancing looked colourless and mechanical' (Kennedy, D. 1940a:2). The comments of one 'Northern' European festival attendee[19] regarding the perceived lack of social folk dances in the Society's demonstrations, influenced Kennedy's push for the abandonment of the Playford repertoire (Schofield 2001). As Douglas was to recall in his memoirs the Northern European dancers had reacted favourably to an impromptu performance of a collected dance (*The Norfolk Long Dance*)

[19] Who was either Danish, Estonian, Greenlander, or Faroe Islander.

but dispassionately to the official performance which had featured Playford repertoire (Kennedy, D. [1973]:253).

Kennedy's new repertoire focus is displayed in the *Community Dance Manuals* (hereafter the *CDMs*). This collection of tunes and dance instructions was published in seven instalments between 1947-1967 (with combined editions published in 1986, 2005, and 2015). The first edition of the first volume contained dance and music descriptions for fourteen dances. Of these the majority were collected in England in the early twentieth century. Only one was a Playford dance (*Hole in the Wall),* and one a simple recent composition (*The Belfast Duck),* the rest comprised collected 'traditional' material. Until the advent of the internet the *CDMs* often constituted the primary dance source for callers. Whilst in 2019 younger callers might not have their own physical copy of the publications, most callers either knowingly or unknowingly still draw from its selection of 141 dances.[20]

Kennedy changed what folk dances should be taught and how they should be taught. His approach could be seen as having more in common with Mary Neal (1860-1944) Sharp's competitor, rather than Sharp himself. Neal, at first a colleague of Sharp, formed the first revival side of folk dancers from a charitable Methodist mission, the Esperance Club for young female seamstresses, in central London. Their differences in approach are often simplified as being Sharp's 'technique' versus Neal's 'spirit' (Judge 1989:545-546). Whilst Sharp dictated the exact movements of a so-called authentic morris step, Neal refuted the very concept, teaching that no two traditional dancers perform the

[20] In Mic Spenceley's guide to calling he recounts congratulating a new young caller 'on his selection of dances from the *Community Dance[s] Manual*'. Only to receive the reply '"What's the *Community Dance[s] Manual*?"' (Spenceley 2017:4 [italics added]).

step in the same manner (*Practical Teacher* 1910:548). As Kennedy was later to recall, Sharp's approach fared better with the physical educationalists 'who were all for "System" and "Precision"' (Kennedy, D. [1973]:98).

Whilst it was only in the latter years of his directorship, or post retirement, that Kennedy openly criticised Sharp's approach, he appears to side with Neal, most notably by calling his wife Helen a *Nealite,* and noting approvingly that she was 'more conscious of the symptoms of Scholasticism than most of us' (in Cook 1988:5).[21] It is possible that Kennedy's views derived from his experiences as a dancer. Sharp had been known to criticise Kennedy's morris dancing style, which he felt was lacking precision (Boyes 2010:92). By the time of their retirement the Kennedys felt able to openly criticise Sharp's 'dogmatic method of teaching' which they later declared was 'out of step with tradition' (Kennedy, H., and D. 1961:3). Douglas and Helen Kennedy couched their reproach in terms that insinuated that there had been an original Sharpian vision which had become lost or distorted over time. Sharp's 'pedantry' was, they felt 'foreign to his character' and derived from having to solidify his position against Neal. The Kennedys considered that 'given more time', Sharp would have 'discarded' such notions of technical precision (Kennedy, H. and D. 1961:3). This is possible, the *Country Dance Book* part four (1916) written by Sharp with revival morris dancer and composer George Butterworth contains a number of statements that indicate a relaxation of interpretation (Sharp and Butterworth, 1916:30-33). Gammon's work on Sharp's school inspection programme likewise indicates a preference for relaxed, 'natural' dancing over technical precision (Gammon 2008).

[21] Kennedy's approach is also similar to that advocated by Rolf Gardiner (Simons 2019:102-3).

Whether Sharp was a pedant or not Kennedy inherited a reality of classes, examinations, and displays where technical precision appeared to be prized above all else.

In 1956 Kennedy finally abolished the examination system which the EFDS/S had run for country and morris dancing (Loveless 1973:88). Of examinations, he wrote: 'in shaping the living traditions to fit the standard moulds we came near to extinguishing the life' (Kennedy, D. 1971:83). The abolition of examinations was not universally supported within the EFDSS. Exams were seen by some members as a way to monitor standards, and as a method of verifying folk dance as an activity worthy of study. This was especially important for teachers who valued having an additional qualification which was recognised by their LEA (Ekin 1946:108, Holbrow 1946:49).

To support his new approach Kennedy drew upon ideas which were common within the broader dance world. This was a world in which he actively participated, writing articles for *The Dancing Times* (1938, 1946b, 1950c, 1963), and forming a working relationship with Ninette De Valois, founder of the Royal Ballet (De Valois 1937:188-247, 1960). The concepts of *vitality* and *naturalness* occur throughout his writings. As seen by Kennedy vitality is the essence of good dancing and is positioned in opposition to precision, technique, and figurative complexity (Kennedy, D. 1949a:63, 1959a:63, 1963). Vitality was used by Kennedy as part of his argument against formal learning, and he associated the limited success of the revival so far achieved by the EFDS/S with the Society's previous focus on technical ability.[22] By changing the emphasis from technique to vitality, Kennedy hoped to boost recruitment:

[22] Trentmann sees this as emblematic of 'a wider shift in anti-modern mentality' (1994:599).

> Some of us now regard our past exposition of the English Folk Songs and Dances as having been generally unsuccessful […] We were so keen that everyone we button-holed should learn everything properly that we built up elaborate machinery to turn out the "complete folk dancer." The man or girl who just wanted a taste was more of a nuisance than otherwise because he or she didn't fit into the machine and never, by any chance, knew the right dances to be fitted into the right classes.
>
> (Kennedy, D. 1946a:44)

In a position which would later pit him against the presiding EFDSS patron, the classical composer Ralph Vaughan Williams (Vaughan Williams 1957:64), Douglas Kennedy advocated that good folk dancing does not come from a studied, consciously learnt technique. Kennedy argued that: 'It is far better for dancers to "pick up" the elements of the simplest dances at parties and to acquire a natural unself-conscious approach to rhythmical expression' (Kennedy, D. 1945b:20).

The concept of vital-ness had wider resonance at this time. Vitalism was a scientific philosophy which arouse as a counter-balance to advances in knowledge about human biology in the eighteenth century. Proponents of vitalism argued that life cannot be reduced to biological mechanics alone. There must be something else, such as a soul, or vital spark, which animates humanity (*In Our Time* 2008). In the early twentieth century *vitality* was applied quite independently of its scientific usage. For example, an introduction to a selection of Irish dance music tunes beguiles the reader by arguing that: 'Spiritless music means that there is a lack of 'Rhythmic Vitality' – which is part of the player′s own soul' (Mac Fionnlaoic 1939).

Kennedy's emphasis on *vitality* can be linked to the concept of *naturalness*, another recurring Kennedian theme. Both *vitality* and *naturalness* are inherently related to his ecological analogies, particularly of *infection* but also of the *rhythmic* motion found in the natural and animal worlds.[23] Within Kennedy's schema, naturalness is also used in relation to a connection with the primitive or pre-adult self. Douglas Kennedy's belief in children as tradition bearers is one overt example of this overlapping thematic interpretation between naturalness, evolutionism, and primitivism (Kennedy, D. 1959a). Kennedy argued that the origin of dance is found within the natural impulses of the young:

> The surplus energy of the child, who in this respect is just like any young growing animal, overflows in rhythmic bursts, in leaps, gambols, capers and jigging around. These bursts have a pleasurable feeling and so call for repetition. This leads ultimately to what we call dance.
>
> (Kennedy, H. and Kennedy, D. 1960:5)

Douglas and Helen Kennedy supported the idea that dance is a naturally occurring phenomenon arising from our pre-human selves which children can access more easily than adults (cf. Kennedy, D. 1950c, Kennedy, D. 1964:35-39).[24] In the above example, British folk dance descriptors, 'jigs' and 'capers' are used, re-enforcing the perceived link between tradition, childhood, primitiveness, and nature. Such ideas cannot pass without comment, the analogising of 'primitive' natives to the Western-European child was a widely reiterated trope in western European literature and reflected the suppressive

[23] Such as the metaphors used in the instructional film *The Cumberland Square Eight Dance* (Kennedy, D., and Kennedy, H. 1955), and pamphlet *Walking on Air* (Kennedy, D., and Kennedy, H. 1939).
[24] Dance anthropologist Drid Williams notes the propensity for many western dance writers to associate dance with 'releasing their inhibitions' (1991:25).

attitudes of paternalism commonly exhibited by white colonisers (Johoda 1999, Saminaden et.al 2010).[25]

In his retirement Kennedy reflected that the most important development from his time as director of the EFDS/S had been the broader acceptance of the idea 'that folk is basic to the art[s]' (Kennedy, D. 1973). For Kennedy this understanding of folk dance and music was an achievement, as it was hoped that those in charge of government artistic policy would view folk as worthy of attention for the useful foundation upon which art could be built. However this foundational approach to folk dance is problematic in that it perpetuates a pyramidic conceptualisation of culture, with folk and other 'primitive' native dances at the bottom of the structure and ballet at the top. This has been criticised as enforcing a western-biased class hierarchy which helps to perpetuate a racist evolutionary framework of white privilege (Buckland 2014:174-175, Grau 1998:197-8, Williams 1991:55).

Dancing in general, and folk dance in particular (perhaps because of its reputation as a naïve art form) has been continuously associated with naturalness in histories and popular writings (Grau 1998, Williams 1991:55). Certainly, Kennedy was not the only advocate of 'natural' dancing at the turn of the twentieth century. Proponents of modern dance also discussed the naturalness of their approach when compared to the ballet derived dance style which was still the most popular theatrical form (Fensham and Carter 2011). The stress upon the perceived naturalness of dance was made apparent when the dominant framework of dance history shifted from a classical to an evolutionary perspective in the late nineteenth century (Buckland 2014). The evolutionary slant of Kennedy's ideas

[25] It is this infantilisation of European peasants, dance researcher Antony Shay argues, which led to the idea in North America that folk dances were especially suitable for school physical education programmes (Shay 2008:77-78).

reflected concepts within influential publications such as *World History of the Dance* (1937) in which Curt Sachs disseminated the simple evolutionary view that dancing comes from the animal world and that the complexity of dancing exhibited by cultures corresponds to their level of evolutionary attainment (Youngerman 1974, Williams 1991).

Whilst country dancing was not directly associated by Kennedy or Sharp with pre-Christian religious ritual to the same level as morris or sword dancing, Kennedy nonetheless links English social folk dancing to: 'processions and ritual rounds of the spring-time customs' and 'the sharing of the fertility medicine by the medicine man with the unmarried girls' (Kennedy, D. 1964:81-82). Such attitudes towards folk or traditional dance were heavily influenced by armchair anthropologist James Frazer's masterpiece *The Golden Bough* (Williams 1991:69-71, Buckland 2001/2, Alford 1971:95-96). This twelve-volume tome, which followed Tylor's 'culture of survivals' model argued that all aspects of folklore were the remains of ancient pre-Christian practice (Hutton 1999). As Buckland has noted (1982:10) Sharp's post-1909 Frazerian inspired theory suggested that social dances did not originate as simple recreation but from 'the May Day Ritual' (Sharp 1934:7). Kennedy's ideas expanded upon Sharp's later theories, and Kennedy's contributions to *Chamber's Encyclopaedia* in the 1950s and 1960s were based upon the Frazarian/Tylorian model of cultural survival (Buckland 1983:318).

Kennedy wrote scathingly of dancers, many of whom would have been Society members, who would not or could not adopt his feelings-based approach. In the following quote he uses the word *crank* which was a pejorative descriptor, associated at the time with fringe lifestyle interests including sandals, socialism, and fresh air (Simons 2019:24).

> The over-civilised "heathens" whose ideas of motion are derived from machines and whose idea of a dance-walk is to emphasise each beat, will march about using their limbs as pistons, cogs and levers instead of as living flesh through which the ripples of energy can flow. Such people are the real cranks of this world who will never function properly in a community dance.
>
> (Kennedy, D. 1940a:4)

Modernist scholar Rishona Zimring has characterised Kennedy's position as 'anti-modern' (Zimring 2013:140-141) and is hard to escape Kennedy's explicitly negative view of technological advance, and his unflattering analogies of 'thinking' dancers (possibly the majority of the contemporary EFDSS membership), as machines.[26]

Kennedy's problematic analogies of the ills of the modern age were far from unique (Trentmann 1994, Moore-Colyer 1999). These ideas utilised one stereotype of past humanity, which still continues to resonate today. This premised a fantasised view of 'primitive' culture as a natural and more harmonious mode of being.[27] In this schema, technological advance represented a shift away from a more traditional situation of community and shared value to one of individualism (Miller 2016:4).[28] In 1969 folklorist Alan Dundes argued that this orientation was common amongst folklorists whose work was premised on a 'devolutionary principle' whereby folk-culture is inevitably tied to past

[26] Although Derek Schofield has cautioned that to apply this label to Kennedy without additional qualification is to ignore Kennedy's explicitly contemporary re-branding of folk dance at this time (Schofield 2014b:42-43).
[27] Michael Bell explores a number of iterations of primitivism in literature in his introductory text of 1972. He focuses on famous authors of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, such as DH Lawrence and Herman Melville, whose work Kennedy may well have read (Bell 1972).
[28] Raymond Williams charted how this fear of change is not new and can be traced back in literature to the Renaissance period (Williams 1973). As Finnegan has discussed, this dualism between pre/industrialisation was a main narrative of urban academic theorising throughout the twentieth century (1998:16-18).

rather than present practices. Such romance of the past, and scepticism of the present, has played, and continues to play, an important role in shaping British attitudes in many facets of life, from organic farming (Simons 2019:82), and the revival of witchcraft (Hutton 1999), to the appeal of village life (Goodwin-Hawkins 2016).

Post retirement Kennedy penned two lengthy articles to *Folklore* on 'Human Ecology'.[29] These articles argued that there is a 'folk-knack' of mind-body balance, which is found in the 'true countryman' but which is 'damaged or overlaid by schooling and sophistication' (Kennedy, D. 1965:82). Similarly, Kennedy advocated folk traditions, including dancing, as a cure to help the 'fragmented individuals' caused by modern society (cf. Trentmann 1994:599). Tradition, he argued, helps to re-unite individuals with their bodily feelings and thus prevents them from becoming 'social misfits' (Kennedy, D. 1966:82-83).[30] Certainly, Kennedy blamed the societal changes brought about by industrialisation for providing the biggest barrier to the popularity of folk dance in contemporary England (Kennedy 1949b:135).

[29] The idea of human ecology, the interdisciplinary study of humankind and the environment was developed in the 1920s (Shepard 1967). Influential British biologist George Stapledon, a contemporary of Kennedy, published *Human Ecology* in 1964. It is known than Stapledon corresponded with members of the Kinship in Husbandry group of which Kennedy was a founding member (Moore-Colyer 1999).

[30] Regarding Douglas Kennedy's attitude towards morris dancing, Boyes has argued that Kennedy's support for a lost age in part explains his sympathy for the Germanic concept of *Männerbünde* (male-group). German anthropologist Heinrich Schurtz (1863-1903) had theorized that the *Männerbünde* was an integral, and now lost, part of the societies of all primitive peoples. Boyes argued that Kennedy's enthusiasm, or at the very least sympathy for *Männerbünde,* a concept later associated with Nazism, led to his support for the foundation of the all-male dance association The Morris Ring (Boyes 2010:94).

2:3:4 The Square Dance Boom

Kennedy created the template for contemporary social folk dance events, but it was fortuitous that his changes coincided with a popular dance craze. Whilst Kennedy had been encouraging the use of square dances since the late 1930s, it was only when square dances entered the 'popular dance hall' that the public showed any great interest (Aldis 1959:28). The alignment between the EFDSS, square dancing, and the entertainment industry, probably helped to cement an association between barn dancing and Americana which has continued into the twenty-first century. This alignment reflects the culturally close relationship of the two countries, where white, rural heritage can be seen as both British/English but also American.

Links had been cultivated between U.S. and English folk revival dancers since Cecil Sharp's first collecting trip to the Appalachian mountains in 1916, so Kennedy's enthusiasm for the square dancing was in many respects in accordance with the established party line. Kennedy saw square dancing in Massachusetts in 1927 and 1928, courtesy of the Country Dance Society (the North American branch of the EFDSS) and upon a return visit in 1937 Douglas and Helen saw square dancing in ten States including Ohio, Tennessee, and Chicago (Illinois) (Kennedy, D. [1973]:273). The findings of this trip culminated in an experiment in square dancing at the Stratford-upon-Avon festival (in 1938), and the publication of *Square Dances of America* (1939) (Kennedy, D. 1939a, 1939b, and 1952a:111). By 1941 Helen Kennedy was able to identify a 'vogue' for American squares amongst members of the EFDSS (Kennedy, H. 1941:29). During WWII Douglas and Helen Kennedy had played at dances for American servicemen (Kennedy, P. 1985:15); United States Red Cross clubs had regularly sponsored evenings of square dancing in Britain (Nott 2015:119); and 'genuine American callers – servicemen who had

dropped in for the party', facilitated at dances in the Swedish Church Hall in Marylebone, London (Fraser 1962:66-67). The EFDSS started Saturday night square dances in 1945 and within five years these had proved to be so popular that the Society had to develop a range of ticketing techniques to both control attendance and to boost EFDSS membership (Kennedy, D. 1950a:17, 1952b:159, *ED&S* 1952a:108).

The increasingly pro-American cultural zeitgeist post-WWII gave increased traction to Kennedy's ideas: square dancing was considered to be 'just the thing to attract' male participants, particularly younger men leaving the services (Kennedy, D. 1945b:19). More generally, the end of WWII saw a widespread adulation of American culture in Britain, which was especially prevalent amongst the young. The British folk song movement, for example, was strongly influenced by North American practices and material (Cohen and Donaldson 2014). The fear of popular American music driving out British culture was, music historians argue, a reoccurring concern amongst the cultural elite (Cloonan 2007:7-12, Nott 2002).[31] Although cultural historian Adrian Horn, has argued that it would be unwise to exaggerate the extent to which the British young unconsciously aped Americanisms without modification (2007:68-69).

In Britain the dance style often associated with 1950s America is 'Rock n Roll', but perhaps square dancing was a similar expression of interest in the land of opportunity. A physical analogy between rock and roll and square dancing can be found in dancing attire; a circle skirt, made of wool and supported by petticoats (sometimes known as a poodle skirt), is an iconic symbol of 1950s American youth fashion and was used by both female square dancers and the EFDSS's demonstration team from the 1950s until the 1970s. One

[31] This was of course far from a novel situation, with American dance inventions such the Boston Waltz and 'jazz' dancing causing similar discontent in the 1910s and 1920s (Buckland 2011:196-181, Abra 2017:23).

oral history interviewee recalled going to square dances held at a school in Aylesbury in the 1950s when she was about fifteen. At this event she wore a circular cut 'beautiful felt skirt with umpteen petticoats' (Anonymous 24.7.17).

Members of the EFDSS were not the only proponents of square dancing in England. Outside of the Society experiments in teaching squares were being considered by some British dance teachers as early as 1944 (Nott 2015:119). In the 1940s and 1950s, square dancing had a much greater popular visibility than English social folk dance, thanks to its inclusion in widely distributed American films.[32] Square dancing also had a noticeable British radio and television presence with personnel often connected to dance schools and professional teaching alliances.[33] By December 1950 BBC radio had already broadcast four episodes of *Happy Hoe Down* produced by David Miller. This ran until 1954 broadcasting 67 episodes including three television specials.[34] One television episode (7.8.52) featured "cowboy" acts, instructional information on how to do a 'Basket', and demonstrations from two different dance schools (A.H.F. 1952:653). Some of Miller's programmes included the calling of Bob Franks and his demonstration team (The Happy Hoedowners).[35] Franks taught at the North London School of Dancing and was connected to the International Dancing Masters Association. *Happy Hoedown* competed for

[32] Including: *Gone with the Wind* (1939), *Destry Rides Again* (1939), *My Darling Clementine* (1946), *Welcome Stranger* (1947), *The War of the Worlds* (1953), *Shane* (1953), *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers* (1954), *Oklahoma* (1955) and *The Searchers* (1957).
[33] The following data has been taken from the BBC Genome Project. Available at: https://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/ (Accessed 17.1.20).
[34] David Miller also directed contemporary BBC radio programmes *National Barn Dance* and *Big Bill's Prairie Round-Up.*
[35] A Hammersmith Magazine film of Bob Frank's Happy Hoedowners [1952], is archived by Film London. 'Bob Franks and His Happy Hoe Downers Square Dancing to Chris Stone'. Available at: www.londonsscreenarchives.org.uk (Accessed: 17.1.20). In this film the demonstration team can be seen doing a do-si-do with arms crossed in the 'hornpipe' position.

audiences with *National Barn Dance.* This was broadcast on the Light Programme and featured English ballroom dancer Cecil Ruault (1895-1985) who co-arranged the dances published in *American Square Dances: As Broadcast in "Happy Hoe Down"* (Ruault and Galloway 1951).[36] Another similar programme was *Square Dance Revels* which was produced by Charles Chilton (1917-2013) and broadcast in five episodes on BBC radio in 1952.[37]

Square dancing received visible royal support in 1951 when the then Princess Elizabeth and her husband Prince Phillip toured Canada and were photographed square dancing (Walkowitz 2010:180-182). Pictures of the Royal couple were circulated in the British press sparking a surge of demand (Mackenzie King 1952:v). Bearing in mind the widespread interest in the private lives of the British royal family (Cannadine 1983, 1989), this was a highly influential publicity coup for both dance academy affiliated square dance teachers, and the EFDSS.[38] The souvenir programme of the royal tour to Canada excitedly describes the event thus:

[36] Ruault was chair of the sequence dance branch of the Imperial Society for Teachers of Dancing, from the branch's formation in 1947 until 1980, publishing *Old Time Dancing* in 1964 (Wykes 2014:2).
[37] Charles Chilton was known for his radio series *Riders of the Range* (1948-1953), *Journey into Space* (1953-1956), and *The Long Long Trail* (1961), which was developed by Joan Littlewood and the Theatre Workshop into the musical *Oh What a Lovely War* (1963).
[38] Interestingly the same cannot be said for the longstanding involvement of her sister. Princess Margaret was President of the EFDSS from 1948-1960. Although all accounts of her presidency are reported enthusiastically within *ED&S* I have not found any suggestion that her appointment and long standing involvement sparked any level of popular interest in English folk dance.

> The Duke christens his new blue jeans, check shirt and red choker (he forgot to take off the price ticket!) and responds with a will to the "caller's" instructions during a Country Square Dance at Rideau Hall […] In checked blouse, swinging skirt of steel blue with amusing appliqué figures, Princess Elizabeth wends her way gracefully through the intricacies of "Cattle in the Crop."
>
> (Packard 1951:11)

Very shortly afterwards, showman turned holiday entrepreneur Billy Butlin (1899-1980) sent staff member Kay Bury to New York to learn how to square dance. By November the 24th, the Butlin's team were demonstrating square dancing for BBC television (*Illustrated Weekly* 1951). They performed at prestigious London venues including the Savoy, The Ritz, and Grosvenor House doing square dancing in the cabaret spot and then getting the audience up to dance (Read 1986:159-160, Ferry 2016:236). They made several other radio and television appearances including *Coronation Ball* (1953), and *Come Dancing* (1952-3), produced a number of records including *Soldiers Joy/Virginia Reel* (1951), and a square dancing booklet: *Francis and Day's Square Dance Instructions Calls and Music* (Hicks 1952). *Francis and Day's* included photographs of the Butlin's square dance team, the men in checked shirts and dungarees, the women in prairie-style checked dresses and bonnets. The foreword credits only the Butlin's team for the successful reintroduction of square dances to Britain.

Peter Kennedy recalled that the square dance boom had 'unearthed pistol-packing cowboys and cowgirls across the land' [2006]. Dancers arrived at Cecil Sharp House dressed in 'cowboy hat, sheriff's badge, [and] spurs' wanting to do do-si-dos (Kennedy, P. 1964). In the 1950s, square dances would have been some of the first places in Britain where denim jeans were worn, especially for evening attire, and their association with North America would have been apparent (Kennedy, P. [2006], Harris 2002). Some events

were described as being like 'wild-west cowboy romps […] the fancy dress balls of square dancing' (Cooper 1954:5). Even though the EFDSS and its American offshoot the Country Dance Society did not encourage the use of such fancy dress (Kennedy, D. 1950b:37-38), it would have been hard to ignore its apparent popularity. Peter Kennedy himself was photographed calling at dances wearing a cowboy hat (Schofield 2018), whilst *The American Cowboy Square Dance Book*, published in London, which included an introduction by Douglas Kennedy praising the author's 'authentic tradition', was illustrated by images of men in western or cowboy style front-yoked shirts, and women in large prairie-style dresses (Clossin and Hertzog 1951).

The EFDSS used square dancing to promote enthusiasm for English folk dance material, and this had started prior to Princess Elizabeth's trip to Canada. In a fit of square dance enthusiasm which belied any historical accuracy Kennedy would write that in essence square dancing is: 'old[er] than anything found in Playford […] a veteran among the traditionals' (Kennedy, D. 1947:6). The cover of the 1947 edition of *CDM1* advertises that it includes melodies 'suitable for Circle and Square Dances' (EFDSS 1947). The young royals' dalliance provided further opportunities for cultivating an association between square dancing and the EFDSS in the minds of the English public. The Society embarked on a joint venture with entertainment corporation Mecca Dancing Ltd. to run the 'Everybody Swing' square dances in the Lyceum ballroom, London. Both Peter Kennedy and entertainer Charles Chilton were employed to call at these events (Kennedy, P. [2006], English [2012]). These evenings included additional entertainment which freely mixed American and British/English cultural forms: 'special interludes of Texan Square Dancing, English Community Dancing, songs, instrumental folk music, etc.' (*ED&S* 1952b). On the back of this venture Peter Kennedy compiled *Everybody Swing: Square Dance Album Number One* (1952). In contrast to Sharp's preference for longways set dances, quadrilles

were now highly prized by the EFDSS and *Everybody Swing* included instructions for recently collected English square dances such as *La Russe, Circassian Circle,* and the *Ninepins Quadrille.*

Building upon false Sharpian notions of white English peasant culture 'preserved' in America (see Jamison 2015:60-74), the inclusion of American material and styles of calling was justified by Kennedy on the grounds of a homecoming (Kennedy D.1939b:269). In Kennedy's 1952 editorial 'The Square Dance Comes Back' square dances are described as the 'American and Canadian versions of those old country reels and hornpipes.' In this article, he invokes seventy-nine-year-old William Kimber as the 'pioneer of square dancing in England'. Once more emphasising vitality over technical precision Kennedy argued that Kimber agreed with him that it is the sense and purpose of these dances more than the figures and the style which are important (Kennedy, D. 1952a:111). At the height of the square dance boom, Kennedy explained how his usage of the term *square dance* as an event name was not limited to dances in square formation, instead it embraced a wider sense of 'country tradition' which extended to '[o]ur traditional forms of English origin' in whatever formation evokes 'the same country magic' (Kennedy, D. 1952a:111, see also Kennedy 1939b:268).

It is clear that the EFDSS benefitted from the square dance boom (Anon 1952a).[39] Within the Society, however, there were concerns about the motives and knowledge of many square dance teachers. There was a clear financial incentive for the EFDSS to be recognised as the body especially qualified to teach this dance form. Douglas Kennedy

[39] The names of some of the groups who affiliated to the Society in 1955 bear testimony to the overlap in terminology and interest: Old Mill Square Dance Club - Bath, Westerham British Legion Square Dance Club - Kent, Bristol Folk House: Folk and Square Dance Club, and The Challoner Club: Square Dance Section - London (*ED&S* 1955:37).

emphasised that the EFDSS had unique knowledge of the dance in its rural North American context. This he contrasted with the 'rapid commercial exploitation' of alternative providers (Kennedy 1952a:111). However, dance teachers with years of experience in the entertainment industry proved to be stiff competition for the EFDSS, as the Kennedys freely admitted the Society was ill equipped to deal with the sudden rush of interest (Kennedy, D.1951, Kennedy H., and Kennedy D. 1961:8). Indeed, at the height of the boom, Kennedy raised concerns that the EFDSS was not reaping the full financial benefits of the popular square dance harvest. Insinuating a unique bond between square dancing and the EFDSS, he openly criticised those who sent money raised at square dances to other charitable causes: 'I naturally feel that the proper charity to benefit from the Square Dance popularity is the E.F.D. and S.S., which did so much to prepare the ground' (Kennedy, D. 1951:185).

It is possible to witness legacies of the overlap between English social folk dance and the square dance boom in some specific bodily movements used by participants at tyro dances. In particular the practice of doing a 'Do-Si-Do' with the arms crossed in front of the torso in 'sailor' or 'hornpipe' style. This styling was not taught by the EFDSS or by clubs affiliated to the British Association of American Square Dance Callers (established 1953). Indeed the 'Do-Si-Do' movement did not become a standard back-to-back figure until the mid-1950s; until then it could describe a variety of partner or solo figures. American square dance handbooks were more numerous than British publications (Timmins 1952:470), but manuals from both sides of the Atlantic advocated a variety of 'Do-Si-Do' movements and arm stylings. At least three British published manuals illustrated or described a position where the arms are crossed on the 'Do-Si-Do' (Franks 1952a, Hicks 1952, McNair 1951:31). Two of these handbooks (Franks 1952a, Hicks 1952) are affiliated to British square dance display groups, Bob Frank's Happy

Hoedowners and The Butlin's Square Dance Display Team. It is possible that some people who learnt square dancing at holiday camps, or from the television passed on such styling to others. Certainly, in some instances it was taught in school lessons as part of learning how to do a 'Do-Si-Do', or 'Back to Back' (Valerie Symon I:5.11.17).[40]

The square dance boom is usually viewed as having passed its commercial peak by 1954. Yet the influence of this popular dance movement on English social folk dance events was still tangible during my fieldwork. Aspects of tyro barn dance culture which sit uncomfortably with some keen dancers, such as dressing up as cowboys, using tunes such as *Campdown Races* or *She'll be Coming Round the Mountain*, appear to derive from attempts to popularise English folk dancing by associating it with a particular interpretation of white Americana. As historian, musician, and EFDSS critic Reg Hall reflected: 'the English idea of what Hillbillys were' (I: 13.10.17).

[40] American dance historian Phil Jamison has suggested that the introduction of crossed arms came from the teaching of folk dance educationalist Elizabeth Burchenal (1875-1959), the founder of the American Folk Dance Society (established 1916) (Jamison 2015:236). An early illustration of a crossed armed do-si-do is found in *Dances of our Pioneers* (1926) by Grace Ryan, a pupil of Burchenel (Jamison 2002:16).

2:3:5 Conclusion

The contemporary English social folk dance event is an amalgam of many different influences. It primarily follows the pattern laid out not by Cecil Sharp, who focused on Playford material, but by his successor, Douglas Kennedy. Repudiating Sharp's stress upon technique, Kennedy's emphasis on participation created a new paradigm for English social folk dance. Such an approach was no doubt given a great fillip by the EFDSS's deliberate cultivation of association with American square dancing.

In the 1940s Douglas Kennedy developed an alternative approach to English social folk dance which was to become normal for tyro dancers. He advocated that the key duty of the EFDSS was not to cater to a minority of keen dancers but to, in essence, give folk dances back to the masses. This was part of a broader ideology of primitive culturalism. In Kennedy's more esoteric writings 'folk' is posited as a saving force for a humanity made ill through industrialisation and concomitant social change (Kennedy, D. 1965, 1966). Whilst he did not succeed in recruiting any more than 11,684 members to the EFDSS (0.03% of the English population in the 1951 census), he did create a template for a certain type of social dance event.[41] These events normally use Kennedy's framework: simple, figuratively repetitive dances, callers rather than teachers, and wherever possible a live folk band. Once referred to by Douglas Kennedy and other members of the EFDSS in the 1940s as *community dances*, they are now more likely to be called *barn dances* or *ceilidhs*.

In the process of re-branding social folk dance, Kennedy utilised pre-existing Anglo-American cultural associations. Building on the concept of a shared English heritage, Kennedy encouraged hybridization between American and English folk dance

[41] Figure taken from the English Folk Dance and Song Society's *Annual Report* 1954/1955. This number combines both 'Associate' and 'Full' membership figures.

forms. This was epitomised in the square dance, a form viewed by the EFDSS as both English and American. This was a shrewd economic decision at a time when American culture had a strong youth following in Britain. The entangled history of the square dance boom and the EFDSS explains the continued association between barn dances and Americana witnessed at some tyro dances during my field research. The next chapter explores the continued developments of English social folk dance after the retirement of Douglas Kennedy on the 31st of December 1961.

2:4 The Post-Kennedy Years: 1962-2020

2:4:1 Introduction

After a five-year period of administration under Stephen Pratt, Sydney "Nibs" Matthews (1920-2006) was appointed artistic director of the EFDSS in 1966. Matthews remained in position until his retirement in 1985. The paper trail left behind by Matthews is much smaller than that left by his predecessor, and his approach has been characterised as being much more 'reactive' than Kennedy's.[1] As Schofield's obituary records Matthews' grew up in Bishop Stotford (Hertfordshire), his father was a decorator and his mother a school cook. He joined a folk dance class aged twelve, and rose to prominence within the Society primarily as a result of his dancing ability (Schofield 2006b).[2] Whilst Kennedy's directorship and the square dance craze ushered in a time of boom for the EFDSS Matthew's directorship, saw the start of a slow decline. *English Dance and Song* presented an increasingly introspective public front with National Folk Week in 1967 one of only a small handful of new schemes to drum up publicity. It has been widely argued that opportunities to monetise the popular folk song movement and thus improve the EFDSS's general appeal were missed (e.g. Arthur 2000:29, Brocken 2003:45-47, Long 2008:78,87, Marriot[t]1998, Schofield 1985a:6).[3] The popularity of parody organisation the Dance Earnestly and Forget about Song Society accounts of which were published in *Froots* the world music magazine during the 1980s, underlined the extent to which song

[1] The word *reactive* was used by Derek Schofield to summarise his views on Matthews' position (in conversation 5.2.18). Similar views were expressed by Tony Foxworthy, who recalled how Matthews did not support his new idea of holding ceilidhs but was always supportive of holding Playford style dances (I: 23.11.17).
[2] Posthumous reminisces of Matthews can be found in *ED&S* 68.2 (2006) pp.22-23.
[3] A survey conducted thirty-four years after the start of Matthew's directorship found that 76% of EFDSS members were interested in country dance, 56% in Playford, and 22% in ceilidh. Only 27% were interested in song (EFDSS 2000).

enthusiasts believed that the EFDSS catered primarily for keen dancers (Mudcat Café 2009).

It was the folk song revival of the 1950s which gave birth to a new interpretation of English social folk dance in the late 1960s – the ceilidh movement. The *ceilidh movement* is a term for a loosely affiliated group of bands and callers who adopted *ceilidh* to mean an event which was notably different from the *dances* held by folk dance clubs. The somewhat ironic choice of the word *ceilidh,* which has obvious Celtic derivation for what was a particularly Anglocentric interpretation of social folk dance, stems from the desire to demarcate a distinction from the *dances* run by the older generation of keen social folk dancers and the tyro *barn dances*, which were often American themed. The word and usage of *ceilidh* in its Scottish/Irish context had been known to some English folk musicians such as Pat Shaw and Peter Kennedy since the 1940s (Godrich 2010:233, Hall 2014:24, Matthews 1991:10).[4] In the 1960s *ceilidh* started to be adopted as an event descriptor, although initially for music and song rather than dance (Schofield 2006).[5] By the 1970s, *ceilidh* was often used to describe an evening of predominantly English social folk dancing, often with an interval containing song, music and/or a performative folk dance display. Its adoption perhaps indicates the extent to which Scottish/Irish ceilidhs were viewed as culturally embedded. An enviable position which English folk dancers also wished to attain.

[4] Ron Smedley, formerly an EFDSS employee used to visit Irish 'Ceilidhes' in Hoxton, London in the late 1940s and early 1950s, a time when céilí dancing was popular in Ireland and also with the Irish diaspora (I: 3.7.17, Smedley 1956:217, Cullinane 1998:14-17).
[5] The organisers of an early English 'ceilidhe' held by the Warwickshire and Birmingham EFDSS district in 1956 hoped that the evening would be a site for the cultivation of 'group spirit' in addition to technical proficiency. The evening included songs, comic skits, Playford, morris, Scottish, and 'general' dancing (Kinsman 1956:145, see Schofield 2006).

Sections 2:4:2 and 2:4:3 explain the declining influence of the EFDSS during Matthews' directorship. The demise of the EFDSS as a guiding force is contrasted with an exploration of the ceilidh dance movement. By the 1960s the approach taken by many folk dance clubs was markedly different from the ideal espoused by Kennedy in the 1940s. Many dance clubs had returned to complicated dances, utilising the Playford repertoire, as well as American (derived and inspired) squares and contras (longways dances). Recently composed material also played a growing role (see 2:5:4 and 2:6:6). 2:4:4 explores the development of tyro dance events specifically. It contextualises the increasing interest in such events during the 1970s focusing on the normalisation of social folk dance and the declining appeal of ballroom dancing.

2:4:2 Neo-Traditionalists and The Ceilidh Movement

The start of Matthew's directorship, in 1966 coincided with a period of time which has been referred to as the *second* (Buckland 2006b:202), or *third* (Stanfield 2008:35) folk dance revival.[6] Folk dance researcher Elaine Bradtke describes this period as being one of 'flux' with the appeal of the EFDSS waning because it 'supported a narrow interpretation [and] discouraged any variance from the established norm' (Bradtke 1997:1). The 1950s had seen the start of a revisionist agenda to folk song scholarship (e.g. Reeves 1958) and such an approach became the new critical paradigm upon which most subsequent research and public commentary were based (cf. Palmer-Heathman 2016:10, Roud 2017:177). The EFDSS was by no means the only established folk dance institution under criticism. In 1960s Scandinavia the established revival movement was under intense scrutiny for

[6] 1965-1980 saw a new wave of folk dance research in England which ushered in the revival of performative dance styles such as *north-west* morris (Lancashire and Cheshire), *border* morris (Herefordshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire), and *molly* dancing (Cambridgeshire and the Fens). Women also started to form morris teams and The Women's Morris Federation was formed in 1975.

'having lost all contact with its roots' (Bakka 1999:74). Referring primarily to his own experiences in Norway Egil Bakka uses the term *neo-traditionalist* to refer to enthusiasts who wanted to re-shape folk dance whilst continuing to believe in the importance of revival. In the words of Bakka neo-traditionalists:

> wished to retain the idea of revival, but saw the need to redefine its material, its methods and, even to some degree, its aims. The very basis for these neo-traditionalists was the collection of new material.
>
> (Bakka 1999:74)

Bakka referred to neo-traditionalism as a trend or tendency amongst folk dancers, arguing that *neo-traditionalism* cannot be understood as an organised global movement. But in the growing body of work done so far on folk dance revival it is revealing that similar trends have been noted elsewhere. Folk dance scholar Antony Shay has discussed a change of direction by North American performers of international folk dance in the latter half of the twentieth century (Shay 2008:13). Buckland has also documented a similar neo-traditionalist or purist turn within folk dance revival practices in England, primarily amongst those interested in performative dance types. This manifested itself in a greater focus upon regional differences (Buckland 2006b:202).

Other terms denoting a similar turn have been proposed by music historians. Brocken has referred to the 'connoisseur' singer who often has a strong interest in history (2003:112-113), whilst music historian Britta Sweers has commented upon an 'almost academic approach' to material amongst some English folk performers of the 1970s. She noted the trend for some singers to delve into archival repositories to produce extensive sleeve notes for their recordings (Sweers 2005:226). It is possible that this interest can be linked to the growth of Higher Education provision (Buckland 2018b:313). Mackinnon's

1986/7 survey of folk song club attendees found that clubs attracted a proportionately higher number of graduates (MacKinnon 1993:44). The Education Act of 1944 aimed to equip more children for university and in the late 1950s and 1960s the number of institutions expanded to cope with greater student numbers. Individuals from lower income households had greater opportunities to access university education. With more graduates than ever before, it was perhaps inevitable that these individuals would use their training to take a critical stance towards the existing folk dance and music revival.

The number of folk song clubs had blossomed from approximately nine in 1959 to seventy-eight in 1962 (Schofield 1988:25-26).[7] By the 1970s, many song clubs had branched out into dance, holding social dances, fostering barn dance bands, and creating morris teams (Arthur 1984:14-15, Moule 1972, *ED&S* 1971). Festivals provided an opportunity for singers and session musicians to experience social folk dance. Caller Hugh Rippon recalled the impact that the song-based 1965 festival at Keele University had in encouraging folk singers to take up dance.

> Right at the end of that weekend, on the Sunday, we were sitting in the bar. There were about 50 of us, playing tunes, and people started dancing and they didn't know what to do so it was a bit random. But after that many of the folk song clubs said 'oh we'll dance as well' so they added that to what they were doing.
>
> (Hugh Rippon I: 11.7.17)

[7] The EFDSS were notably slow to encourage a working relationship with folk song clubs, belatedly establishing the Folksong Federation in 1964 (Kennedy, P. 1989).

There was felt to be both a generational and ideological divide between the EFDSS members, who were mostly social dancers, and the new song enthusiasts (see Brocken 2003:110). Folk singer Paul Snow recalled his personal experiences of that time:

> the singers who were mostly young and enthusiastic who saw the society [the EFDSS] as run by old people who had no interest in song. The 'old' people on the other hand, probably looked upon the young singers as a bunch of stoned hippies with no idea or knowledge of English traditions [...] We were very much a left wing motivated crowd and although idealistic, probably very naive.
>
> (Paul Snow e-mail 29.3.18)

Similarly, L.E. Samson from Leicester folk band the Woollybacks recalled:

> When we first arrived on the scene there was a noticeable gulf between the folk song addicts and those whose main interest was in dancing. The two activities attracted different types. My first recollection of a Society dance was of a small, respectable, sombre affair in a school hall (because it's cheap) with modest refreshments (no bar!) and dancers comprising mainly middle-aged couples with more than a fair proportion of these employed in the pedagogic profession. The Folk Song Clubs inhabited a different world, noise, smoke, booze and excitement prevailed.
>
> (Samson 1972)

Caller Roger Watson describes the appearance of two couples who represented to him the two types of keen folk dancer. The couple with 'long hair, sawn off jeans and shapeless tee-shirts' were the folk song/ceilidh enthusiasts, whilst the pair in 'late-middle-aged, he in neatly pressed trousers and tie, she in immaculate cotton frock' (Watson 1983:20) the

conventional folk dancers. Any animosity appears to have been reciprocal. Whilst for some EFDSS members, the 'scruffy' image of some folk song/ceilidh adherents was an embarrassment (Wallace 1978:18), many ceilidh/song enthusiasts scorned the EFDSS anyway, viewing it as an *institution*, a nationwide organisation with little sympathy towards the counter-cultural ideals of many new folk song/ceilidh adherents (Dashwood and Dashwood 1994:18, Panton 2018, Kennedy, P.1989).

An important additional element in the development of ceilidh dancing was the role of morris dancers. Starting in the late 1960s, morris dancing had experienced another revival. Many new teams were formed at this point, a number of which were in the neo-traditionalist vein, and utilised different interpretations such as slower dancing tempos (Stanfield 2008:35-38). The team or club structure of many morris dancing sides in the 1960s and 1970s created additional opportunities to be involved with social dancing. Many morris teams were invited to perform at folk festivals, and many held private events which often included social dance alongside food, singing, and perhaps comic skits.[8]

A clear example of the link between folk club, morris team, and the ceilidh movement can be found in the song and dance culture supported by John Heydon. Heydon took over the organisation of the Harrow (London) based Herga Folk Club in 1966 and continued to be involved for the next 23 years. The song club, which had in its early days stronger ties to the Woodcraft Folk[9] than to the EFDSS, had always run about four dances

[8] From 2008-2016 I was a member of a number of morris teams, based in the south of England. This is my experience of various 'ales', or 'days of dance', combined with the recollections of older dancers remembering similar events of twenty to thirty years previously.

[9] Woodcraft Folk were established in south London in 1924 as a breakaway group from Kibbo Kift, a pacifist organisation with its own origins in the Scouting movement. From the start Woodcraft Folk was a voluntary group for children of both sexes which had a strong focus on camping and other outdoor pursuits. They have always had strong links

a year.[10] In 1967, the club took around 100 people to Sidmouth festival and shortly after that Herga morris was formed. In 1971 Heydon moved to Haddenham in Buckinghamshire and established a monthly dance in the village there. Haddenham ceilidhs (which ran until 2017) always featured an alternative entertainment slot, often a display of morris dance (Heydon and Rippon 2008, Crawford 2009, Heydon Online). Hugh Rippon, who was for many years the resident caller at Haddenham ceilidhs, also had morris dancing links. He had started a team in Gloucestershire where his mother lived, then he set up Hammersmith Morris (London), revived the London University Morris, and helped establish other morris teams including The Earls of Essex, and Herga Morris (Rippon I: 11.7.17).

A crucial part of the ceilidh movement of the 1970s was an increased emphasis on Englishness. Reflecting on the history of the London-based 'Knees up Cecil Sharp' dance series (established 1976), organiser and caller Mary Panton recalled that part of their raison d'etre was the establishment of a series of dances in the English style (Bearman 2006). Ceilidh band musician John Adams described EFDSS dance bands such as The Southerners and The Ranchers as having: 'excellent musicianship but with a style that seemed to owe a little more to America than to these shores. Some of the bands even wore cowboy shirts' (Adams 2011:14). In contrast the ceilidh musicians wanted to recreate an English musical style and new bands deliberately moved away from using American and Irish tune repertoires (Worrall 2009:169-170).

An important influence was the increased availability of field recordings. The LP *English Country Music* (1965) compiled by Reg Hall, was highly influential in the creation

with the Co-operative Group (Woodcraft Folk Online). For additional information about the links between Woodcraft Folk and the EFDS/S see Trentmann 1994.

[10] Reg Hall (e-mail 30.11.2019) remembered these events being called *barn dances* not *ceilidhs*.

of a new English sound. It featured recordings of traditional southern players such as Norfolk based musicians Walter Bulwer (1888-1968), Daisy Bulwer (1892-1974), Billy Cooper (1883-1964), and Sussex based Scan Tester (1886-1972). The Old Swan Band and Flowers and Frolics (both established in 1974) were two southern groups who cultivated what they perceived to be a particularly English style of dance music (Quinn 2011). In the sleeve notes to their carefully titled 1976 debut album *No Reels*, The Old Swan Band founder Rod Stradling argued that:

> The fashion in folk dance bands over the past twenty or so years has been to borrow to a great extent from American and Gaelic sources, with regard to both material and style. But this influence owes much more to Camden Town and Country & Western/ Bluegrass (essentially urban music) than it does to Irish, Scottish or American country musicians or bands.
>
> (Stradling 1976)

Stradling argued that such bands produced an overly commercial sound which is distanced from its functionality as dance music. In contrast:

> English Country Music is being appreciated for its true qualities; the intense and broken rhythms and lack of decoration accentuating the plain but attractive melodies.
>
> (Stradling 1976)

The result was a style of dance music with a notably slower tempo and, related to this, the rejection of reels. It was considered that slowing down the tempo of the music would give more time for dancers to include stepping and discourage the practice of walking the dances, one step per beat. In particular the hornpipe (along with the polka)

started to come into greater prominence for musicians interested in an 'English' repertoire (Keegan-Phipps 2008:106).[11] As an example, the Milton Keynes based The Cock and Bull Band's album *Eyes Closed and Rocking* (1985) included two 4/4 hornpipes - *The Wonder* and *Ridotta Rock* which are played at 75 beats per minute (BPM). There is a convincing argument that the musicians of the ceilidh movement, in an attempt to create a distinctively English sound misguidedly applied the slower tempos used for schottisches and other round dances to reels and hornpipes (Schofield 1988, Reg Hall e-mail 30.11.2019). Certainly, some field recordings of musicians in the south as well as in the north appear to demonstrate a faster playing speed than that used by the ceilidh movement of the 1970s.[12]

This new style of dance music was the source of additional friction between ceilidh and folk dancers (Watson 1983, 'Spectator' 2005a:10, Schofield 2011e, Panton 2018). Musician Dave Arthur recalled that:

[11] Hornpipes have a history of being associated with England and Englishness (Bratton 1990:65). Nineteenth century dance books often viewed the hornpipe as England's national dance. The hornpipe's connection with the navy and the idea of England as a sea-faring nation probably also contributed to this association.

[12] *Boscastle Breakdown* by The Boscastle and Tintagel players from Cornwall, recorded by Richard Dimbleby for the BBC in 1943 has a BPM of 114. In the 1953 film *Any Man's Kingdom* the evening dance in Northumberland, a version of *Strip The Willow* to *The Redesdale Hornpipe* (James Hill c.1811-1853) appears to proceed at a cracking 188BPM. Agnes Chambers who grew up in Gilsland (near Carlisle) recalled that the famous Scottish musician Jimmy Shand played for a local dance and was slow hand clapped (to show displeasure) because they were used to dancing faster (e-mail from Elizabeth Lawson 8.4.18).

> For a while there was the usual folk revival phenomenon of the 'them and us' syndrome between the EFDSS style country dance bands and what were perceived by the 'establishment' as the iconoclastic 'ceilidh' bands. There was a story going round, possibly apocryphal, that at an annual general meeting at Cecil Sharp House, the names of unsuitable bands were struck off, or not included, on a list of bands deemed acceptable.
>
> (Arthur 2000:29)

In 2019 this division was still notable with keen ceilidh and folk dancers usually employing different musical styles and choreography. However, the boundaries are not immutable and a number of dancers and musicians inevitably crossed divisions. In interview Hertfordshire-based 'ceilidh' caller Barry Goodman reflected upon the extent to which divisions had broken down over time, he now regularly calls at his local folk dance club (Goodman I:23.1.18).

The ceilidh movement did not embrace the folk-dance club model for dance events, instead devising the idea of a ceilidh 'series', which were often based on folk festival events. Ceilidh series were held regularly, often monthly or twice-monthly. Gordon Potts recalled that in setting up a regular dance series in London, they wanted to create events which 'were a cross between the folk camp evening ceilidh and the late-night ceilidh at Sidmouth Folk Festival's Drill Hall' (in Catton Wilson 2016:15). By the 1980s, ceilidh series, monthly or twice monthly dances, had been established across the country and provided an additional arena for folk dance engagement.

There was also a change in approach towards the dance repertoire with a move to 'research, collate, rewrite and create a repertoire of dances to match the English tunes that had burst out from the old players' (Adams 2011:14). The selection of dances reflected a

neo-traditionalist interest in collected English sources (although not to the complete exclusion of all modern American or Irish/Scottish material) with an emphasis on figuratively simpler material. Tubby Reynolds, also a morris dancer, compiled the dance notes on the *No Reels* record sleeve. He aspired to pick dances from 'English sources' which would be useful to 'people with little dance experience' (Reynolds 1976). In his introduction Reynolds imaginatively located the origins of this type of dance and music amongst the nineteenth century labouring classes:

> The vigour which marked these occasions required slower music to fit the steps, the steps being the decoration, the formation of the dance being simple and repetitive.
>
> (Reynolds 1976)

Reynolds' sources included Sharp's *Country Dance Book* and *CDM1,2,* and *3*. Perhaps demonstrating the difficulty of tracing dance history the *No Reels* album notes also included an American contra dance *Thady U Gander* and two recent compositions (*The Willow Tree* by Hugh Rippon and *Caerphilly March* by Dave Hunt) both of which are printed without credit. Of the 1970s ceilidh repertoire, caller Gordon Potts recalled the popularity of *Cumberland Square Eight,* a dance collected in England and *Bridge of Athlone,* an Irish ceílí dance, both of which were published in the *CDMs* (Facebook Messenger 4.11.19). Similarly, Dave Hunt, who called with The Old Swan Band for over forty years recalled utilising collected dances from the *CDMs,* with some newly composed dances, and some couple dances including polkas, waltzes and sequence dances such as *The Ideal Schottische* (e-mail. 7.11.19).

The ceilidh movement encouraged a new approach to dance realisation. Mark Berry, caller with the London-based band Oak [1965-1976], members of which went on to

form The Old Swan Band, appears to have been an early pioneer of teaching dancing with stepping. According to Stradling, Mark Berry would select English dances which fitted Oak's repertoire. In the process Berry 'more or less singlehandedly said that these two fit together […] He would teach people to do the stepping and to dance them rather than step [walk] them' (in Irwin 1988:15). Interest in social dance footwork was simultaneously being fostered by The Reading Traditional Step Dance Research Team (established in 1965), members of which went on to form the Instep Research Team (established in 1980). Musician John Adams of The New Victory Band recalled seeking guidance from dance researchers Ian Dunmer and Jenny Millest who were affiliated to this group (Adams 2011:14). Referring to the dance form, rather than music metre, in 1983 Instep ran 'the campaign for real reels' which aimed to re-introduce stepping in social dance.[13] The campaign was initiated by the EFDSS and resulted in the research team running a number of workshops over the next couple of years (Metherell 1984).

The link between morris dancing and the ceilidh movement offers one explanation for the new popularity of stepping in dances. Morris dance teams, who often practice weekly, have many opportunities to practice stepping to music, raising both dancer competency and expectation. Caller and morris dancer Gordon Potts made this link explicit: 'Morris had become quite the thing with young folkies then, so enough of them **could** step to get the ball rolling' (original emphasis Facebook 4.11.2019). Influential musician John Kirkpatrick, who used to dance with Hammersmith Morris Men (where he

[13] The name choice was a witty allusion to the Campaign for Real Ale (CAMRA), which was formed as the Campaign for the Revitalisation of Ale in 1971 (CAMRA online). Indicating knowledge of CAMRA amongst English folk enthusiasts a letter in *ED&S* in 1978 asks: 'Perhaps folk enthusiasts involved in the recent highly successful Campaign for Real Ale could now direct their energy to a Campaign for Real Folk Music?' (Ridgewell 1978:104).

was taught by Hugh Rippon), recalled the appeal of stepping in country dancing, although he positions his interest in slower morris stepping as deriving from, rather than leading to, slower tempo social folk dance.

> I had a huge problem initially with country dancing. This was partly because I was consumed with embarrassment at anything to do with girls, but it was also from a great dissatisfaction with doing dances to a walking step. It seemed to me then, just as it does now, profoundly and utterly boring and pointless and stupid, in fact quite deadening. I want my dancing to be filled with life and enthusiasm and exuberance, and walking through dance figures does nothing to achieve that whatsoever.
>
> So I tended to react by wanting to dance more slowly, so you could fit in stepping, and the more abandoned and flamboyant I became, the slower the speed needed to be. I still feel like that about country dancing, and I began to apply the same feelings to morris dancing. You can give each step and flourish its full worth if you give it time. Dancing fast closed too many doors for me. I wanted to dance slowly.
>
> (Kirkpatrick 2000)

The ceilidh movement was most successful in encouraging the use of a step-hop, or hop-step to melodies in hornpipe tempo. Traces of which can still be found at tyro events today (3:8:3).

2:4:3 The Decline of the EFDSS

In 1965 *Folk Scene* published an evaluative article about the Society in which they concluded that it did not seem prepared for the change in emphasis away from folk dance towards song and music (*Folk Scene* 1965:18). Competing initiatives, initially song based clubs and festivals but later dance events such as ceilidh series were established without EFDSS affiliation and jurisdiction, whilst initiatives originally established by the Society became independent, most notably Sidmouth Folk Week in 1985 (Schofield 2005). In the 1970s instrumental folk music making in England de-formalised and increased in popularity, moving from EFDSS affiliated Players Clubs to the Irish music session model (cf. Fairbairn 1995). Sessions offered an important arena for musicians to share tunes and perform in public at the time of my research (2016-2020) many English session musicians also offered dance band services.[14]

The extent to which the business operations of the EFDSS fell below the efficiency levels sought by private companies is not known, however, during the latter years of Matthews' directorship, the EFDSS operated on a deficit budget (Jones 1986b). The organisational system was cumbersome. In 1965 the EFDSS had eleven paid staff working under the direction of a large number of elected members (122 committee members at the London Headquarters alone) which made it difficult to enact appropriate change (*Folk Scene* 1965:18). By 1986 income from the LEAs had been phased out and with it the

[14] In 2018 I regularly attended a monthly session in Ampthill (Bedfordshire). The numbers changed at each session and I am not acquainted with all of the attendees. However, musicians who regularly attended the session included; Jonathan Ginn (fiddle player) who plays in a dance band called Pinkers Spinney; former caller Sue Malleson (guitar); Pippa Sandford (concertina) who played for many years in Wild Ride a UK contradance band; and Theo Thomas (melodeon) who with session leader Rod Ward (fiddle and concertina) plays in the Abella dance band. On the 25.3.2018 I attended a music session at The Five Bells in Stanbridge (Bedfordshire) where I asked the musicians present if they had ever been in a barn dance or ceilidh band, of twenty musicians only one had not.

regional staff who had focused primarily on outreach type work, including barn dances (Dashwood and Dashwood 1994:34). A peak in membership of 11636 members in 1976/77 was followed by a gradual decline (A6:1).

The much-reduced condition of the EFDSS became overt upon Matthews' retirement in 1985. The post of director was taken up by James "Jim" Lloyd. Lloyd, who described his role as an 'enabler' voiced concern for the 'inward-looking' nature of the Society. He was a radio presenter and organiser who had much experience presenting folk music on BBC radio (Schofield 1985b, Lloyd 1986a). Lloyd published his manifesto for change, which was presented to the National Executive Committee and adopted in September 1986. Lloyd's plan included a radical restructuring, and an emphasis on the resources held in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library. In order to fund this new vision, the National Executive Committee agreed to sell Cecil Sharp House, the EFDSS headquarters building in Camden, London (Lloyd 1986b).

The implications of the plan to sell Cecil Sharp House had long lasting repercussions for membership camaraderie. Factions became visible and people became categorised between those that wanted to keep the building, often keen folk club dancers based in and around London and those that did not (Marriot[t] 1998). An example of the level of hostilities waged by the pro-sale campaign is indicated in Ian Anderson's comment in *FRoots* that the EFDSS anti-sale lobby was made up of 'an ageing bunch of reactionary tea-dancers to whom their own personal yesterday is more important than everybody else's tomorrow' (1987:13). While a decision was being reached the EFDSS worked with a skeleton staff and relied primarily on volunteer labour. Member Brenda Godrich, who also led the pressure group The Friends of Cecil Sharp House, in support of keeping the building, filled the role of honorary managing director from 1990-1993. The final decision

was that Cecil Sharp House was not to be sold. With virtually no staffing costs and nothing but essential expenditure over this period, the EFDSS became financially stable. A period of re-structuring took place, the districts established by Kennedy were disbanded, and folk-dance clubs were financially and ideologically separated from the EFDSS, who hoped that they would re-join as affiliated clubs, which many did.

The spectre of the crisis perhaps affected the successful recruitment of a suitable leader. From 1993 The National Executive Committee (later National Council) employed as *chief executives* or *administrators*, people with experience in business and/or arts management. In part this reflected the wider professionalisation of the charitable sector during this period (see Hwang and Powell 2009), however there must have been concerns regarding employing a director with a strong vision (like Lloyd) who might once again raise the question of selling Cecil Sharp House. Being chief executive of the EFDSS during the 1990s appears to have been a somewhat undesirable occupation for those employed in the post. The Board, who had run the Society without a chief executive for seven years appears to have found it difficult to step down (Bennett 2017:33). There was a fast turnover with six individuals in the role from 1993 until the appointment of Hazel Miller in 2002(-2008), and her successor Katy Spicer (2008-present).

Since its re-structuring in the 1990s there has been an increased reliance on government subsidy. Firstly, the EFDSS secured some funding from the Sports Council which paid for an education officer, but their big break came following the demise of a competing charity Folk Arts England in 2009. The EFDSS then became a Regularly Funded Organisation (later a National Portfolio Organisation) of Arts Council England

(Spicer 2009:26).[15] Financial stability has enabled the Society to secure grants successfully and has allowed staff numbers to grow accordingly. Whilst the receipt of government money no doubt increases the prestige of the EFDSS, grants come with conditions attached and initial funding from Arts Council England to the EFDSS was based upon a focus on folk music development (Spicer 2009:26). In a 2018 interview, EFDSS education director Rachel Elliott (2008-present [2021]) described how funding for recent social folk dance projects had to be secured through links to performative-based music initiatives (I:18.4.18).

The post-crisis vision of the EFDSS was as an umbrella service, representative of many different interests. The 1998 strategic plan had shied away from a dictatorial position, instead encouraging: 'diversity of repertoire, style, interpretation and influence' (EFDSS 1998:4). Variation had perhaps become, at least to keen dancers, a discernible point of difference between English social folk dance and other similar genres, particularly Scottish country dance. The employment of staff, particularly in the role of chief executive without a background in social folk dance, has obvious repercussions for the ways in which this cultural form is taught and conceptualised. Such a stance is a marked departure from the hegemonic position of Douglas Kennedy who had been publicly critical of the 'real cranks' who refused to follow his directives (Kennedy, D. 1940a:4).

[15] In 2017 individual membership stood at just 2,402 individuals and 702 affiliated groups (Gregory e-mail 10.5.18). In 2017 income from membership (excluding donations and legacies) totalled £153,917. This is dwarfed by the £366,869 brought to the charity by commercial lettings and the £676,737 through the Arts Council England grant, legacies, and donations (EFDSS 2018b).

2:4:4 The Development of Tyro Folk Dancing

After their creation in the 1940s, folk dance events for tyro dancers were to increase in profile. Within the folk revival, aspiring callers were fostered by specialist dance clubs, and later folk festivals. Outside of the EFDSS, individuals, some trained in physical education and/or entertainment also led dances and these had varying levels of similarity to Society events. This section examines the popularity of tyro barn dances in the late twentieth century arguing that the organisers of these dances increasingly valued them for their perceived casual qualities. Barn dancing underwent a process of normalisation brought about by a long period of investment in the EFDSS by LEAs. During this time an entire generation had grown to adulthood with many experiencing country dancing in school and the occasional barn dance outside of it. Normalisation was assisted by barn dances' casual connotations in terms of setting and dress which contrasted with the formalities associated with other forms of British social dance. Importantly the caller/teacher became an intrinsic part of the event, providing a comfort blanket to new or unsure dancers.

In the 1940s the LEAs took the lead in hosting folk dance events for youth clubs and group leaders (Kennedy, P. 1950b:10). The EFDSS took enquiries for dances sending approved Callers to interested parties. Within thirty years a range of voluntary membership organisations, companies, and institutions were booking dances. In 1973 a band member from Leicestershire could list bookings from the following organisations:

> Tennis, Golf, Sailing, Swimming and Young Farmers' Clubs etc.; University, Training College, Further Education and School Groups; Political and Church Groups (most varieties); Rotary Clubs; Historical Societies; Parent-Teacher Associations; Hospital Functions; Scottish, Irish and Welsh Societies; Folk Song Clubs, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and the National Association of Beekeepers.
>
> (Samson 1972:67)

Similarly, EFDSS area organiser Sibyl Clark commented that in the Midlands:

> Works Social Clubs, Rotary, Round Table, Chambers of Trade, Sports Clubs, the Police, Youth Clubs, Student Organisations and Charity Organisations of all kinds now treat Folk Dance as a normal social activity for the special occasion.
>
> (Clark 1972:7)

Callers noted an increased demand for barn dances during the 1960s and 1970s (Dashwood and Dashwood 1994:18,27, Cater 1982:27). By 1989 one estimate calculated that 2-5 million people had attended at least one hoe-down or barn dance in the previous year (Rawson 1989:7).

Concomitant with such an interest came a flourishing of folk dance bands, usually operating on a semi-professional, local basis. Brian Patrick, from Bedfordshire's The Strawplaiters recalled that in 1956 their nearest rival bands were in the neighbouring counties of Northamptonshire and Cambridgeshire. By the 1980s there were eleven bands in Bedfordshire alone (Patrick 2007:22-23). Peter Dashwood recalled that when he moved to East Anglia in 1969 to work for the EFDSS there was little music for dancing. He

brought musicians such as John Kirkpatrick to the area to increase interest. Despite these efforts it seemed to Dashwood that the real impetus came from the increasing number of events, with bands forming to cater for the demand (Dashwood and Dashwood 1994:27).

Since the square dance boom it has not been possible to demarcate clearly between (English) tyro folk and American-themed square dances. The American themed events seen at square dances in the 1950s were easily transposed to 'English' barn dances with a caller and band steeped in the EFDSS's approach. In 1960 one such band member recalled a scouter's dinner 'in true Western setting complete with "Big Country" scenery, wagon wheels and illuminated camp fire' (Kettlewell 1969:26). Similar ambiguity can be found in the publicity flyer, and name of this band:

> The Squarecrows have been playing for a dozen or more years for village dances, ceilidhs, displays and festivals. Their large repertoire of English, Irish, Scottish and American traditional music is augmented by a selection of olde-tyme, musical-hall and overseas music.
>
> (Squarecrows [1976])

Of course not all those supplying dance instruction or music at barn dances, ceilidhs, or hoe-downs had heard of the EFDSS or the ceilidh movement. Running parallel to these developments, and differing in approach, were professional party organisers who might include country dances as part of their programme (Dommett 1982:11). Sequences such as the *Dashing White Sergeant* and *The Gay Gordons*, had wider currency, and were danced at a variety of occasions including hunt balls, cruise ships, and family parties.[16] Not all

[16] One anonymous female interviewee who used to be a singer in an events band recalled being booked for Hunt Balls in Northamptonshire where they would do the *Dashing White Sergeant* and *The Gay Gordons* (I: 11.6.2018). My father Andrew Metcalfe had similar recollections of the 'Beagle Balls' which he attended in Northamptonshire in the 1970s

events would have operated with a caller. Janet Dashwood remembered non-called Anglican church dances in Cleckheaton, West Yorkshire between 1950-1955, which used a mixture of country and old time sequence repertoires (Dashwood, J. 1989, e-mail 29.3.18). Hazel Miller recalled similar dances at a Methodist Church in Berkhampstead in the late 1970s (e-mail 28.3.18). Some dances were held using a virtual caller. Parties could use radio programmes which were broadcast sporadically by the BBC up until 1993 to provide music and instruction (Schofield 2011d:18). From 1995 individuals could also purchase *Barn Dance Party with 'Caller',* a 1995 tape (later CD) and booklet package where the dance explanations and calls were pre-recorded. Company owner Derek Jones told me that this was Barn Dance Publications' bestselling item (I:16.1.18).

Village dance events into the 1960s would have featured additional entertainments. Resident Dick Bignell recalled evenings of dance hosted by the Bowls Club in the villages around Aston Clinton (Buckinghamshire) in the early 1960s. At these events adults played party games including 'blind man's buff', or a variation of 'lucky dip' where the men put on items of women's clothing, including underwear, drawn randomly from a bag (I:13.7.17). Peter Kennedy recalled similar party games in Northumberland in the late 1940s (Kennedy, P. 1985). Whilst party games can still be found alongside participatory dance and comic skits at some private events, I did not witness any at the tyro events of my research. Gambling in the form of a raffle, 'lucky numbers', 'heads or tails', or a whisky roll were, however, not uncommon (3:7:3). These gambling activities are less intimate than

(Conversation 11.6.18). One lady, in her early 70s and raised in Warwickshire, recalled family parties with a hired events band where the children would be included in some dances. She mentioned *The Gay Gordons* and the *Dashing White Sergeant* in particular (Conversation 10.7.18). Theresa Buckland recalled being taught *The Gay Gordons* at private dance school and later at her secondary school in the late 1960s (e-mail 31.1.20).

other types of party games which require a certain degree of trust in order for the element of personal humiliation to be a positive, fun, experience.

A telling document drafted in the late 1950s by the EFDSS gives an indication of the overlap between social folk dances and regular social dance events. MCs were briefed on how to work with old time and regular dance band musicians and they were told to dress smartly, scruffiness was not to be encouraged (Bell 1958b). EFDSS bands were also briefed that they should be prepared to play *The National Anthem* at the end of the event if it was requested.[17] As Ron Smedley recalled:

> Any event small or large ended with the National Anthem when I was young. I suppose you could say that if you paid money to get in you'd be at a public event and that event would end with God Save the King […] I remember once that somehow or other I missed [it] out. One lady came up to me and said in a very sharp way 'No National Anthem tonight?' What she was suggesting was that she was at a Left Wing event and we should be ashamed. I apologised. I didn't want the Society [EFDSS] to get a bad reputation.
>
> (Ron Smedley e-mail 1.6.18)

In contrast to its normality at tyro events the *National Anthem* was rarely sung at keen dance events.[18] Dance researcher Sean Goddard recalled his father MC-ing in Sussex with

[17] Peter Kennedy recalled that dances regularly ended with *The National Anthem* (1985:15). Adrian Bell described a rural community dance in 1920s Suffolk which ended with *The National Anthem* (Bell 1932[1951]:168). The only dance I have ever attended where a national anthem was played was at a ceílí for the Irish community in St James' Working Men's Club in Northampton (14.4.18). The evening concluded with the band playing *Amhrán na bhFiann*.

[18] Dancer Marjorie Fennessy, who started her lifelong involvement with folk dance in the 1950s could not recall ever having sung the *National Anthem* at a dance (phone conversation 26.8.18).

requests for the *National Anthem* in the 1980s from organisations including Conversative Clubs, the Territorial Association and the British Legion (I:14.9.17); at other times Goddard senior would be asked for *Auld Lange Syne* or a waltz to finish the evening.[19] Instead of *The National Anthem*, left-wing events, including some folk-song performances, would often end with the singing of the socialist song and anthem of the British Labour Party *The Red Flag*. Many folk singers were left-leaning, indeed high-profile celebrities Bert Lloyd and Ewan MacColl were at one time members of the British Communist Party (Cohen and Donaldson 2014:44, 66).[20] The instruction to include *The National Anthem* at events MC'd by EFDSS members aligned such dance events with the conservative social norms of regular dances rather than the republican stance of some left-wing folk song events.

As with other types of dance events not all barn dance attendees came to dance (Bell 1932[1951]:164-169, Nott 2015). In guidance to EFDSS MCs, Whiteman notes that: 'Among people who are not regular 'folk dancers' it is normal, when a dance comes to an end and they sit down, for cigarettes to be lighted and conversation to begin' (Whiteman [1950]). In 1959 Reg Hall contrasted 'ordinary people' with dance 'addicts', noting that 'ordinary people' go to dances 'to meet their friends in convivial surroundings' (Hall, R. 1959:15). Hall commented that the practice of calling dances back to back, which Whiteman advocated, conflicts with societal norms and takes away autonomy 'dancers are

[19] Caller and historian Steve Roud recalled that at the very first dance he called at in 1977 *The National Anthem* was requested, but then he reflected that it was the Silver Jubilee year (Conversation 9.6.18).
[20] In phone conversation (26.8.18) Marjorie Fennessy recalled attending a concert in London, possibly at St Pancreas Town Hall where her acquaintance, violinist Nan Fleming Williams was participating in an event. The concert was recalled as being very left wing and at the end *The Red Flag* was sung. Marjorie, a folk dancer was quite shocked by this turn of events and recalled this as the start of the rift between folk song and folk dance enthusiasts.

unable to choose when to sit out or with whom they are going to dance' (Hall, R. 1959:15). The dichotomy between Hall and Whiteman's positions on back-to-back dances illustrates the conflict of interest which can arise between a caller who views it as their job to do as many dances as possible, and attendees who might want a social evening with the opportunity to participate in one or two dances.

By the 1970s, tyro events appear to have made the term *barn dance* their own, with keen dancers largely preferring alternative descriptors unless they were deliberately trying to recruit non-regular dancers. Garth Porter who established the Woughton Ceilidhs in 1981 in Milton Keynes explained the problems he faced in naming the dance event. Porter's comments illustrate a long history of anti-Irish prejudice in England, which is linked to colonial Anglo-Irish relations, and British anti-Catholicism (Hickman 1998:290-291).

> If we had called them barn dances some of the more serious dancers that would nonetheless have enjoyed it would not have gone anywhere near it. "Barn dancing – oh no - common people" which is a bit of an exaggeration. On the other hand if you called them Woughton Ceilidhs. People think "oh it's an Irish ceilidh band, its a bunch of hooligans" or whatever.
>
> (Garth Porter I:15.1.18)

The extent to which *ceilidh* was widely understood to refer to *English* social folk dance by tyros is uncertain (Schofield 2006a) (see 3:10:3:1). Ceilidh series such as Haddenham and Woughton found it necessary to use *barn dance* in the advertising material, even though *ceilidh* was initially taken up by this new wave of dancers to be an indicator of distinctiveness from *barn dances* (Heydon and Rippon 2009).

There are a few nineteenth century references to dancing in barns in England (*A Few Words of Advice to my Flock*: 1841:30), the most famous depiction being that from Thomas Hardy's novel *Far From the Madding Crowd* (1874), which has had a number of cinematic adaptations (1915, 1967, 1998, 2015). By the turn of the twentieth century most dance event organisers largely eschewed barns, which in many cases were needed for farming, preferring other locations such as school halls, club houses, and even converted swimming baths (Nott 2015:33). Tellingly a 1938 report which charted dancing in the rural district of West Kesteven (Lincolnshire) made no reference to dancing in barns noting that in smaller villages without purpose-built community halls, the local school was often the venue of choice (Bevington 1939:123). Similarly, most EFDSS dances took place in halls rather than barns and this continues to be the case for most keen dance events. Dancing outdoors in England was not wholly unheard of for EFDSS community dances in the 1940s (Ekin 1943), and at folk festivals alfresco public dances were very important to Kennedy's vision. However, outdoor dancing carried and continues to carry weather related risks (Smedley and Tether 1972:16), which many organisers prefer to mitigate by using a hall or marquee. Thus, despite a pervasive image of folk dancing on village greens (Smedley e-mail 8.7.18, Corbett 2013:120), social folk dancing outdoors was relatively unusual in twentieth century England. Tyro event organisers appear to have favoured barns as a suitable dancing space from the 1970s onwards, often as part of themed events (Mitchell 1971:129). The widespread use of the term *barn dance* appears to have strengthened the appeal of such venues. In 2017 a BBC presenter suggested that '[B]arn dancing really started a couple of centuries ago when farm peasants would gather in barns to copy the ball-room dances of their wealthy landlords' (BBC Breakfast 2017).[21]

[21] This comment indicates the extent to which histories are extrapolated from given names, a tendency well known to place-name historians (see Simpson and Roud 2000[2003]:279).

Although it is tempting to discuss the links between barns and the notion of a rurally based essential Englishness (Helsinger 1997), the term *barn dance*, is often associated with North America. Influential twentieth century American films: *Gone with the Wind* (1939), *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers* (1954), *Oklahoma* (1955) and *Cat Balou* (1965) show dancing in or near barns.[22] The adoption of barns as a suitable dance venue was part of the casualisation of the genre during the 1970s. This was probably helped by the clothes associated with North American themed events; jeans in particular had become increasingly normal attire for everyday wear. Whilst working barns can be a source of excitement for tyro dancers and organisers, for a band and caller a booking in the dust of a working barn could be a source of discomfort and minor physical peril (Dowell 1984:26, Rundle 1996:27). By the 2000s a number of bands refused to play gigs in working barns, or made demands, such as damping down the dust to reduce the impact on electric equipment, instruments, and caller's voices (Hosepipe 2001:20).

By 2000 there had been a change in the popularity of tyro dances for public ticketed functions. Derek and Pam Jones from Croydon who established The Barn Dance Agency in 1985 recalled that, at the start, most of their bookings were from clubs and groups, particularly PTAs, and companies. Six years later 35% of their bookings were for weddings (Jones and Jones 1993:3). In 2000 one East Anglian band member noted a shift towards private functions, estimating that 90% of his band bookings were of this type (Haines 2000:12). In 2012 an EFDSS member commented on the dearth of general public folk dances writing that:

[22] The British film *Cheerful Weather for the Wedding* (2012) chose a barn for a 1930s rustic country dance.

> The local Saturday night public dance in the village hall with the local band seems to have gone and we are left with ceilidhs, with some heat but little light, and clubs that have a little light, and no heat!
>
> (Dench 2012:26)

One source of data which can be used to explore the ratio of private to public events, at least for those which involve live music, is the booking records held by some bands. Buckinghamshire Band X (hereafter BBX),[23] gave me a copy of their bookings from 2007-2017 which indicated that they played a much larger number of private than public events. Private functions included weddings, family parties, and corporate events and these accounted for 87 out of 162 bookings (53%). Events that were probably ticketed and open to the public included charity fundraisers, Burns Nights, and club/community evenings and these made up 44 events (27%).[24] Gloucestershire based Banshee Ceilidh Band's records also indicate that the majority of bookings are now for private functions. The band recorded 191 weddings, 69 birthday parties, and 75 other 'private parties' between 2006-2018, but only 5 charity gigs and 13 fundraisers in the same period (Banshee Ceilidh Band [2019]).[25]

The rise in bookings for private functions seems to accord with wider trends in increased spending on events. Whilst English social folk dances have become popular for birthday parties and family reunions, their use at weddings is particularly noteworthy as these have an inordinately large media profile (for Cornwall see Davey 2011:242). Barn dances seem to offer an eminently suitable evening's entertainment for a casual or relaxed

[23] This is not the band's real name as they requested anonymity.
[24] The other 20% is made up from uncertain categorisations and incomplete data.
[25] There is a possibility that the number of private tyro dances are also declining. Haines has argued that the wedding market has shrunk in recent years (Haines 2020:27).

rustic themed wedding in former working barns which have, in recent times, been transformed into licensed wedding venues. One such case study on the website wedding-venues.co.uk explicitly links hosting a barn dance with a barn location: '[w]ith their hearts set on an evening barn dance, Kristina and Michael were on the hunt for the perfect barn for their May wedding' (Wedding Venues 2017). The wedding event itself has seen a substantial restructuring in the late twentieth century, with the wider adoption of an evening reception (Monger 2011:70-71). The practice of holding a dance, of any sort, after a wedding was far from being universal in 1950s England. Whilst Reg Hall recalled dances at weddings at this time (e-mail 30.11.2019) John (b.1936) and Faith Kemp (b.1937) who met at an EFDSS Folk Camp holiday informed me that even a wedding reception was uncommon in the 1950s and one with dancing, let alone folk dancing, even rarer (I:19.9.17). Differences in class, geography, and religion, are likely to account for such divergences. Whilst average spending and preparation for weddings has dramatically increased over the course of the twentieth century (Francis-Tan and Mialon 2014), ideas of propriety have also changed. In the novel *Jean of Storms,* folk dancing at a wedding in the 1920s was part of a bohemian day full of 'absurd arrangements' (Brent-Dyer 1930[1996]:214). But by the 1980s a barn dance, or ceilidh, was considered to be an appropriate form of entertainment suitable for attendees of all ages. An example of changing attitudes is illustrated in the arrangements made by Barbara and Phill Butler. Both morris dancers, Barbara and Phill met whilst undergraduate students in Bath. They married in Bookham, Surrey, in 1975. They had a folk dance at their wedding, against the wishes of the bride's parents: 'My parents were worried it was going to be a damp squib because they were not involved with the folk world and they knew we had not booked a professional band' (e-mail 8.2.18).They were the first of their friends to have such a dance and the band, made up of their acquaintances, was in much subsequent demand from

couples who had attended and wanted similar arrangements. The use of folk dance, particularly *ceilidhs* for weddings was perhaps bolstered by depictions of Scottish country dancing in popular films such as *Local Hero* (1983), and *Four Weddings and a Funeral* (1994).[26]

The move from social club and corporate bookings to private bookings is probably symptomatic of wider societal changes. It has been argued by American political scientist Robert Putnam, that the late twentieth century has seen a change in pattern of civic engagement away from a formalised club or group model (2000). Bill Jones, teacher of politics at Liverpool Hope University, has argued that similar changes can be seen in Britain (Jones 2006:253). Whilst it is difficult to quantify overall patterns it appears sensible to suggest that the move from club dances to private functions reflects the decline in voluntary membership groups. For fundraising organisations such as PTAs the loss of novelty and the arrival of alternative activities such as car boot sales, probably exacerbated the decline (Mudcat Café 2007). In the 1990s barn dancing also faced competition from line dancing. Emerging from a combination of disco dancing and the popularity of country and western culture, such as that portrayed in the film *Urban Cowboy* (1980), line dancing is thought to have been taught in Britain at holiday camps since the early 1980s (Jewitt 1997:72). The singles *My Achy Breaky Heart* (1992), *Cotton Eyed Joe* (1994), and *5,6,7,8* (1998), reached respectively numbers three, one, and fourteen in the UK pop music charts and helped to boost the popularity of line dancing. In 1997 it was estimated that there were some 20,000 line dance clubs in England alone (Bellos 1997). Both academics and line dancing instructors have emphasised how the partner-less nature of this dance form is a strong part of its appeal (Whiteside 2017:287, Lane 1995:3). As recorded music is the

[26] *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows: Part One* (2010) also featured a ceilidh for a wedding held in a marquee.

norm costs could also be much lower as a line dance instructor with musical equipment could be booked at a quarter of the cost of a caller and a trio of folk musicians. As with square dancing, there is some overlap between line dancing and barn dancing. In 2018 a number of callers would teach both at the same event (Jones I:16.1.18).

The above picture of change at tyro events has been mediated through the experiences of the keen dancers who made up the majority of my interviewees, and who constructed the accessible archival trail. Perhaps it is most instructive to consider many tyro events as a continuum of the social dances hosted by communities, organisations, and individuals in the first half of the twentieth century. In a process of explicit and implicit negotiation, events are co-created by organisers and bands and it is clear that tyro social folk dances reflect wider British societal developments, particularly the decline of formal sequence dancing. By the 1970s many barn dances had undergone a process of de-formalisation merging further with the 'wild-west cowboy romps' of the square dance boom (Cooper 1954:5). With its repertoire focus on choreographed group dancing (with set phrasing and simultaneity of movement) and the presence of a caller to teach the dances, barn dances proved to be a comparatively easy dance form which was both structurally and contextually distinctive from the disco which had become the dominant social dance form by the 1970s.

2:4:5 Conclusion

The Kennedian introduction of a caller made barn dancing an approachable group-focused dance form, at a time when knowledge of ballroom dancing was declining. By the 1970s the balance of power had shifted with the latest developments in the genre coming from outside of the EFDSS. Proponents of the emerging ceilidh movement sought information on late nineteenth and early twentieth century dancing practices and wished to create a more English approach, spurning Irish/Scottish tune interpretations and North American (derived/inspired) square and contra dances. By the 1990s, the EFDSS had taken on a new role as an umbrella organisation which largely withheld from providing overt guidance on appropriate social folk dance repertoire or approach. Missing from this chapter is the role of folk dance in English primary schools. As I will explore in the proceeding chapter, before the introduction of the National Curriculum the English state education system was arguably the single most influential arena for tyro folk dance engagement throughout most of the twentieth century.

2:5 Folk Dance in Education

2:5:1 Introduction

In 1909 Cecil Sharp's petition to have English folk dance included in the Board of Education's official recommendations for physical training was accepted (Gammon 2008, Bloomfield 1986:203-280, 2001). Whilst the recommendations were not obligatory, they were influential and thousands of teachers underwent training in country dancing. The introduction offered by schools gave children a grounding in the basic figures and phrased nature of the genre. Bob Adams, a caller who grew up in north Buckinghamshire, enjoyed the country dances he did at school as an optional extra activity in the 1960s. In interview, he mourned the loss of country dance provision noting a 'generational divide between those my age and older who did it at school and those, younger, who didn't' (I: 31.8.17).

The teaching of folk dance in English schools is of course a sub-story of the teaching of dance itself, which was, throughout much of the twentieth century, part of physical training/education provision (Evans and Penney 1995, Sanderson 1996). From 1880-1980 '[n]o other subject has been cleft ideologically as physical education was, along sex lines' (Fletcher 1987:155). Dance was usually considered to be especially appropriate for girls, offering a non-competitive physical training programme suitable for installing gender-appropriate values (Buckland 1991:58, McCrone 1987:108, Tomko 1999:186). In addition to gender, dance was also considered to be most apt for younger pupils, and this perceived appropriateness was also true of folk dance (A6:2, Kane 1974:44-45, Knowles 1982). I have had to limit my consideration of how wider societal attitudes towards dance, society, and gender are played out in the pedagogic sphere, but this is not to diminish the importance of compulsory state education in reflecting, formulating, and shaping society.

This chapter focuses upon the changing place of country dance in English schools post-Sharp.

2:5:2 Douglas Kennedy and Folk Dance in Education

When Douglas Kennedy took over the directorship of the Society in 1924 the inclusion of folk dance in education might have appeared assured. In a 1973 reflective radio interview he described the popularity of the Society's work in education, and the result; 'a constant demand on the part of teachers for instruction' (Kennedy, D. 1973). Kennedy's memoires recall the heavily oversubscribed EFDS's vacation schools where teachers could learn folk dancing and be examined for the Society's tri-partite certification scheme (Kennedy, D. [1973]:203). However, Douglas and Helen Kennedy knew that the tide was turning and only the outbreak of WWII prevented them from emigrating to America when it became clear that 'the educational support which the Society had hitherto enjoyed was now diminishing' (Kennedy, H., and D. 1961:6). It was perhaps resignation with the educational system, and the declining place of folk dance within it, which led to Kennedy's focus on altering pre-existing pedagogic approaches, rather than lobbying for the inclusion of folk dance at all.[1]

In the 1930s Kennedy was a comparatively influential dance voice in the realm of physical education. For over twenty years he was a member of the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training (CCRPT) from its formation in 1935 until 1956 (Evans 1974:27, 39).[2] The CCRPT was originally a joint venture between the Ling Association

[1] *English Folk Dancing in the Primary School,* by Helen and Douglas Kennedy (1960) was only published the year before their retirement, although the EFDSS did publish *English Folk Dancing for Schools* by Sibyl Clark (1956).
[2] Kennedy's successor Nibs Matthews was also for a time the vice-chairman of the movement and dance division of the Central Council for Physical Recreation (Schofield 2006b).

and the National Association of Organisers of Physical Education (Evans 1974:26-27).[3] In 1937 the government passed the Physical Training and Recreation Bill, which focused on improving the physical fitness of the nation by offering grants towards facilities and teacher training. The CCRPT were given the task of providing teachers for all kinds of physical activity. Whilst other dance groups subscribed to the CCRPT[4] only Kennedy had a seat on its Executive Council (Rutherston 1938:648-649). In 1950 Kennedy was invited to speak on behalf of the dance organisations taking part in a conference about Dance and Education. This was organised by the National Association of Organisers and Lecturers in Physical Education and the Ling Physical Education Association. Indicating the perceived suitability of Kennedy as an influential dance advocate his brief was to 'present the case of Dance in general terms' (Kennedy, D. 1950c:345).

Kennedy appears to have had fundamental concerns about the teaching of folk dance in compulsory juvenile education. Many of the children who had been at school when folk dancing was introduced into the physical training syllabus in 1909 were now the very adults that Kennedy wanted to inspire. Rather than school lessons providing a foundation upon which a mature adult love for the genre could be built, Kennedy worried that memories of dancing in school turned people away from folk dancing in adulthood (Kennedy D. 1959a:64, Kennedy 1971: 85). He felt that school lessons had not led to the restoration of social folk dance into the everyday fabric of English society. In a post-retirement article, he wrote that many teachers had:

[3] The Ling Association (established 1899) was formed to promote Swedish gymnastics in schools. By 1948 it had a membership of some 3,800 qualified teachers (Crabbe 1948).
[4] Including The Dalcroze Society, The Greek Dance Association, The International Institute of Margaret Morris Movement, and the Scottish Folk Dance Society (not as one might expect the Scottish Country Dance Society).

> only succeeded in killing any impulse to musical or dance expression that might have stirred under other treatment. One of the deterrents to the successful outcome of a crusade through the school children was the typical adult attitude which rejected folk dancing as only kids' stuff.
>
> (Kennedy, D. 1971:85).

Kennedy's concern with the infantilization of folk dance perhaps helps to explain why folk dance became situated as an adult dance form in the Ministry of Education's publications. Because folk and ballroom dances 'evolved from adult experience to meet adult needs' Ministry guidance suggested that 'it is doubtful whether they provide opportunities that are appropriate to children at the primary stage' (Ministry of Education 1953:19). Although it was probably not Kennedy's intention to discourage country dancing in schools, proponents of other genres could and did argue that they were better able to provide age appropriate training. Early modern educational dance pedagogue Diana Jordan argued in *Childhood and Movement* that folk dance as it was often taught in schools in the 1930s 'excluded sufficient opportunity for children to express or communicate their own ideas in their own way' (Jordan 1966:xii).

Kennedy's apparent focus on the adaptation of existing practices, rather than the wholesale promotion of folk dance, is reflected in his comments on the benefits of being taught dance by a musical rather than physical training specialist (Kennedy, D. 1959b:35, 1964:87). In one article, for *The Dancing Times*, Kennedy goes so far as to argue that folk dance requires more rhythmical awareness than other dance forms.

> Many teachers who would like to use traditional forms of music and dance fail because they have not grasped the difference between rhythm and time, between mechanical and rhythmical characteristics of movement. In fact, of all the various types of dance, the Folk form can be the least effective if their rhythmical nature is not comprehended, and if they are used self consciously.
>
> (Kennedy, D. 1950c:347).

Throughout much of the twentieth century, dance was under the jurisdiction of physical training rather than music specialists (Knowles 1982). Kennedy argued that many music teachers were better equipped to give a rhythmical experience of the dance. In proposing such a radical change Kennedy appears to have been working against the established educational protocol, rather than with it.

An example of Kennedy's influence and the continued official support for country dancing can be found in the 1953 Ministry of Education guidance *Planning the Programme.* Concerns were raised that figurative complexity detracted from the benefits of the form. Complicated dances 'degenerate into a memory test with too much fumbling over the correct use of left and right shoulders' (Ministry of Education 1953:22). The Ministry discouraged teachers from using Playford dances naming *Gathering Peascods* and *Rufty Tufty* as two such examples. These they considered to be too advanced and they instead suggested simpler dances collected during the twentieth century, naming *The Long Eight, Durham Reel,* and *Galopede.* The Ministry were clearly sympathetic towards Kennedy's approach to folk dance, but this was to be the last government text to endorse folk dancing in schools.

2:5:3 The Slow Decline of Folk Dance Provision in Schools

Within the three-hundred or more pages of the *Syllabus of Physical Training For Schools* (1933) issued by the Board of Education, the section on dance totals less than three full pages but within that English country dancing occupies a prominent position. The compilers argue that 'their simple natural steps and attractive music are particularly appropriate' for use in schools (Board of Education 1933:60). Four different folk dance genres are recommended[5] and The Board concludes that: 'folk and national dances of various countries are clearly the type of dance best suited to the needs of school children' (Board of Education 1933:60). Direction is also given, however, to 'the practice of preliminary exercises for acquiring good line, true rhythm and correctness of step', which should, the Board advocates, take up about a third of the available lesson time. The compilers suggest that such exercises can be put together to create a number of simple dances, and these are especially suitable for small children who might struggle with long figure sequences and complicated steps (Board of Education 1933:59). Although not described as folk dances, the Board also recommends the use of musical movement games suggesting *Pop Goes the Weasel* and *Ninepins* in its section for children under the age of seven (Board of Education 1933:72).

Between this guidance and the new post-WWII syllabus introduced in 1952, British educationalists were increasingly warming to the movement theories of German modern dance proponents. As other historians have made clear, there were strong links between progressive educationalists and proponents of modern dance (Burke 2018, Haynes 1987, Vertinsky 2015). Child-centred experimental approaches to learning advocated by

[5] English country, Scottish country, folk dances of continental nations, and morris and sword dances for both sexes.

educationalists such as John Dewey and Friedrich Froebel were being experimented with in British schools and were to fundamentally alter approaches to dance in physical education. In 1938 Diana Jordan published the first modern educational dance text *The Dance as Education,* which focused on the idea of dance as art.[6]

Ultimately, it would be Rudolf Laban (1879-1958), who appears to have had the most influence in British dance education, despite sources which indicate that he had little personal interest in children's dance education (Preston-Dunlop 1998, Vertinsky 2015:541). Hungarian born, Laban emigrated to Britain from Germany in 1937 where he had pioneered movement choirs (large pieces for groups of amateurs) alongside theatre ballet for trained dancers. His work in Britain took a different approach and focused primarily on dance education. Laban's influence in this field appears to be the result of his collaboration with Lisa Ullmann (1907-1985). Ullmann was born in Germany and had studied Central European Modern Dance at the Laban School in Berlin. She came to Britain in 1933 and had worked in the Jooss-Leeder ballet company at Dartington Hall, Devon. Ullmann ran movement classes for LEAs and the Ling Association. With Joan Goodrich and Diana Jordan she provided training for teachers at Modern Dance holiday courses. In 1946 Laban and Ullmann established the Manchester Art of Movement Studio. That same year they created The Laban Guild, an association for teachers, and two years later the government financed a one-year course for school teachers in the Laban method (Preston-Dunlop 1998).

[6] Alongside Leslie Burrows, Lousie Soelberg and Joan Goodrich Jordan established a dance centre in Chelsea for *Ausdruckstanz* in 1939 which combined educational and professional practices (Haynes 1986:150-151, Vertinksy 2015:540).

Laban published *Modern Educational Dance* in 1948 outlining his schema for dance training in schools and utilising movement theory which he had developed from his work with professional theatrical dance. In 1953 Ullmann moved from her Manchester premises to establish a centre in Surrey with Laban. In 1954 they received further funding from the Ministry of Education (Gallighan et al. 2000:25). Laban surmised that traditional/national dances were characterised by the employment of uncreative pattern following. Moreover, he questioned the propriety and purpose of studying movement supposedly created by societies of the past (Laban, 1948[1963]:1-12). Such negative views of folk dance were taken up by Laban's followers. Joan Russell, author of *Modern Dance in Education* (1958), argued that 'revivals run the risk of becoming self-conscious' and asked whether it would ever be possible to have a real revival of folk dances which originated from the 'spontaneous communal activities' of past societies (Russell 1958:14). Many of Laban's criticisms of folk dances as 'relics' of medievalism which were out of touch with the needs of modern civilisation (1946[1963]:33), were echoed in the Ministry of Education's 1952 guidance *Moving and Growing*. Country dancing was largely replaced by Laban-derived modern educational dance.

> In those periods when folk dances have been a regular feature of the life of a community there is no doubt that the children would, from an early age, have watched these dances, and become familiar with the tunes […] Removed from the influence of a dancing community, it is doubtful whether they are really ready for the somewhat intricate patterns of most English folk dances before the last years of the primary stage; though they might invent simple patterned dances of their own.
>
> (Ministry of Education 1952:60-61)

The idea that folk dances are not suitable for children, which could also be found in a milder form in the 1933 guidance (Board of Education 1933:59), echoes both Kennedy's worry about the infantilisation of folk dance, and also the child-orientated message of modern educational dance proponents. By 1952 folk dance had already lost its pre-eminent position as the dance genre of choice. Indeed, Kennedy's view that folk dance should be an adult recreation, was now being used to support the stoppage of folk dance education in schools altogether.

By the time that further guidance was issued in 1972 there was an even greater turn towards creativity in dance, which was contrasted with the memorisations of set routines. Enlarging on the criticisms of folk dance levelled by Laban, the Department of Education and Science warned that in the 'process of stylisation' folk dances lose the 'vitality and spontaneity' which would have first given them life (Department of Education and Science 1972:62). Traditional/folk/national dances are thus negatively compared to the approved method of 'expressive movement in which children are given the main responsibility for creating and shaping their own response' (Department of Education and Science 1972:62). In 1973 educationalist Peggy Harper compared what she perceived to be the correct use of dance 'to express their ideas imaginatively' (Harper 1973:155) with folk dancing 'a sterile repetition of movements no longer expressive of the society to which they belong' (Harper 1973:158). It is the prescription of movements which Harper, amongst others, blames for the supposed dysfunctionality of folk dance. Likened to the physical drill of the Victorian era, country dancing was conceptualised as being the very antithesis of expressive, improvisatory movement. Increasingly it was dance's assumed intrinsically 'creative' properties which offered it a distinctive place within the physical education curricula (Pool 1986:178-179). Older arguments for the inclusion of dance in school provision, in

particular the usefulness of preparing children for formal (ballroom style) dance events in wider society, were now almost entirely absent (Adshead 1981:20).[7]

In practice, many schools lagged behind the latest educational directives (Whitehead and Hendry 1976:41) and folk dance continued to be taught long after modern educational dance had gained official educational precedence. A 1977 survey of 1,336 primary schools in England and Wales found that 77% of schools taught some form of 'folk dance'. This was much higher than the number who taught modern educational or creative dance (Gulbenkian Foundation 1980:43). Even accounting for small sample size and probable response bias[8] Badrick's 1986 data collection in Essex also indicated a comparatively high level of engagement with folk dance, particularly in pre-secondary school aged children (A6:2, Badrick 1986). Similarly, the Pagan report, commissioned by the EFDSS in 1988 found that 42% of schools in the small sample of 48 schools taught traditional dance (Dashwood 1989).[9] The inclusion of social folk dance in schools, when it was not a formal requirement, was usually influenced by the personal interests of the teachers (Clark 1969:29). Some teachers, especially in older cohorts, or those from a minority of schools which had established an annual show of country, or maypole dancing, continued to teach folk dance in schools. School country dance festivals were also held around the country, often organised by EFDSS affiliated clubs. Although the various physical educational boards worried that folk dances were too 'adult' for children, folk

[7] As Buckinghamshire resident and folk dancer Brian Hall recalled (I: 21.3.2017) it was not uncommon for grammar school attendees in the 1950s to have lessons in ballroom dancing in the weeks prior to finishing secondary school.
[8] Knowles (1982) gives much lower involvement figures for all types of dance.
[9] I have been unable to locate a copy of this report and have had to use a summary within a secondary source.

dancing was usually taught to primary, rather than secondary school children, and it appears to have had noticeable support in the special educational needs sector (A6:2).

During the 1960s and 1970s, a period which coincided with the growth of interest in barn dances, the Ministry of Education (after 1964 the Department for Education and Science) gave substantial annual grants to the EFDSS. In 1965 this amounted to £9,000 (Pratt 1965:296), with a number of LEAs giving additional money totalling £3,871 (*Folk Scene* 1965:16). During the 1960s and 1970s initial teacher training was provided on a regional basis by the LEAs, with EFDSS staff paid to equip the teachers of the future in the art of country dancing (Dashwood 1989:6). With the increased centralisation of training provision, including the creation of undergraduate teaching degrees in the 1960s, there was less time lag in the implementation of the latest pedagogic techniques. Funding to the EFDSS from LEAs declined during the 1970s and alternative folk dance provision for teachers was not forthcoming (Badrick 1986:47-49, Adshead 1981:36). The introduction of the national curriculum in 1988 and the absence of folk dance within it appears to have exacerbated the gradual decline of English folk dance in schools (Barry Goodman I:23.1.18, Diana Campbell Jewitt I:5.12.17, Jo and Janis Zakis I:4.2.17).

English folk dance specifically was perhaps increasingly ideologically awkward, sitting at odds with the government's overt policy of multi-culturalism in the 1980s and 1990s. An example of this can be found in Arts Council England's document *Dance in Schools.* Under the title of 'cultural diversity', pupils are encouraged to 'share their various dance heritages through traditional dances' (Arts Council England 1993:10). By implication non-diverse (that is white, English) dancing culture is considered to be adequately represented through adherence to the standard educational dance programme which did not include folk or traditional dances. In the curriculum which was active from

1995-1999 there was a requirement for children aged seven until eleven (Key Stage 2) to be taught 'a number of dance forms from different times and places, including some traditional dances of the British Isles' (Department of Education, 1995:116).[10] If this requirement had continued, it might have resulted in the wider dissemination of English folk dance, however it was revoked in the 1999 curriculum. This presented a more general set of guidelines in which children of the same age are tasked with performing dances 'from different times and cultures' (Department for Education 1999:19).

The lack of formal certification possibly also worked against the EFDSS and attempts were made post-Kennedy to reinstate certification.[11] In the early 1990s, the EFDSS received funding from the Sports Council to pay for an education officer. Wendy Crouch, and her successor Diana Jewitt, worked to produce a certification system but found hostile attitudes towards the idea within some sections of the Society.[12] Crouch and Jewitt were also reluctant to make decisions over repertoire and approach. As I discussed earlier (2:4:3) an embrace of plurality was considered to be the way forward for the EFDSS at this time. The Crouch/Jewitt scheme aimed to certify commitment and teaching ability, rather than dance technique, with the slogan 'Standards without Standardisation' (Badrick 1999, Crouch 1997a, 1997b, 1998, EFDSS 1993:2). There were hopes for external accreditation for the Crouch/Jewitt scheme through the National Vocational

[10] This requirement inspired the EFDSS publication *Traditional British and Other Dances for National Curriculum KS2* (Jewitt 1997) which drew upon 'international' repertoire familiar to English folk dancers, such as *Aunt Hessie's White Horse,* which was collected in South Africa and published in *ED&S* in 1971 (XXXIII(4):142). *Traditional British* also included sections on 'Multicultural Questions', line dancing, and rapping.
[11] The Society developed plans for a Proficiency Certificate c.1965, where applicants would be judged on their MC-ing skills, but these were never made public. A document entitled 'Some thoughts on a teaching or proficiency certificate' [1965] seen by the author is held in the EFDSS' education department archives.
[12] Notably Peter Kennedy made an impassioned plea against such an idea (Kennedy, P. 1998).

Qualifications board but these were never realised (*ED&S* 1992).[13] Whilst examinations remain in the EFDSS's Articles of Association, no attempt to reintroduce them has been made since then. In an educational environment criticised for its emphasis on professional performance post-education, and an increasing expectation that dance teachers will be certified in the specialism of their choice (Arts Council 2016:7, National Dance Teachers Association 2004, One Dance UK 2016), the reticence of the EFDSS to produce a certification system probably contributes to the continued decline of English folk dance provision in schools.

2:5:4 Creative Folk Dance Provision

From the 1980s onwards many folk dance teachers focused upon the creative possibilities offered by the genre. In 1968 primary school headmaster John Tether had called for a free movement approach to folk dance teaching in schools:

> What I think is wrong, and the reason we have lost out to some extent to "modern" dance, is that teachers, as a whole, haven't yet realised what a wealth of free movement there is available within our own dance form or, if they have, they have seemed unwilling to make use of it.
>
> (Tether 1968:97)

Tether's approach became normal by the 1990s, at least amongst those affiliated to the EFDSS. In 1993, as part of a dance creation project with primary schools in Newcastle, the former education officer Carolyn Robson stated that the goal of the education department

[13] An alternative approach to examination of English folk dance can be found with the National Dance Branch (established 1952) subsidiary of the Imperial Society of Teachers of Dancing (established 1904).

'is to promote innovative dance projects which reflect an evolving tradition' (Patterson 1993:1, cf. Upton and Paine 1996). In subsequent educational initiatives, the EFDSS has continued to promote new dance creation. The various editions of their school manual all include an explanation of how to devise dances (Jewitt 1997, Knight 1995, 2002, 2012). Whilst the online resource *Creative Folk Dance for Primary Schools* (2014) continues this approach: 'Encourage children to create new dances using figures from these dances as well as their own ideas' (Goodman 2014:5). Similarly, within an episode of the BBC's school radio dance programme *Let's Move* which focused on British folk dance, there was a creative section where children were encouraged to invent their own dance figures with a partner (*Let's Move* 2012:12).

As dance is considered to be a 'creative' subject, albeit one still largely taught within the auspices of physical education, the inclusion of a creative folk dance lesson is possibly easier to justify to teachers than a lesson plan based around prescribed movement. Janis and Jo Zakis are both callers and musicians based in Northamptonshire. Although they hold the opinion that 'there are so many dances out there what would you want to write more dances for?' they were excited about the dance creation project they had run in primary schools in 2016 and 2017 as part of the Raunds Folk Festival. Jo Zakis went into local primary schools and demonstrated a number of dance figures. The children were then set the task of creating their own 32 bar dance. To help they were given cards with the names of the figures which they could link together to make a dance. Janis Zakis, a headmaster, explained how the children then have to work out how to make the dances fit the tunes 'it is quite good in terms of that logic and counting and understanding how rhythm works' (Jo and Janis Zakis I: 4.12.17). Dance creation allowed the Zakis' to justify teaching folk dance in schools by presenting the process as mathematically and creatively beneficial. Their approach also emphasised how social folk dances are widely

conceptualised as being nothing more than strings of figures, or building blocks, which can be broken down and creatively reassembled at will.

2:5:5 Conclusion

Folk dance appears to have been ousted from the physical education syllabus in favour of modern educational dance by 1952, and I have implicated Douglas Kennedy in its decline. Kennedy's criticisms of folk dance provision and his focus on the 'adult' nature of folk dance, possibly helped to relegate folk dance within compulsory education. Despite its fall from fashion, folk dance continued to be taught in schools for many years. LEAs gave substantial grants to the EFDSS throughout the 1970s, and the Society in turn provided staff to instruct at teacher training colleges throughout the country. The popularity of other dance genres which were taught at the new centralised teacher training facilities, combined with the introduction of the national curriculum, precipitated the eventual decline of English social folk dance in schools. A brief four-year inclusion in the National Curriculum between 1995-1999 came at a time when the EFDSS were re-building and lacked the field staff and organisational structures necessary to quickly disseminate information and training. Recent folk dance educational initiatives have fought against the stereotype of country dance as uncreative pattern following. Creative folk dance offers an important way to justify country dance provision which is in tune with broader attitudes towards dance in education. The current (2014) syllabus does not dictate which genre of dance should be taught, and teachers with an interest in folk dance continue to run classes and clubs. Displays of country dancing, perhaps combined with Maypole dancing, can still be found at some primary schools, especially those located in villages. However, the lack of a recognised scheme of certification probably hampers the genre's ability to reach the next generation of teachers.

2:6 Repertoire

2:6:1 Introduction

Rather than being a movement analysis, this chapter uses choreographic repertoire as an additional source from which to piece together the genre's past. I have worked backwards utilizing the repertoire gathered from my ethnographic research as the starting point from which to explore broader twentieth century social folk dance developments. By focusing once more upon the history, but with a more explicit focus on the dances themselves, I will elucidate the influence of the EFDSS in the creation and sustention of these events, alongside other less overt influences. Readers may find A1:3 (set formations) and A4 (repertoire) to be helpful explanatory aids to this chapter.

I attended 30 dance events, witnessing the practices of 21 callers.[1] The popularity of dances can be deduced by the fraction given after the dance name. *The Barn Dance* (2/21), for example, was selected by two callers. I recorded 291 called dances in total, with a modal average of ten dances per event (A4:3). I was able to identify 124 dances by name but an additional 37 dances remain unidentified. Such diversity masks the choreographic similarity of many dances which share a high proportion of figures. Freda McIntyre and Bob Howe indexed 5,000 *Dances in the English Tradition* in the mid-1990s and with ongoing innovation the number of dances in circulation continues to grow (McIntyre and Howe 1992, McIntyre 1996). Diversity of repertoire is important to many callers. Sue Malleson explained her preference for repertoire differentiation:

[1] This number includes myself. The one couple who shared calling duties equally have been counted as one individual.

> Once I'd got a secure number [of] dances under my belt, I ditched many of those that other callers used […] in order that when I called I presented a separate programme and dancers didn't always get more of the same. Even now, if a band says to me (as it did a couple of weeks ago) we play *Buttered Peas* – I say, well I don't call that. And I don't call that because lots of callers round here do.
>
> (Sue Malleson e-mail 2.2.2019 [Italics Added])

The internet has assisted callers' searches for new material, offering free access to dance descriptions and videos from similar genres, particularly North American contra, and Scottish country dance. Whilst repertoire diversity is important, indeed critical, to the contemporary context of English social folk dance, I believe that in examining shared practice, analysis can move from specific cases towards a broader overview of the genre's development. In my fieldwork 130 dances were taught by more than one caller, 104 of these duplicates were comprised of the most popular eleven dances (A4:1), it is these eleven dances which form the basis of this chapter.

Before continuing to examine the set repertoire which forms the majority of dancing opportunities at these events, I wish to briefly outline the extent of improvisation or free dancing. Limited occasions for improvisatory dance were available at many events. Bands would often play music at the beginning and ends of the times reserved for dancing. The last tune set could be anything from a gentle air to a polka or jig or a refrain of *Show me the Way to Go Home*.[2] On one occasion a small handful of people improvised to the final music; they made right and left hand stars, changing in 8 bar phrases (FN: 22.7.18).

[2] A well known British novelty song written by James Campbell and Reginald Connelly in 1925.

Such un-called dancing was actively encouraged at the two events I recorded with the band The Ceilidh Liberation Front where *Strip the Willow* segued into improvised dancing. First the caller continued issuing prompts: 'Spin your Partner', 'Right and Left Star' and 'Do-si-Do'. Then they announced: 'make up your own moves, freestyle ceilidh […] go wild do what you want […] improvise […]' (FN: 16.9.17).

A number of other callers included opportunities for improvisation within the dances. One included four beats for freestyle dancing in the only example of a line dance which I recorded. In response to this request, a number of people turned on the spot. The caller cajoled them: 'one or two are standing still but you will soon get the idea' (FN: 23.9.17). The longest opportunity for improvised dancing within a structured dance came during the Round Table barn dance. Here the 'Swing' figure during *Blaydon Races* had been amended to include some free dancing (FN: 30.9.18). Whilst these dance events are not completely devoid of improvisation, such dancing plays a very minor role overall.

2:6:2 Collected Dances

As touched upon earlier (2:3:3) Douglas Kennedy pushed forward a change in the dance repertoire of the EFDSS. Sharp's fascination with Playford material, Kennedy argued, had led him towards 'the exclusion of living country dances' (1949a:104). Kennedy's pervasive concern was in countering the popular perception of folk dance as '"nuts" […] sissy […] kid's stuff […] the gymnasium when it's too wet for lacrosse […] sandals and beards or jibbahs […] a hundred girls and a man' (Kennedy, D. 1946c). It is possible to interpret Kennedy's change of repertoire as a means of consolidating his control within the Society, rather than an attempt to reinstate a more 'authentic' folk repertoire. As he was to later reflect post-retirement: 'More difficult were assemblies which were not wholly novice but contained some know-alls who wanted this or didn't

want that' (Kennedy D. 1971:90). In changing the repertoire, Kennedy was able to undermine the authority of those that had trained under Sharp's dance system. Folk dance certificate holders had gained their qualifications in a predominantly Playford-based repertoire and were unable to apply their full palate of skills to collected country dances (Ekin 1946:108).

In an *English Dance and Song* article entitled 'Policy, Programme and Practice' Kennedy divided country dancing into two forms: *utilities* and *classics* (Kennedy, D. 1945a). Utility dances were 'suitable for immediate consumption without any preliminary course of instruction' and he gave as examples *Circassian Circle* (16/21), and *Cumberland Square [Eight]* (9/21) which were two of the three most called dances of the contemporary Buckinghamshire tyro repertoire. Kennedy imagined utility dances at a party: '[W]here you learn as you dance and where there is no chance to stop and think' (Kennedy, D. 1945a:31). In contrast, classic Playford dances were deemed to be unsuitable for beginners.

Kennedy's new policies were viewed by some members as turning against Sharp's legacy. In dancer and musician Rollo Woods' (1926-2018) memoir he recalls dancing *Cumberland Square Eight* in 1939 in front of experienced folk dancers in Barnet, London.

> I remember hearing two ladies discussing afterwards whether Cecil Sharp would have approved of it, especially the third figure, which was, and is, a basket in which, if you aren't careful, the ladies' feet go off the floor.
>
> (Woods 2015: 2)

The two women of Woods' memoire were part of a wider backlash and the EFDSS executive committee feared membership unrest and potential schism (EFDSS 1948). Even after his retirement, Kennedy's repertoire changes were still debated in *English Dance and*

Song, with some EFDSS members criticising the blacklisting of Playford dances for beginners (Rutter 1969, Cook 1969).

Following Sharp's assertion in *The Country Dance Book Part One* that country dancing is 'demonstrably English' (1909:12), the perceived English specificity of the Playford repertoire appears to have been a draw for some enthusiasts. In 1955 one EFDSS member wrote that Playford dances are as:

> purely English in origin as we can possibly hope – in great contrast to the peculiar mixture of Irish, Scottish, American and pure invention which is nowadays foisted off on the public as "English Folk Dancing."
>
> (Murphy 1955:229)

By incorporating newly composed dances and American material, some members argued that the EFDSS was abandoning a 'typically English' dance form (Rowse 1955:228). Englishness was considered to be especially present in the Playford melodies. Member L.O. Dawson wrote: 'These lovely old dances with their equally beautiful tunes are part of our great national heritage and their rediscovery was probably Cecil Sharp's greatest gift to us' (Dawson 1955:70). The opinion of many that the Playford dances were quintessentially English continued even after Kennedy's retirement (e.g. Wild 1970:32) and it is clear that many members saw the process of de-prioritising manuscript dances as also being one of repertoire de-Anglicisation. Society members also complained of a simultaneous populism (Brearley 1969:87) and de-skilling which resulted from the implementation of Kennedy's approach (Trewinnard 1964:66).

In 1970 the topic of appropriate repertoire was raised within the EFDSS via a members' motion proposed by Russell Wortley which asked for a review of the Society's

aims, repertoire, and methods in order to aid a more rapid restoration of 'the social folk dance as a normal medium of sociability'. In the reply by the Artistic Development Committee a refutation of Kennedy's anti-Playford stance was made: 'The variety and richness of the English Social dance, from manuscript and printed as well as from oral sources, defies strict division into folk and non-folk' they argued (Smedley et al 1970:144). Illustrating this overt re-acceptance of Playford-style dances within the EFDSS under Matthews' directorship, an advert for a dance-writing contest in 1972 offered a prize for a new dance in the 'folk style' of either 'traditional' or 'Playford' but explicitly non-American ilk (*ED&S* 1972).

Playford dances retained their popularity within keen folk dance groups and the usage of these older dances and tunes is a key area of choreographic difference between many folk dance clubs and the tyro dances of my research. However, in my fieldwork I recorded that a few callers did select Playford dances including: *Black Nag, Half Hannekin*, and *Sellenger's Round.* However, no specific Playford dance was taught by more than one caller, and they represented a small minority of the total number of dances taught.

In contrast, the three most popular dances of my fieldwork *Circassian Circle* (16/21), *Strip the Willow/Drops of Brandy* (10/21), and *Cumberland Square Eight* (9/21), were part of Kennedy's repertoire re-evaluation and were printed in the *CDMs* (A4:2/DE:2, A4:2/DE:3, A4:2/DE:7). Kennedy's changes did not usher in a straightforward replacement of repertoire, of the most popular 31 dances of my fieldwork only 6 were collected (or 'traditional').[3] I will now explore the complicated recent histories of the three

[3] In addition to the trio above, *Norfolk Long Dance* (3/21), *Buttered Peas* (2/21), and *Nottingham Swing* (2/21) were selected by more than one caller.

most popular collected dances, in order to illustrate how the EFDSS' repertoire was affected by the quest to find a distinctly English social folk form in the 1940s and 1950s.

The *Circassian Circle*, in the form witnessed during my research, appears to illustrate the extent to which choreographies were selected to help disseminate social folk dancing as a distinct genre. *Circassian Circle* holds a prominent place at many tyro dance events, indeed twelve different callers selected it as the last structured dance of the evening.[4] *Circassian Circle* was collected by Maud Karpeles in Netherwitton, Northumberland on the 15th of May 1928 (VWMLDA: MK/1/1/4532). It was first published by the EFDSS in *Five Popular Country Dances* (Foster 1933), and was republished in *CDM1* (1947).[5] In both the collected and printed versions, two parts are given to this dance, one in couple-facing-couple (hereafter CFC), and the other in single-ring formation (A1:3).[6] As collected in Netherwitton, individuals changed their partners each turn through the dance[7] but at the events I attended it was usually danced without the

[4] Since the 1940s, the single-ring *Circassian Circle* has been used to finish keen events ('Spectator' 2005, Bremmer 1948:38, Palmer 1949, *Folklorist* 1958:133). Reg Hall has suggested that this practice was inspired by Peter Kennedy's contact with Northumbrian dancers in the 1940s (Hall 2005). There is a possible historical precedent; in the mid-nineteenth century *Circassian Circle* was regularly used as a finishing dance (Barlow 2012:101).

[5] Although this cannot be a historical study of *Circassian Circle*, it is pertinent to note that a dance of that title was popular in ballrooms at the start of the nineteenth century appearing in Chivers' *The Modern Dancing Master* (1822) as a dance in couple facing couple formation (Thurston 1954:153, Houston 2000). The *Circassian Circle* dance has been attributed to Alfred Bemetzrieder (1796-1872), son of musician and musical philosopher Antonious Bemetzrieder (1743-1817) (Fubini 1994:393, Andrew Metcalfe e-mail 20.11.18).

[6] Karpeles notes that the dancers at Netherwitton gave the first (CFC) and third (single-ring) parts of the dance, they had forgotten a second part (VWMLDA:MK/1/1/4532). Caller Steve Rowley recalled dancing two parts of *Circassian Circle* at a folk dance in the 1970s, possibly at Senate House in London (Facebook Messenger 2.8.18).

[7] That is, after entering the circle the men would return not to their partner but to the woman on her left. This was repeated at the same stage each time through the dance until original partners were once more united.

partner change.[8] The version of *Circassian Circle,* which uses a single-ring formation is derived from a quadrille partner change figure known as 'The Flirtation'. 'The Flirtation' or 'Grand Circle' was regularly given as the last figure in the quadrille sets in old time dance manuals (Francis and Day [1945a:]23, Gwynne 1950[1963]:267-269, Latimer 1948:16, 20-21, Silvester 1950[1951]:168, Thompson 1956:39).[9] In the first edition of *CDM1*, this dance had the title 'The Circassian or Sicilian Circle',[10] in the May 1948 re-print it was retitled 'Circassian and The Big Circle' and by the early 1970s nomenclature had settled into the description found in my fieldwork. Here the single-ring part of the dance alone is called the *Circassian Circle* (Smedley and Tether 1972:64).

Outside of the English folk revival, amongst 'traditional dancers' in the South West of England in the 1950s and at many dances in Scotland, *Circassian Circle* referred to a dance in CFC, not single-ring formation (Kennedy, P. 1950a:43, Thurston et al. 1966, Knight 1995:94-95).[11] Similarly in old time dance manuals of the late 1940s and early 1950s, *Circassian Circle* was a choreographically flexible dance in CFC which used a combination of any standard quadrille figures (Francis and Day [1945a]:48, Gwynne 1950[1963]:190, Latimer 1948:27, Silvester 1951:180,184). In adopting *Circassian Circle* as the name for the single-ring dance, the EFDSS was pursuing a deliberately different labelling system. This was mirrored in their decision to refer to dances in CFC as *Sicilian*

[8] I only noted two progressive examples.
[9] This is a history which was reiterated in EFDSS publications (Smedley and Tether 1972:64, Dommett, 1979). In the *Call Sheet,* an aide memoire of eight dances for MCs, the title for this dance is even given as '"The Flirtation" or Circassian Circle, Part 2' (EFDSS [1947]). It was also re-printed in the influential series *Folk Dances from Many Lands,* as *Flirtation* (Physical Educational Association [1939]).
[10] This same title was used in *Everybody Swing* (Kennedy, P. 1952).
[11] Many Scottish ceilidh dancers have now adopted the term *Circassian Circle* to refer to the single-ring variant. However, at Royal Scottish Country Dance Society events in Scotland *Circassian Circle* will usually be a dance in CFC formation (Patricia Ballantyne, e-mail 1.12.18).

Circles, in contrast to the terminology utilised by old time dancers. Confusingly the Society's use of *Sicilian Circle* was synonymous to that used by old time dancers for *Circassian Circle*. As well as changing the name, the EFDSS also proffered different music. Old time dancers often used the tune called the *Circassian Circle* (Francis and Day [1945b], Thurston 1966), in contrast *CDM1* suggested *The Irish Washerwoman*, *Miss McLeod's Reel*[12] and *Old Zip Coon* (alias *Turkey in the Straw*) (EFDSS 1947).[13]

For reasons which should become apparent I will now move to the third most popular dance, which was normally called the *Cumberland Square Eight* (9/21). Two *Square Eights* were collected in the late 1920s by Maud Karpeles eighteen miles apart, one at Whitfield, Northumberland in 1928 (VWMLDA:MK/1/1/4524) and one in Lanercost, Cumberland the following year (VWMLDA: MK/1/1/4584).[14] An adaption of the Lanercost dance was first published as the 'Square Eight: As Danced in Cumberland, Near the Scottish Border' in *English Dance and Song* in 1939:7.[15] Both the Lanercost and Whitfield versions are similar to the dance published in *CDM1* as *The Cumberland Square Dance* (1947:6), although there are minor differences in the terminology and details of

[12] Which was utilised in the classical score for 'hoedown' by Aaron Copland in the 1942 ballet *Rodeo*.
[13] Karpeles collected *Circassian Circle* part 1 to the tune of *Bonnie Dundee* and part 3 to *The Irish Washerwoman* both in $\frac{6}{8}$ (VWMLDA: MK/1/1/4532). Traditional musicians associated a wide variety of tunes with *Circassian Circle* including tunes in $\frac{4}{4}$; *Swaledale Lasses/Drunken Sailor, Nae Luck about the House, Whinham's Reel, Whinshield's Hornpipe*. Tunes in $\frac{6}{8}$; *Oyster Girl, John of Paris*. And tunes in $\frac{2}{4}$ such as *I'll Gang Nair Mair to Yon Toon* (Hall 2017).
[14] Goddard (2004) refers to an additional dance collected by Karpeles on 15.5.1928 at Netherwitton. I have so far failed to find the archival reference for this dance.
[15] Thanks to Derek Schofield for sharing his notes on the publication histories of the dances in the *CDM*s.

execution. Like the single-ring *Circassian Circle*, the *Cumberland Square Eight* is another adaptation of a single quadrille figure (Goddard 2004).

Both the 1939 and 1947 publications suggest the tune noted by Karpeles at Whitfield, *My Love is But a Lassie Yet* and unusually this tune has retained its association with the dance. I recorded this dance ten times in the field and at half of these events the band played *My Love is But a Lassie Yet*. This was always as part of a medley often moving from $\frac{4}{4}$ into $\frac{6}{8}$. In my fieldwork I noted that *Atholl Highlanders* was utilised as a following tune on four of those ten occasions. One London based caller described *Cumberland Square Eight* as being one of the few dances which have a set tune. He showed me his calling book which included copies of music notation and he identified *My Love is But a Lassie Yet* and *Atholl Highlanders* as being the tunes which went well with the *Cumberland Square Eight* (Anonymous caller I:28.9.17). It is not clear to what extent the tunes were linked because of their Scottish associations. *My Love is But A Lassie Yet* takes its name from a 1789 poem by Robert Burns, while the *Atholl Highlanders* is the name of the only private army in Europe (1839-present) which is under the control of the Duke of Atholl. A number of recordings paired the tune *My Love is but a Lassie Yet* with the dance *Cumberland Square Eight* and possibly helped to cement the connection.[16] Whilst a strong association between choreography and melody is a feature of many other dance genres, this is a rare example from my fieldwork.

Standing as a testament to the endurance of Kennedy's approach, the versions of *Cumberland Square Eight* and *Circassian Circle* recorded in my fieldwork differed in only minor ways to the versions published in *CDM1*. However, it is more difficult to assess the

[16] Including: The Folk Dance Orchestra (1940) and Jack Armstrong and his Barnstormers *North Country Dances* (1959).

relationship between Kennedy's emphasis on collected dances and the second most popular dance, *Strip the Willow* (10/21). Whilst it was called less frequently than *Circassian Circle*, its name appeared to have a greater resonance with participants. It was the only dance that was requested at more than one event, in an environment where any request is unusual.

The 'Strip the Willow' figure which is incorporated into a number of dances[17] has been succinctly described as: 'first couple turning each other with right arm and contrary partners with left arm, working down the set' (Clark and Evans 1964:15). This figure is known to the North American based Society of Folk Dance Historians as one variant of a weaving figure known throughout Europe and traceable in English dance manuscript books to the 1652 publication of *Trenchmore* (Goddard 2012). *Strip the Willow* had much currency outside of the English folk revival before Kennedy's ascendency to the directorship of the EFDSS. In 1913 it was considered by American dance educationalist Elizabeth Burchenal[18] to be a 'familiar Scottish dance' (1913:8), and it was published as such by the Scottish Country Dance Society in 1924 (see Houston 2012). The figures described by the Scottish Country Dance Society and Burchenal are identical to the dance published in *CDM3* (Kennedy, P. 1954) under the alternative title, *Drops of Brandy*.

Maud Karpeles noted two figuratively identical versions of *Drops of Brandy* from Northumberland, one from Netherton in May 1928 (VWMLDA: MK/1/1/4536), and one from Otterburn three months later (VWMLDA: MK/1/1/4571).[19] Both of these dances were done to a 'slow skipping step i.e. step and hop to each beat' and the $\frac{4}{4}$ tune played by

[17] Including: *Sir Roger De Coverley/Virginia Reel* (4/21), *Irish Trot/Thady You Gander*, *Haymakers*, and *Stoke Golding Country Dance*.
[18] See Houston 2006, Walkowitz 2010:61-66.
[19] Peter Kennedy later took credit for collecting *Drops of Brandy* (Kennedy, P. 1964).

musician Tom Foggen bears more resemblance to *Yankee Doodle Dandy* than the $\frac{9}{8}$ tune known as *Drops of Brandy* (VWMLDA: MK1/3/5000). The two versions of *Drops of Brandy* Karpeles collected are the same as that published in *CDM3*, although in some versions the top man swings the women's line first, whilst in others the top woman swings the men's line (see A4:2/DE:7).

Although the title choice by the Scottish Country Dance Society and the EFDSS appears to imply that the same dance was known by different names either side of the Scottish-English border, this was not the case. Tom and Joan Flett noted two figuratively identical dances *Strip the Willow* and *Drops of Brandy* in the repertoire of a Mr Maxwell of Haddington, East Lothian, Scotland (Flett and Flett 1964 [1985]:20). Differences between the dances appeared to lie primarily in the use of rhythm: *Strip the Willow* was danced to jigs ($\frac{6}{8}$); whilst *Drops of Brandy* was danced to a schottische ($\frac{4}{4}$). However, the limited evidence available does suggest that in Northumberland the dance was known as *Drops of Brandy* rather than *Strip the Willow* (Hall, I. 1959, Flett and Flett 1967), which would support the subtitle of *CDM3* as the 'English version of "Strip the Willow"' (Kennedy, P. 1954a). As implied elsewhere by researcher Ron Houston (2012), the existence of an alternative name for the same dance might well have been welcomed by the EFDSS, who wanted to promote a dance tradition which was notably different to that nurtured by the Scottish Country Dance Society.

Strip the Willow (A4:2/DE:7) was the only dance where $\frac{9}{8}$ metre was regularly employed. This follows Burchenal's suggestion of tunes in $\frac{9}{8}$ executed by dancers using a 'free running step, three to each measure of the music' (1913:8). In contrast *CDM3* recommends a $\frac{4}{4}$ dotted hornpipe *Ka-Foo-Zalum* and a step-hop/hop-step, as per Karpeles'

field notes (Kennedy, P. 1954a).[20] It is not entirely clear why tunes in $\frac{9}{8}$ became associated or perhaps re-associated with this dance in England; perhaps callers and bands were influenced by Scottish revival practices. Possibly performing this dance as un-phrased, as *CDM3* suggested, where 'no particular strain of music is connected with any particular part of the dance' (Kennedy, P. 1954a:5) encouraged the use of tunes in $\frac{9}{8}$. In so conceptualising this dance as un-phrased the need for dancers to locate the start of the phrase of music is annulled and familiar metres are therefore deemed less necessary to the success of the dance. *The Barn Dance Book* printed for the English market in 1990 advocates a free-running step (as per Burchenal) to tunes in $\frac{9}{8}$ and suggests just one dance - *Strip The Willow*, as being suitable for this metre (Reay 1990). The use of slip or hop jigs is possibly encouraged by band leaders who might welcome the rare opportunity to play tunes in $\frac{9}{8}$. These developments of *Strip the Willow* in England shows once more the desire to differentiate, this time with the use of schottische rhythms and a name change, from Scottish dancing practices. The popularity of the Scottish title and time signature indicates that this was a limited success, especially when compared to the creation of an English 'folk' version of *Circassian Circle*.

[20] Peter Kennedy commented that $\frac{9}{8}$ metre had fallen out of favour since the days of Charles Dickens (1812-1870) as dancers had lost the 'special rhythmical skill required' which he terms 'jig-hopping'. For *Drops of Brandy* he indicates that by the 1920s 'the hop-jig three step had given way to the step-hop two-step' used for tunes in $\frac{2}{4}$, or $\frac{4}{4}$ (Kennedy, P. 1999:2). Supporting Peter Kennedy's claim that the use of $\frac{9}{8}$ metre had largely been abandoned at local non-revival dances, the 1956 film of life in Northumberland *Any Man's Kingdom* appears to show *Drops of Brandy* danced to the *Redesdale Hornpipe* (James Hill c1811-1853) in $\frac{4}{4}$, to either a step-hop or polka step (*Any Man's Kingdom* 1956).

2:6:3 North American Influences

Before examining the adaption of American material some additional detail about country dancing needs to be outlined. The majority of dances in Sharp's *Country Dance Books* are in Duple Minor Progressive Longways (DMPL) formation.[21] This refers to the subdivision of the whole set into 'minor' sets of two couples or four dancers (Sharp 1909:18-24).[22] In 2017 I recorded the attitudes of a small group of aspirant and experienced callers at a workshop at Broadstairs Folk Festival, Kent. These callers expressed their general reticence to teach simultaneous starter DMPL dances at tyro events and discussed tactics to make such material easier to understand (14.8.17). This was a problem which was acknowledged by Douglas Kennedy and to help newcomers he 'arranged' or created the dance *The Belfast Duck* which has an easy progressive element (Mendham 2005, Rippon 2005). Similarly, in 1945 Helen Kennedy suggested that simultaneous starter DMPL dances could be quickly altered into the easier to grasp CFC formation (Kennedy, H. 1945). Her suggestion appears to have caught on *Buttered Peas* (2/21) was first published by Leta Douglas in *Six Dances of the Yorkshire Dales* (1931) in DMPL formation, but both of the versions I noted in the field made use of the CFC adaptation suggested by Helen Kennedy.[23]

[21] In DMPL dances an indeterminably long set is subdivided into 'minor' units of two couples (labelled 1 and 2). 1s are the top couple, closest to the band and 2s the bottom couple in each 'minor' set. During the course of the dance 1s will move down the set one place, whilst number 2s move one place up the set, towards the band. When 1s reach the bottom of the set, or 2s the top, they miss one round of the dance (during which they are neutral) and join back in as the other number, 1s becoming 2s, and visa versa. Amongst keen dancers all the minor sets start the dance at the same time, similarly in my fieldwork this was how both versions of *Nottingham Swing* (2/21) was enacted.

[22] It is possible that Sharp created this particular usage of duple and triple-minor for dance formations based upon music theory (Derek Schofield e-mail 15.11.18).

[23] One version was danced in CFC (FN:23.8.17), the other in broken CFC, with groups of four people randomly dispersed in the dancing space (FN:5.7.18)

The encouragement of dance adaption from longways to CFC was possibly influenced by North American dance practices. Maud Karpeles had already noted that the Country Dance 'survived' in America in three forms: the square dance, longways sets, and 'the Progressive Round', her term to describe dances in CFC. The progressive rounds worked on the 'same principle' as simultaneous starter DMPLs 'except that the dancers progress in a circle [….] and there are no neutral couples' (Karpeles 1931). CFC formation avoids two of the trickier technical elements of DMPL; the changeover of parts at the top and bottom of the set, and the need to stand out one rotation of the dance. It is possible that the choice of nomenclature for this dance formation *Sicilian Circle* was also influenced by the EFDSS's association with North America. In 1927 Karpeles collected a CFC dance called *Sicilian Circle* in Massachusetts (VWMLDA: MK/1/1/4448).[24] Although it was never published, perhaps it was taught and disseminated through the Society. This might explain the use of 'The Circassian or Sicilian' as the title choice for *Circassian Circle* found in the first edition of *CDM1* in 1947.[25]

In the 1950s, suggestions were made in *English Dance and Song* that clubs could make up *Sicilian Circles* using a combination of simple figures (Uttley 1954), and this idea was repeated in subsequent EFDSS publications (Bell 1957, Smedley and Tether 1972:44-47). Karpeles suggested that this was compliant with practice in New England where in many of the:

[24] In her notes of the *Sicilian Circle* dance she collected in Bernardston, Massachusetts in 1927, Karpeles recorded that it is 'like a longways duple minor-set dance, but the couples instead of being in one straight line are in a circle' (VWMLDA:MK/1/1/4448).
[25] Thurston noted that in North America *Sicilian Circle* was a common name for dances in CFC formation in the nineteenth century (Thurston et al. 1966). Hillgrove's dance manual gives descriptions for both *Circassian* and *Sicilian Circle* dances in CFC which are described as being in 'Spanish formation' as in the *Spanish Waltz* (Hillgrove 1857).

> Longways dances and Rounds […] there is no great variety, and many dances merely ring the changes on figures such as Balance and Swing, Ladies Chain, Promenade, Right and Left, etc.
>
> (Karpeles 1931:unpaginated)

In my fieldwork a number of callers used simple dances in CFC formation. Sometimes these had names which were announced, sometimes they were just called a *Sicilian Circle*.[26]

Bridge of Athlone (8/21), is an excellent example of the apparent attraction of North American dance practices to the EFDSS when compared to other 'national' styles. *Bridge of Athlone* (A4:2/DE:1) was published twice in the same year by the EFDSS in *CDM6* and also in *Swing Partners* (Hamilton 1964:10, Clark and Evans 1964:16). The editors of *CDM6* described it as an 'American Set Dance'. *Bridge of Athlone* was one of a number of longways ceílí dances created at the turn of the twentieth century for use at social events by the Gaelic League (Cullinane 1998, Hall 2016:182-196, Brennan 1999). A number of these ceílí dances, including *Bridge of Athlone* were published in *Rince na hÉireann: National Dances of Ireland* (Burchenal 1929:85-86). The explicit association with America given in *CDM6* supports the possibility that American culture was viewed as a neutralizing force making choreography acceptable which might otherwise be too Irish for the English revival. In my fieldwork this dance was rarely introduced as Irish, I only recorded one such introduction and that was at an event held, coincidentally, on St Patrick's Day (FN:17.3.18).

[26] One un-named *Sicilian Circle* I participated in at a village barn dance included these figures in the following order: 1) Circle left then circle right; 2) Right hand star then left hand star; 3) Do-si-Do opposite individual, right arm turn own partner; 4) Holding hands with your partner move forward to meet other couple and back again; 5) The two couples pass each other the men passing left shoulders (FN: 17.10.17).

Lucky Seven (A4:2/DE:5) is a comparatively popular dance for tyro events (7/21) it was also taught at one of the EFDSS's training days (16.6.2018). *Lucky Seven* has a distinct figure – a 'Grand Chain' which ceases on the seventh change leaving dancers with a new partner for the next dance rotation. This dance was first published in *ED&S* in 1958, and re-published in *CDM6* (Bell 1958a:134, Hamilton 1964:8). Michael Bell commented that it was first introduced by Mrs McLain at an Anglo-American course and suggested that this dance has 'American-Danish origins' (Bell 1958a:134). American Mrs McLain appears to have learnt the dance through Mr and Mrs Bidstrup a Danish couple, and taught it at one of the Anglo-American summer courses held by the EFDSS at Barford, Warwickshire (*ED&S* 1953:25, Houston 2008). *Lucky Seven* has much in common with *Paul Jones*, a progressive dance of American origins from the early part of the twentieth century.[27] Like the old time version of *Circassian Circle*, or the EFDSS's *Sicilian Circles*, *Paul Jones* represented a dance idea as much as a fixed figure sequence, and could be identified by a grand chain figure which was brought to an end by the MC, who often shouted "Paul Jones", purportedly a reference to the eighteenth century revolutionary American naval commander (De Guardiola 2010, 2014b, Jamison 2015:117).

One 1914 *Paul Jones* variant published by Victor Records with Irene and Vernon Castle in a booklet (*Victor Records for Dancing*) is figuratively identical to the *Lucky Seven* dance as published in *CDM6* and described in A4:2/DE:5. In the Victor/Castle version, the 'Grand Chain' is for eight counts, or seven changes, the other figures are 'Circle Left', 'Circle Right', and 'Swing' (De Guardiola 2014a). *Paul Jones* was well known in 1930s Britain, EFDS/S members Violet Alford and Rodney Gallop complained of the 'dreary treadmill of *Paul Jones*' when compared to the exhilaration of country

[27] Jamison identified *Paul Jones* as having evolved from the *German Cotillion* (2015:117-120).

dancing (Alford and Gallop 1935:8). By 1948 *Paul Jones* had been adopted by American folk dance promoter Lloyd Shaw and published in his *Round Dance Book* (Shaw 1948[1950]:298-404). Four years later Mrs McLain was teaching her American-Danish *Lucky Seven* to EFDSS members.[28] What is clear is that the Society favoured a dance of opaque North American dissemination and unfamiliar name to reviving a figuratively similar, if not identical, early twentieth century popular party dance.

A more obvious link to North American practices is the adoption of square dances. Simple squares, with a fixed repeating pattern of figures were a regular feature of contemporary tyro events. 13/21 callers selected a figuratively simple square dance which was not *Cumberland Square Eight*. The most popular example was *Coming Round the Mountain* (4/21), which was usually danced to its eponymous song/tune (A4:2/DE:6). The simple square dances recorded in my fieldwork came from a range of sources. *Chess Club Square* (1/21) is a contemporary composition written by Ian McFarlane, whilst *Ninepins* (3/21), *Goathland Square Eight*, (2/21), and *La Russe* (1/21) are all variants of collected dances. Other squares owe their origins to the 1950s square dance boom (2:3:4). One version of *Hinky Dinky Parlez Vous* (FN: 24.2.18) was figuratively identical to the version of the same name published in the North American dance handbook sponsored by car manufacturer Henry Ford (Lovett 1939[1943]:64). Similarly, the figures for *I Wanna Be Near You* (3/21) are the same as *Nellie Bly* published in Charles Chilton's square dance manual (1953:59).

[28] Whether or not Mrs McLain's dance, known to international folk dancers as *Familie Sekstur* is a Danish version of *Paul Jones* is a topic which requires investigation beyond the scope of this thesis.

Sir Roger De Coverley (4/21), hereafter *Sir Roger,* also underwent an Americanisation to become more commonly known as *The Virginia Reel.*[29] Whilst the figures appear to have changed over time (Goddard 2012:53-4) *Sir Roger* was a popular British dance, even giving its name to a series of stories published in *The Spectator* between 1711-1712.[30] *Sir Roger* appears to have been one of the last real country dances to be widely danced. Sharp refers to it twice in *The Country Dance Book* assuming that it would be familiar to his readers (1909:18, 26) and Helen Kennedy reflected that *Sir Roger* was still commonly danced alongside 'the Quadrilles, The Lancers, Barn Dances, Waltzes, and other couple dances' in the ballrooms of Edwardian England (Kennedy, H. 1955:158).

Sir Roger is similar to *Strip the Willow,* its distinguishing figure being a 'Strip the Willow' figure. It is also associated with slip or hop jigs; *Sir Roger's* eponymous tune being in $\frac{9}{8}$. Instructions for dancing *Sir Roger* are included in *CDM1* (EFDSS 1947:11). In the first few re-prints it retained its name, but by the November 1951 re-print (which had the one-off name *The Community* Square *Dances Manual*) it was given with both names (*Sir Roger* and *The Virginia Reel*), and in every subsequent re-print it was labelled as *The Virginia Reel* only. The eponymous tune in $\frac{9}{8}$ is in none of the primary EFDSS tune books,[31] although it features in other contemporary publications.[32] Published on the same page as *Circassian Circle* in *CDM1* (EFDSS 1947) the suggested tunes are the same, and

[29] Only once in my fieldwork was it referred to as *Sir Roger de Coverley* rather than *The Virginia Reel.*
[30] It also appeared in *A Christmas Carol* by Charles Dickens (1843), and *Silas Marner* by George Eliot (1861).
[31] *A Selection of 100 English Folk Dance Airs* (Karpeles and Schofield 1934); *The Fiddlers Tune Book* (Kennedy 1951 and 1954b); and *A Popular Selection of Traditional Dance Airs* (Fleming Williams and Shaw 1967).
[32] Such as *The Guild of Play Book of Festival and Dance* (Kimmins and Woolnoth 1907:36), and *Westrop's Country Dances* (Westrop's [1923]:1).

the choice of *Miss McLeod's Reel* and *Old Zip Coon* adds a further layer of Americanisation.

A final example of the Americanisation of repertoire can be found in the *Heel and Toe Polka* (3/21) presented in *CDM5* (Bell 1957) as *The Patacake Polka* (3/21), see A4:2/DE:4.[33] *The Heel and Toe Polka* was a popular nineteenth century couple dance. Versions of the tune were recorded by Peter Kennedy from traditional musicians across England who operated outside of the direct influence of the EFDSS.[34] Possibly because of its bouncy nature, it was not a favourite of the British old time revival, [35] however, it had some popularity in mid-twentieth century North America where the *Heel and Toe Polka* was used to add variety to evenings dominated by square dances (Houston 1998:23, Lovett 1939[1943]:93, Shaw 1948:74). It is probable that the inclusion of this dance in *CDM5* drew upon North American dance practices. The *CDM5* instructions make for an essentially uncoupled dance. The direction is for the couple to 'swing' rather than polka, and in suggesting a change partner dance, which Kennedy associated with American folk dance practices (Bell 1957:1), the emphasis shifted from the dancing couple onto the group. Once more two of the three tunes suggested for this dance in *CDM5* give an additional American flavour *Buffalo Girls* (Goddard 2006), and *Little Brown Jug* (Bell 1957:4).

Throughout the twentieth century, the EFDSS continued to foster strong links with North American folk dance aficionados. Americanisms can be found in aspects of EFDSS

[33] It was also taught on the EFDSS social folk dance training day (16.6.2018).
[34] Including: Bob Cann, George Craske, George Woolnough, Percy Brown, Ray Hubbard, Scan Tester, and Ned Pearson (Hall 2017).
[35] It is absent from the British old-time dancing manuals I have so far examined (Francis and Day 1945a, Gwynne 1950, Latimer 1948, Mainey 1953, Silvester 1950, Taylor 1944, Thompson 1956).

terminology, for example the use of *square* dances rather than *quadrilles* or *sets*. Following Sharp's lead, North American and English folk dances appear to have been considered to be largely interchangeable by the Kennedys. Douglas Kennedy argued that American square dancing is 'in essence English' (Kennedy, D. 1939b:269) whilst Helen Kennedy speculated that '[m]ost of the English traditional dances have their American counterpart, danced to the same tunes' (1945). Such claims were never made for dance traditions from geographically more proximate countries such as Scotland, Ireland, France, or Wales.

2:6:4 Couple Dances and the Old Time Dance Revival

Couple dances, including round dances such as the waltz, polka, and schottische,[36] played a minimal role in the tyro dances of my research. Among some older participants, however, there was a lingering expectation that dance events should finish with a waltz. One participant in his 80s walked up to the band at the end of one event and jokingly chided them 'you forgot the last waltz' (FN:7.10.17). As discussed earlier (2:6:1) there were limited occasions for free or non-called dances at tyro events. Out of 30 events, 12 had additional music after the last called dance, of which 7 were tunes in $\frac{4}{4}$. Very few individuals took the opportunity to do free form dancing, some events with attendees who were morris dancers being exceptions to this trend. At a private 70th birthday party six participants I recognised as morris dancers and/or keen ceilidh dancers did a polka.[37] The most popular couple dance of the tyro dances of my research was *The Gay Gordons* (3/21). Apart from myself only one other caller taught versions of *Barn Dance,* and *The Military*

[36] Round dancing refers to their circulatory nature. Couples turn on their own axis whilst simultaneously progressing around the outskirts of the dancing space.
[37] A ceilidh I attended on 30.6.18, in Towcester, Northamptonshire which was held as part of a morris dance weekend included three couple dances. These were comprised of two polkas, one at the start and one at the the end of the evening, and a version of *The Barn Dance*, in schottische rhythm (as per Clark and Evans 1964).

Two-Step. Other couple dances were each only called by one individual. These were: S*t Bernard's Waltz, Rozsa* (devised by Gordon Potts), the Welsh dance *Ffarwel Marian* (Marian's Waltz), *The Drunken Piper*, and *Chapelloise*.[38]

This section thus addresses a conspicuous choreographic absence. Sharp's position as set out in the *Country Dance Book* introduced a longways formation focus for English folk dancing (Schofield 2001:89, 2011a:13). Indeed, Sharp had explicitly contrasted the longways formation country dances which were at the heart of the nascent EFDS to the popular nineteenth century couple dances which had ousted them (Sharp 1909:9). However, couple dances played an important part in the programmes of dance in the 'traditional' settings from which the Kennedys drew inspiration. In Peter Kennedy's opinion, a typical late 1940s rural Northumbrian dance programme consisted of couple dances: 'old-fashioned waltzes, polkas, schottisches, two-steps, *Barn Dances*, *Highland Schottische* and *Gay Gordons*' as well as group dances' (Kennedy, P. 1950a:10 [italics added]). The Kennedys encouraged the use of couple or round dances in addition to old time set dances to break the ice at tyro events by utilising repertoire which was already familiar to participants (Kennedy, P. 1948:4). Douglas Kennedy was to preface *CDM1* advocating just such an approach, which he reiterated in *English Dance and Song* some ten years later:

[38] *Chapelloise* (alias *'t Smidje*) is generally considered to be a European interpretation of a dance called the *All American Promenade* which is figuratively identical to *The Progressive Gay Gordons* (Harris et.al 1950:306, Clark and Evans 1964, Houston 1995a). *Chapelloise* is currently popular with the keen 'bal folk' movement across Western Europe. In England it is also occasionally danced by the contemporary old time dance movement (phone conversation with Hazel Harding from Bath Old Time Dance Society 21.6.18).

> The more the programme can embody the "local favourites," not the favourites of the folk dancers, but the favourites of the local dance – round, "couple" dances, Old Time, etc. – the more the layman will feel reassured.
>
> (Kennedy, D. 1957)

Although Douglas Kennedy advocated their use at tyro events, the EFDSS appears not to have taught couple dances. The Kennedys followed Sharp by emphasising the benefit of group dancing and of working with the whole set rather than being exclusively focused on one's dancing partner (see Kennedy D. and Kennedy H. 1939, 1959b). The joy of square dancing, over popular couple party dances such as *The Lambeth Walk* was, Kennedy argued, is that it is 'more like part-singing in which individuals do something different and yet make a common harmony at the same time' (Kennedy, D. 1939b:268).

Couple dances also appear to have been too aligned with the rival old time dance movement, which was introduced earlier in this thesis (see 2:3:2). In 1943 the BBC had started broadcasting *Those Were the Days,* a radio programme of old time dance music, which only ceased to be broadcast in 1976 (Corbett 2013). The International Sequence and Old Time Dance Circle was established one year later in 1944, and the Imperial Society of Teachers of Dancing followed suit by establishing its own Victorian and Sequence Branch, under the chairmanship of Cecil Ruault in 1947 (Wykes 2014). Kennedy's support for the inclusion of old time and couple dancing faced opposition from some keen dancers at EFDSS events. One London based member was incensed enough to pen a letter to *English Dance and Song* complaining of the 'foreign elements savouring rather of "Old Tyme" or even "Modern Ballroom" dancing of a not particularly high level' creeping into the EFDSS's offerings (Richardson 1951-1952:88).

Peter Kennedy recalled that couple dances were left out of the *CDMs* 'because they are not easy to notate, and, to be fair, partly because different members of staff were using their own particular favourites' (Kennedy, P. 1989). He had apparently prepared a *Barn Dance Manual* in the early 1950s which included dance and music material for couple dances. He later alleged that the book was not published:

> [P]artly because Round Dancing, like Music Hall songs, were not considered to be an old enough tradition; and partly because the E.F.D.S.S. were anxious not to offend the Old Time Dance Societies or the Imperial Society of Ballroom Teachers.
>
> (Kennedy, P. 1989:15)

Peter Kennedy also suggested that he was not allowed to use such material in the *Everybody Swing* radio broadcasts because the BBC had a contractual agreement with old time promoters who claimed exclusive rights to the broadcasting of such material (Hall 2017:22, I:13.10.17). Like Peter Kennedy, dance researcher Roy Dommett also made a direct link between the old time movement and the absence of nineteenth century dances from the folk repertoire.

> Because we have an "Old Time" dance movement most of the Quadrilles and couple dances are not considered folk although they are so considered everywhere else in the world. The Scots, Irish, Americans and north Europeans have used their equivalent period as the basis of their national dance style and technique where the English flounder (partly as a consequence of reviving Playford) with the too few relics of other traditions. Meanwhile the Old Time world has thrown away the genuine thing.
>
> (Dommett [1975])

There was much similarity between Kennedy's folk revival and the old time movement. Both were nostalgic social dance genres which were rooted in a firmly white British paradigm, and deliberately ran counter to popular dance trends (Thompson 1959:9, Corbett 2013:402, Nott 2015:118). Echoing some of Douglas Kennedy's concerns about the popular image of folk dancers, old time teacher Francis Joseph Mainey worried that his genre was widely regarded as some sort of 'queer cult' (Mainey 1953:12). In addition, there were overlaps in presentational methods, the practice of calling dances was customary for some old time set dances (Mainey 1953:123, Corbett 2013:193, British Pathé 1951). Many of the tunes used for the old time radio programme *Those Were the Days*, in the 1940s and 1950s, would have been familiar to folk music enthusiasts and included arrangements of tunes such as *Shepherd's Hey* and *The Keel Row* (Corbett 2013).[39] Another intersection was the occasional inclusion of a chorus song at old time events which would be sung by the assembled dancers. At one old time dance in 1962, the chosen song was *Come Landlord Fill the Flowing Bowl* (Corbett 2013:188). This particular song was likewise recorded by a number of folk artists including The Southerners on *Dancing for Fun No.2* which was released through the EFDSS in 1969.

Choreographic overlap between tyro folk and old-time dances of the mid-twentieth century can be found by comparing Francis and Day's publication *Old Time Favourite and Modern Dances* (Francis and Day [1945a]) with the EFDSS publication *Swing Partners* (Clark and Evans 1964). *Swing Partners* was compiled by the EFDSS's Midlands area

[39] Also: *Floral Dance, Blow the Man Down, When Johnny Comes Marching Home Again, Marching through Georgia, Skye Boat Song, What Shall we Do with the Drunken Sailor?, Cock O' The North, The Irish Washerwoman, A Hundred Pipers, Little Brown Jug, Villikins and his Dinah*, and *The Lincolnshire Poacher*. These sat alongside other music such as: Verdi, Mendelson, The *Teddy Bear's Picnic* (John Walter Bratton), *Merrie England* (Edward German), Gilbert and Sullivan medleys, *Hearts of Oak*, and *See me Dance the Polka* (George Grossman).

organiser Sibyl Clark and it was aimed primarily for the youth club market (Novello 1975:44).[40] Unusually for an EFDSS publication it contained couple dances. In the introduction Clark notes that: 'Country versions of couple dances such as the *Barn Dance* have been included as they now form an integral part of village traditions' (Clark and Evans 1964:5 [italics added]). In addition to *The Barn Dance* (2/21) both contain notations for *Sir Roger/The Virginia Reel* (4/21), *Circassian Circle (*16/21), and *Waltz Cotillion/Waltz Country Dance* (1/21).

Old time dance events of the 1950s and 1960s were often perceived to be quite formal, with many operating a policy of booked dances,[41] white gloves, and strict floor etiquette (Corbett 2013:228). Kennedy used such contextual formalities to delineate differences between the two genres: 'The element which marks the distinction lies in the traditional music used and in the lack of sophistication in the [EFDSS] style of dancing' (Kennedy, D. 1951-52:88). Such commentary indicates the desire to differentiate which can perhaps only come from similarity and its subtleties rather than overt choreographic differences (Kennedy, D. 1947-1948:85, Kennedy, P. 1948:4).[42]

All was not hostile, indeed there was evident co-operation between the EFDSS and the old time dance movement. In 1949 the EFDSS embarked upon the 'Merrie England Ball and Old Time Dance', a joint venture with old time dancers, organised by *The Star*

[40] Its title might have been inspired by the 1951-2 BBC and EFDSS radio broadcast *Everybody Swing.*
[41] The practice of securing dance partners in advance, by booking them into a pre-planned dance schedule provided by the organisers.
[42] Although not all old time dances were highly sophisticated affairs, Major Cecil Taylor, then president of the Imperial Society of Teachers of Dancing chose *Old Time and Novelty Dances* for his handbook title as he considered these dances to be of a primarily 'party' nature, rather than a true continuation of Victorian ballroom glamour (Nott 2015:118).

newspaper. Promotion for this event advertised community dances with Douglas Kennedy as MC, an old time dance competition, displays from both the EFDSS and the Royal Academy of Dancing, and 'Old-Time dancing until 1am' (*ED&S* 1949a:17). The overlap was also explicitly recognised when for a few months in 1956 *Those Were The Days* included a folk dancing spot with EFDSS callers including Ron Smedley, Peter Kennedy, and Jack Hamilton (Corbett 2013:119-120). The programme for the 10th of March 1956 included two 'folk' dances *The Morpeth Rant* and *Three Meet*. The inclusion was not popular with regular listeners and folk dancing on the programme had ceased by the end of the year. Ron Smedley recalled the animosity he had experienced on the programme:

> Harry Davidson's inclusion of Folk material in 'Those Were the Days' was brief and a failure - with the Old Timers who took part. They hated it. Why should we have village green rubbish they said. It was a total misunderstanding of the folk material of course. It was a radio programme so the audience couldn't see that the Old Time dancers on the floor refused to join in. But the atmosphere was miserable. (Ron Smedley e-mail 8.7.2018)

With strong links to formal dance organisations, old time dancers of the early 1950s were already developing their genre utilising an aesthetic which was increasingly aligned with the modern English ballroom style as formalised by the Imperial Society of Teachers of Dancing in the 1920s (Buckland 2018a). One old time teacher noted in 1953 that: 'The present tendency is away from hops, and towards the smooth "on the ground" steps' (Mainey 1953:17). Old time dancers gradually moved away from polkas and schottisches towards waltzes and glides, and by the 1960s, old time dance programmes did not portray a style that was always recognisable to the older generation. Lancastrian Elizabeth Gibson (b.1883) complained to dance researchers Joan and Tom Flett in 1960 that: 'When they put

the old-time dancing on [the TV], it makes me mad, because they aren't "old time dancing"' (Gibson 1960). As the century progressed, both old time and keen folk dancers moved away from the focus on nineteenth century repertoire which they had initially shared, and the overlap in choreography declined. However, it would seem the damage had already been done and in its post-WWII re-modelling English social folk dance had been formalised and popularised as a being a set or group rather than couple-focused genre.

To what extent most tyro participants would have drawn any distinction between English folk and old time dance in the 1950s is unclear. The place of couple dancing in the typical tyro programme declined further in the 1980s and 1990s when fewer individuals had the sufficient experience for these dances to offer any degree of reassuring familiarity. Sue Malleson started calling in 1971, she described her increasing reticence to announce a waltz at tyro dance events: 'I discovered that most people couldn't waltz. And what I don't like is to see embarrassment on the dance floor so I do tend to avoid them' (I: 7.9.17). Malleson's contemporary Diana Campbell Jewitt explained changing tyro competencies in reference to the 1937 sequence descendent of the *Hesitation Waltz* – the *St Bernard's Waltz* (Houston 1995b).

> We did things that they knew, like *The Gay Gordons* and […] the *St Bernard's Waltz* and so what you would do is you would start off with the things they knew to build confidence, and you would say "come on then we'll do the *St Bernard's Waltz*". And everyone would rush up and I would say "and don't forget when you go into the middle don't forget to use this foot otherwise you are going to kick somebody and you turn the lady under and waltz her on" and off they go. If I did that now most people wouldn't have a clue what was going on, they would just not, unless they were very elderly.
>
> (Diana Campbell Jewitt I:5.12.17)

St Bernard's was a favourite in mid-century old time publications, where it was often identified, alongside the *Dashing White Sergeant* as a party dance (cf. Francis and Day [1945], Latimer 1948, Silvester 1950, Thompson 1950, 1956). *St Bernard's* had a minimal presence at the dances I attended, it was called by only one caller in his late 70s. But it appears to have had a greater popularity in the past, even if it evaded any inclusion in EFDSS publications.[43]

Like *St Bernard's*, the Victorian couple sequence waltz *Varsovienne*, known by a number of different spelling and abbreviations was never published by the EFDSS, but it was danced occasionally at some post-WWII folk dance events (Goddard 2007:4). In an online forum post from 2004, Geoff Wright noted that *Varsovienne* was still danced regularly in the North East of England, although subsequent communication established that this is now no longer the case (The Session 2004, e-mail 15.8.18).[44] Whilst couple dancing competencies declined amongst the general populace, the keen ceilidh movement of the 1970s instigated a revival of interest in some forms of couple dancing, particularly the polka which often opened and closed many folk festival ceilidhs in 2019. The slightly later interest in French dance and music has also created an interest in schottisches which can occasionally be found at keen ceilidhs.[45]

This section has explored the reasons for the relative absence of couple dances in my field research. Ironically these dances had made up a large part of the repertoire of the

[43] In the documentary *Too Long A Winter* (1973), the local Teesdale community gathered for an annual thanksgiving/harvest home dance hosted by the lady of the manor Mrs Field. In her stately home a string quartet with piano, dressed in 'black tie' evening wear, play for the meal. The dance afterwards included the *St Bernard's Waltz*.
[44] *Varsovienne* was published in some old time manuals and the Ling series of *Folk Dances From Many Lands* (Gwynne 1950, Silvester 1950). As *Shoe the Donkey* it was danced at the Ceílí I attended at St James Working Men's Club in Northampton, organised by and for the local Irish community (14.4.18).
[45] Thanks to Sean Goddard for bringing this to my attention (e-mail 30.1.19).

village events which were the inspiration for the Kennedys' new interpretation of folk dance. The absence of couple dancing post-WWII seems to be linked to competition with another sub-genre, old time dance, with which the folk revival appeared to share dance sources, melodies, and an underpinning nostalgic outlook. However, due to the perception of them as a bridge to folk dance, couple dances played a larger role in tyro dances from the late 1940s until the 1980s than EFDSS publications would indicate.[46] When the imperative to learn couple dancing declined in wider British society, it seems that it was no longer practical, or even desirable, to include couple dances at English social folk dance events, which would account for their almost total absence at the tyro dance events of my fieldwork.

2:6:5 International Dance

There are a small number of dances at tyro events which appear to have been influenced by the international folk dance movement (Goddard 2007, Shay 2008, Tomko 1999). Prior to its official formation in 1946 what was to become The Society for International Folk Dance (SIFD) held events at Cecil Sharp House (Leighton 1986, Midgely 1951-2). Kennedy loosely supported the inclusion of dances from other cultures, writing that the Society benefitted from 'occasional excursions outside the national repertory'. He viewed as problematic, however, the practice of learning dances from other cultures before a dancer has 'become familiar with his native idiom' (Kennedy, D. 1954a:5). This would perhaps explain why non-Anglo-American dances were not printed

[46] One barn dance guide discusses 'Old Timers' who might book a folk caller. They suggest starting with a couple dance which would be familiar to the participants (Skipper and Skipper 1981:19).

in the *CDMs* even though some international dances were taught at English folk dance events in the 1940s and 1950s (Goddard 2007).

Collections of international dances were produced by British publishers as early as 1907 (Goddard 2007). In the 1930s the Ling Association published a series entitled *Folk Dances from Many Lands*, with three booklets on European (excluding Scandinavia) dances, three booklets on Scandinavian Dance, and one booklet on Czech, Moravian, and Slovakian dances.[47] In 1948 the Ling Association sponsored the *Handbooks of European National Dances* series in conjunction with the Royal Academy of Dancing which was edited by EFDSS member Violet Alford (1881-1972). According to Sean Goddard, a few of the choreographies from *Folk Dances From Many Lands* were included within the post-WWII English folk dance repertoire including: *Swedish Masquerade/Swedish Schottische* (1/21), *Cochin China, Danish Dance/Little Man In a Fix, Fricassée*, and *Varsovienne* (Goddard 2007).[48]

In general, non-Anglo-American dances occupied a limited place at my research events, although in addition to *The Bridge of Athlone* I did encounter: a Bollywood inspired line dance to recorded music (FN:23.9.17); *The Seige of Ennis* (1/21) an Irish ceílí dance; and *The Czech Dance* (1/21) which Diana Jewitt suggested was disseminated at the Sidmouth International Folk Festival (Jewitt 1997:58). The most popular 'international' dance was the simple linked chain dance known variously as *The Snake Dance, Farandole,*

[47] The booklet on Czech, Moravian and Slovakian Dances was authored by B. Velinsky. Goddard (2007) believes that the contents of the other booklets were either authored or copied from M. Hilton Royle, author of *Scandinavian Folk Dance and Singing Games* [1927].
[48] *Swedish Masquerade* has been danced in England since the 1950s (Rippon 1996). Sue Malleson's father, headmaster and folk-band drummer Geoffrey Ginn recalled to her its introduction in the EFDSS in the late 1940s (Facebook 31.1.2019). It is also danced in Scotland and Ireland.

Thread the Needle, or *Golowan*. This dance is occasionally included in publications of international dances and acts as a case study for considering the complexity of dance transmission. In my fieldwork this dance had modest popularity (4/21), and was one of the few dances taught at the EFDSS's training day (16.6.18). To what extent it is understood to be either an 'English' or 'international' dance is however, far from straightforward.

Linked chain dances can be found across the world, and Sharp considered them to be the oldest of English dance forms (Sharp and Oppé 1924:6). In 1912 folklorist J.B.Partridge compiled details of places in Britain and Ireland which had an annual *Thread-The-Needle* dance, a linked chain dance where two individuals at one end make an arch, and the person at the other end goes through it leading the rest of the dancers (Partridge 1912). Partridge linked this dance to the custom of church clipping where the local church would be physically embraced by its parishioners (Roud 2006:408-409). Where adults no longer threaded-the-needle sometimes children did. Thus accounts of the dance can be found in compendia of childhood folklore (Opie and Opie 1985). 'Thread the Needle' could also be found as a *German Cotillion* figure, a type of dance party game involving partner swapping which was popular in the nineteenth century (De Guardiola 2008, Jamison 2015: 115-117, Strobel 2008).[49] It is unclear whether its use by English folk dance callers from the 1950s onwards was inspired by either its historical use in England, accounts of French and Spanish linked dances (Alford 1932), the international folk dance movement, or memories of its use at regular dance events. The first EFDSS description of it was in *Swing Partners* (Clark and Evans 1964) where the figures are similar to the ones I witnessed in the field (A4:2/DE:8).

[49] A publication by North American dancing master Allen Dodworth *Dancing and Its Relation to Social Life* contains a description of 'Thread the Needle' as one of 250 *German Cotillion* figures (Dodworth 1900).

In England the *Farandole* certainly had currency outside of the EFDSS, as it was taught at some teacher training colleges. One Buckinghamshire caller, Val Symon who trained as a physical education teacher at Bedford college in the early 1970s, recalled learning international dances including the *Farandole*:

> **VS**: I have got the music upstairs on the big tape to tape decks of all my foreign dances. I've still got it all. The music for the *Candle Dance of Portugal,* the *Farandole*, French, still teach a couple of those at school […] because the *Farandole* is a lovely one for kids to do […] you do 'Arches' and 'Snails' and it involves everybody easily, it doesn't matter if it is male or female you can just follow as long as you have got somebody at the front that knows what they are doing.
>
> **CEMM**: and you learnt that at college?
>
> **VS**: Yeah I learnt that at college, well I did loads of foreign dances at college, Polish, *Tarantella* [diddles the *Tarantella*] all sorts.
>
> (Val Symon I: 8.11.17)

A further development of this dance has been its reinvention as a specifically Cornish dance.[50] In 1990 the mid-summer festival of Golowan was re-established in Penzance. Golowan has become a popular local festival and featured in a BBC documentary *Still Folk Dancing… After All These Years* (2010). The Penzance celebrations include a thread the needle dance reconstructed from a mid-nineteenth century description (Davey et al. 2009:29,87). The EFDSS oscillated between *Golowan* and *The Snake or Farandole* as the title for this dance in their school handbook. The final choice appeared to depend upon

[50] A search for Cornish distinctiveness has also encouraged a new identity for the ubiquitous polka step, which Cornish dance teacher and caller Helen Musser described as the *Golowan* step (I:20.3.18).

whether the edition focused on an English or international repertoire (Crouch 1995, Jewitt 1997, Knight 2002, Knight 2012).

Many of the international dances promoted by the Ling Association are associated with particular tunes. The dance *Swedish Masquerade* (1/21) for example, has three distinct dancing tempos: March $\frac{2}{4}$, Waltz $\frac{3}{4}$, and Polka $\frac{4}{4}$ and so other tunes cannot be substituted easily (Patrick 2007). The link between dance and music is a source of consternation for many English folk dance musicians who can become tired of playing the same tunes. Reg Hall recalled his dislike for the tune/dance *Aunt Hessie's White Horse* (I:13.10.17), the band members of Jubilation for the tune/dance *Blaydon Races* (FN: 5.8.17), and members of the band Bricks and Brussels for the tune/dance *La Russe*. On this occasion I recorded the caller announcing the following to the assembled participants:

> I have to tell you this is the band's favourite dance they love playing this, this one, they love so much, whenever I say we are going to do *La Russe Quadrille* they say that is great, wonderful. Look at their little faces at the end, you will see what I mean when you see, when they have sat there playing this damn tune for hours, because it goes on for a long time.
>
> (FN: 22.7.17)

This situation is possibly exacerbated by the use of live musicians often playing primarily for pleasure rather than financial reimbursement (cf. Becker 1951). Unlike *Swedish Masquerade, The Snake Dance* is very flexible and can theoretically be danced to any tune in any metre. As Val Symon explained in her interview, it can also accommodate any number of participants. This perhaps helps to explain why it is the most popular of the 'international' dances.

2:6:6 Newly Composed Dances

Dances which were created, invented, devised, or written by keen folk dancers in the late twentieth century made up a significant proportion of the tyro dance repertoire with 12 out of the most popular 31 dances being newly composed. Despite Sharp's assertion that 'not a single one of the innumerable varieties of the Country Dance has ever been recognised, except locally, as a fixed and distinct dance' (Sharp 1909:26), in the process of teaching and publication, dance names, figures, and tunes were usually combined into a sole entity. Sharp's position was cemented by both certification and an ideological rhetoric which argued that dances were presented by the EFDSS in 'their purest and most unsullied forms' (Sharp and Oppé 1924:32).

In a *Dancing Times* article from 1939 Kennedy would publicly criticise the approach taken by Sharp's folk dance revival. By removing the improvisatory element they had failed 'to understand the creative elements that are essential to the [successful] establishment of group dancing' (Kennedy, D. 1939b:269). In a similar vein Sharp is generally criticised today for attempting to preserve tradition in a 'big tub of aspic' (Elliot 2017:69). Despite this, Sharp himself altered dances between collection and publication (Walker 2001), and was supportive of some folk dance adaptations. In particular, Sharp envisaged a new type of English ballet founded on folk dance and had a chance to create such choreography in his work on Granville Barker's 1914 production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, at the Savoy Theatre, London (Sharp 1923, Sharp and Oppé 1924:49, Schofield 2001:89). Following his lead, in the 1920s a number of folk ballets were created by EFDS members including Douglas Kennedy (*EFDS News* 1923a, 1923b, 1924, 1925).

Douglas Kennedy's views on newly composed dances shifted depending on who was doing the creating. *Maggot Pie* a book of newly composed dances was the first to be

compiled by EFDS members (Heffer and Porter 1932). Privately published, the book was controversial, Schofield has researched the impact *Maggot Pie* had upon the EFDSS who held a National Advisory Council meeting to discuss country dance inventions, concluding that new dances did not reflect the aims of the Society and should not be shown at public events (Schofield 2017). In the foreword to *Maggot Pie* Douglas Kennedy cautioned that these new creations 'are not Folk Dances […] they cannot be officially sponsored by the EFDSS'. Nonetheless, he encouraged English dancers to try them out, arguing that they have the potential to become traditional over time (in Heffer and Porter 1932). By 1959 the Kennedys recognised '[i]nvented, or arranged dances, created by various M.C.s at different times to meet certain needs and demand for novelty' (Kennedy, D. and Kennedy, H. 1959a:8). The implication is that by 1959 newly invented dances had become an acceptable part of the social folk dance repertoire.

Schofield has argued that Douglas and Helen Kennedys' experience with improvised square dances in America in the 1930s is likely to have softened their attitude towards new dance creation (2018). Reflecting on his American encounters Douglas Kennedy would write of the importance of improvisation (primarily on the part of the square dance caller) in creating a successful dancing event: 'To repeat a series of movements in a set order without improvisation is merely to reiterate a formula. It is from such mechanical reiteration that we suffer and eventually die' (Kennedy, D. 1939b:269).[51] Kennedy's experience with dance traditions in England also appears to have helped shape, at least in principle, a more relaxed view of tradition (Kennedy, D. 1982). He introduced *CDM3* by writing:

[51] In the 1950s *English Dance and Song* published a number of newly created square dance 'calls' such as *Walk With Your Lady* contributed by Willie Scott (*ED&S* 1952c), who also composed the dance *Blaydon Races* to fit the eponymous tune.

> Where there is so much local tolerance of form and style, he is bold indeed who would say "that is right" and "that is wrong"' […] This fluidity may be irritating to those who like the unchanging stability of set figures to set music, but it is essential to the natural evolution of all living folk forms, and whatever is printed here will be disregarded in those communities where these dances are traditional.
>
> ('Introduction' in. Kennedy, P. 1954a)

Despite his rhetoric, Douglas Kennedy did not always show as much flexibility as this quote suggests. Tony Foxworthy (I: 23.11.17) and Reg Hall (e-mail 30.11.19) recalled Kennedy criticising a Devon folk group dancing at Cecil Sharp House in 1955 for incorrectly dancing *The Steamboat*. The dancers were then instructed by Kennedy on how to dance it correctly.

Whilst he supported the publication of one of his own self-penned dances, and a complicated dance written by his son for the EFDSS's patron Princess Margaret (*ED&S* 1949b), Kennedy largely railed against new dance innovation, voicing concern that folk dancing will become 'more like a private cult' (Kennedy, D. 1961), as the 'loyal regulars […] "bambabble"' the MC into 'an endless search for novelty' (Kennedy, D. 1959c). In interview Hugh Rippon recalled a wider distrust towards new dances:

> They weren't too happy about made up, what they called 'made up' dances at the beginning. I can never forget Helen Kennedy's saying: "Oh, that's a made up dance isn't it? That's not traditional, that's not very good is it?" But actually she was right, it wasn't. But gradually more and more people were inventing dances, some of them, well a lot of them have disappeared into the ether but many of them are still around. Gradually I built up a repertoire of dances traditional, modern, or made up.
>
> (Hugh Rippon I:11.7.17)

The number of new dance compositions appears to have snowballed once Douglas and Helen Kennedy had retired. One influential dance composer, Pat Shaw, increased his output from two dances during the 1930s to 113 between 1970-1977 (Schofield 2017). Kennedy's successor Nibs Matthews edited the pamphlets *Everyday Dances* (Matthews 1969), and *Caller's Choice 1* (Matthews 1973) which contained a large number of newly composed dances. The Society also started to actively encourage dance composition amongst its members, launching competitions for new dances.[52] During the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s many books were privately published by folk groups or individuals which helped the dissemination of new material amongst keen dancers.[53]

English social folk dance is ostensibly a fixed sequence dance form, but in reality the variety and similarity of many dances creates a fluid conception of dance distinction, resulting in an increased reliance upon the caller. There are similarities here with modern

[52] 53 dances were submitted to the EFDSS's Jubilee Dance Competition (*ED&S* 1961:11). In 1972 the society ran a competition for new dances in 'the English or Playford style' (*ED&S* 1972:66).
[53] Such as *Barn Dance Saturday Night* published by the Barn Dance Agency (Jones, D. 1988), or *A first set for as Many as Will: Country Dances in Traditional Style* published by the author (Chadbund 1981).

western square dance. In both cases knowledge of figures appears to be more important than knowledge of discrete dances. This is illustrated in the sheer quantity of dances selected by English social folk dance callers. Approximately 80 out of the 124 named dances collated during my field research were composed by twentieth century keen folk dancers, however very few were selected by more than one caller.[54] In 1964 the EFDSS ran a workshop in which it proposed a basic repertoire of six or so dances which would be taught at tyro events (Pratt 1963). The idea of a standard six horrified some members (Brandon 1963), and it was not widely adopted. In 1970 the Artistic Development Committee of the EFDSS described how most callers use: 'a very simple part of the repertoire known as 'traditional'. The vast majority of the 'occasional' dancers have had no contact with any other kind of material' (Smedley et al. 1970). If this is to be taken at face value it might be concluded that new dances entered the tyro repertoire gradually during the latter part of the twentieth century as their usage at folk dance clubs and ceilidhs grew.

English social folk dance is typical rather than atypical of twentieth century British leisure development in its tendency towards specialism. Similar dance forms such as old time, sequence, and Scottish country dance, all saw the continual creation of new material amongst keen participants. Kennedy's retirement in 1961 arguably cleared the way for unbridled creativity amongst keen social folk dancers. *English Dance and Song* readers were no longer subjected to Kennedy's tirades against pattern-makers and novelty seekers. Many folk dance callers appear to gain gratification by introducing new repertoire and dance sequences Goodman explained:

[54]Although I do not include provenance, a list of the most popular dances can be found in A4:1.

> My philosophy of calling at a ceilidh series or even at a festival actually, festival ceilidh, is to put in quite a few ceilidh favourites, quite a few simple dances but pepper it with four or five dances that are going to be just that little bit more interesting. Perhaps a little bit different, go in a different direction, you know not quite what you expect, a little bit of thinking.
>
> (Barry Goodman I: 23.1.18)

Goodman's approach of sequential challenge echoes musicologist Thomas Turino's analysis of participatory culture wherein he argues that maximum enjoyment of an activity needs to provide 'the proper balance between inherent challenges and the skill level of the actor' (2008:4). Goodman is far from a lone voice; his sentiments were echoed by all the callers I interviewed and many participants at the EFDSS' Callers' Development Day (9.2.19). Another caller described how she varies the repertoire:

> I think oh well if I am bored with it and some of these people they have been here before, they will be bored with it […] I try not to do exactly the same, in fact, on Saturday, I think you saw me, I did a couple of different dances at the beginning just to vary it a little bit.
>
> (Anonymous caller I: 19.2.18)

In the 1980s and 1990s enthusiasm for new dances was far from universal. Critics including Peter Kennedy (1989:15) and Tony Foxworthy (1992) alongside other EFDSS members (Bennell 1994, Howe 1993, Young 1993), contributed concerned correspondence to *English Dance and Song* on new dance creation. It was argued that given such a large proportion of new dances, traditional material was inevitably side-lined. One EFDSS member suggested that the 'Social Dance Club' was a more accurate title than the English Folk Dance and Song Society (Sibthorpe 1993).

The idea of the 'Living Tradition' has been an important concept in late twentieth century British and Irish dance and music revivals.[55] At the EFDSS' Callers' Development Day (9.2.19) the concept of the living tradition was widely invoked, particularly when discussion turned to change and how the genre can become more inclusive. An illustration of the importance of the concept of the living tradition can be found in *Creativity, Communication and Cultural Value* by music researchers Keith Negus and Michael Pickering (2004). In this text the authors argue that bell ringing and folk singing are:

> living traditions not invented ones. The distinction is crucial, for it is in the nature of traditions that they change, are revived and enhanced, if they're to remain creatively effective and relevant to a changed present.
>
> (Negus and Pickering 2004:110)

That there should be such a widespread focus on innovation and change within tradition is unsurprising given the broader modernistic and progressive trend within the arts (Abbs 1987:10-13) and British culture more generally. As innovation and tradition are often positioned in opposition to one another (Negus and Pickering 2004:91), the concept of a living tradition provides a positive rallying point for those involved with folk revival culture.

Certainly the concept of a living tradition appealed to Douglas Kennedy who used it to support his turn away from Playford material. Traditional material Kennedy argued 'had to be passed on still "live". It must have the element of creation still within it' (Kennedy, D. 1954b:132). In his writings the alive-ness of tradition appears to be found in a less scholarly approach to material (e.g. Kennedy, D. 1945b). Kennedy's conception of

[55] The popularity of the term is demonstrated in the name of the *Living Tradition* music magazine (established 1993).

the living tradition did not necessarily apply to the creation of new dances, music, or figures. However it was composition which became the focus of contemporary keen social folk dancers' interpretations of the concept. Without choreographic development it was widely argued that the tradition would fossilise and become irrelevant (Alexander 1993, Davenport 2003, Garrington 1994, Spenceley 2017:6). Supporters of new dance creation argued that all dances are created at some point in time and it is wrong to deny the creation of new material in the present day (Brady 1982:19). By the 1990s the older idea of folk dance as a product of collective community effort was practically laughable. It had been proved that song and dance collectors had edited the collected material, and the authenticity of such dances was questioned: 'Dare I venture to suggest' one EFDSS member asked that 'others were made up on the spot to satisfy the voracious appetites of well-intentioned collectors of traditional dance?' (Garfath 1993:21).

It has been mooted that social folk dance enthusiasts have been more positive towards new dance creation than those engaged in performative folk dance genres. In 2003 *English Dance and Song* editor Paul Davenport asked: 'Why have we been so willing to accept newly created country dances […] and yet for so long we rejected such invention and enterprise in ceremonial forms?' (Davenport 2003:3). Whilst there are notable differences in how performative and social folk dance genres are conceptualised, similar trends towards dance innovation and creation can be seen as gathering steam contemporaneously. Amongst performative styles there was a revival of 'molly' dance and 'border' morris in the early 1970s (see Bradtke 1997). Both of these genres had a small repertoire of collected dances (less than twenty) which perhaps inspired participants to create more material. Links can also be drawn to the wider 'neo-traditionalist' movement discussed earlier (2:4:2).

The most popular newly composed dances of my research were *The Snowball* (7/21) penned by Anne Welch, first published in 1996;[56] and *The Flying Scotsman* (4/21) attributed to mathematician Hugh Thurston and written between 1946-1957.[57] Other recently composed dances which were chosen by two or three callers were: *Rebecca's Roundabout* and *Clopton Bridge* both by John Chapman (written in the 1970s); *The Holmfirth Square* by Eileen Keys, first published in 1992;[58] *Blaydon Races* by William Scott first published in 1954; *The 'Oxo' Reel* by John Tether (written in the 1970s); *The Witches Reel* by Tony Slinger (written in the 1980s); *The Muffin Man* by Brian Jones, published in 1986; *The Boston Tea Party* by Jean Butler published in 1982; and *The Oi/Oy* Dance.[59] Many of these dance writers appear to have started as MCs or callers and most were involved with keen folk dance, Hugh Thurston being a major figure in the Scottish country dance revival. Composition perhaps offered individuals opportunities to develop their interest in dance-related skills. For some, involvement with folk dance appears to have been a considerable time commitment, epitomising the concept of serious leisure

[56] Online and in print *Snowball/Florida Snowball* has been mis-attributed to Martin Hodges.
[57] First published in Thurston's *Twelve New Scottish Country Dances* (1946-1957). In this text it is unclear whether Thurston composed the dance or not.
[58] The earliest source I have located to date is: HYLAND, John. (1992) *The Almost Beginners Barn Dance Book*. Unfortunately, I have not been able to see this publication.
[59] Sheena Masson learnt *The Oi Dance* from Mike Sharp from Leicestershire in the early 1980s. Further information is yet to come to light, it is possible that this dance is also known as Uncle Bernard's Polka (Haines 2014). As it is difficult to obtain information about this dance here is a description of it as called by Masson on 18.3.2018.
Tunes: Jigs ($\frac{6}{8}$) Blaydon Races/Cock of the North. **BPM:** 129.
Formation: Two concentric circles, in pairs (one dancer in the inner circle facing out and the other in the outer circle facing in).
Directions: Take two hands with your partner and move four steps into the circle. Clap three times (once per beat) then put your hands up in the air and shout Oi. Repeat coming outward from the centre of the circle. With partners do-si-do passing left shoulders first. Repeat passing right shoulders. Promenade. Part of the way through Sheena makes this dance progressive, the partner in the inner ring moving up one, two, three, or four places as the caller directs.

(discussion in 3:9:2). In *Berkshire Bundle*, a booklet of newly composed dances, Brian Jones explained the appeal of writing dances, in the process illustrating widely held associations between composition and the idea of the living tradition.

> Whilst I am a firm believer in the importance of traditional dance, I think it is only natural that the enjoyment and love for the dance can lead to wanting to write your own dances, and develop and adapt others. It is part of the folk process. What's more it is a healthy sign of a living tradition that people want to learn more about old dances and make their own input with new and adapted dances.
>
> (Jones 1986a)

Dance composition is an ingrained part of contemporary social folk dance. However, the histories of dances are often not known, or if known, are not announced by callers. In any case dance publications often give minimal historical description, making it difficult to ascribe provenance, and new dances can easily gather a sense of authorless-ness (Hyland 1983).[60] The sheer number of dances and the lack of shared repertoire between callers reinforces a more general reliance upon a dance leader to explain each dance. As only a handful of dances appear to have any resonance for participants, knowledge of figures has arguably become more important in creating dancer competency and confidence than the memorisation of whole dances.

[60] This was perhaps more problematic before internet use became more commonplace in the late 1990s.

2:6:7 Conclusion

The tyro repertoire was influenced by wider dancer competencies, teacher training programmes, and the square dance boom which left a legacy of simple dances often tied to well known tunes. Possibly the largest but also the most covert influence on repertoire development was the competition Douglas Kennedy faced in the late 1940s and 1950s from the old time dance movement. It is this competition and desire to differentiate which helped to diminutise couple dancing in English social folk dance. It also explains why well-known sequence dances which had currency amongst old time dancers such as the *Dashing White Sergeant* (7/21), or *The Gay Gordons* (3/21) were not widely embraced by the EFDSS or printed in the *CDMs.* Kennedy's links to North America encouraged him to create a different approach from the old time movement, whilst essentially drawing upon the same nineteenth century repertoires. Newly composed dances have come to form an increasingly important part of the ideology of social folk dance. These dances are seen as being part of a living tradition, and figures are little more than building blocks that can be reconfigured to create new dances. Interestingly, the limits of acceptable repertoire appear to have been frozen in the 1950s. Whilst callers do utilise new dances, there appears to be no inclination to re-introduce the popular sequence group dances of the early twentieth century, although Helen Kennedy did anticipate this possibility in 1941:

> the gap between the Ballroom and the Country Dance, which is very wide if it is a matter of Jazz and Playford, is narrowed almost to vanishing point when one turns from the Palais Glide to the Traditional dances.
>
> (Kennedy, H. 1941:29-30)

With the possible exception of *Paul Jones* dressed up as *Lucky Seven*, the callers at the tyro events of my research did not select the simple sequence party dances which were popular

in the first half of the twentieth century such as *The Lambeth Walk*, or the *Hokey Cokey*.[61] Instead many callers tap into the dances disseminated at keen events such as folk festivals, ceilidh series, and dance clubs, presenting a repertoire which reflects the contemporary keen social folk dance world. With a modal average of ten dances per event, callers have a large repertoire of acceptable, easy dances which they can teach, with conversely limited time to actually do so. Moving from repertoire to socio-cultural specificity and returning to my central question of why these dances continue to appeal, the broader context of the dance event is explored in the next chapter.

[61] *The Lambeth Walk* choreography was created by Adele England in 1938 (Abra 2009: 257). *Boomps-A-Daisy* appears to have been composed and choreographed by Annette Mills (Mills 1939:423). The *Hokey Cokey* has a more opaque past and appears to be linked to the nineteenth century singing game *Looby Loo.* However it was recorded and copyrighted by North American Roland Lawrence La Prise in 1949 as *The Hokey Pokey* (Houston 1996:18). Although I did not witness this during my fieldwork, I have a recollection of doing a *Conga* line dance during Folk Camps in the late 1990s at Halsway Manor. Buckinghamshire caller Delia Gleave recalled that a caller she knows often ends the evening with *The Circassian Circle* merging into the *Hokey Cokey* (I:19.2.2018). Similarly, Sean Goddard recalling his father's calling practices in Sussex wrote that: 'My Dad used to call dances from the late 1960s through until 2005 or so, often using records. Towards the end of the evening he would often use a few party dances to round off the evening. He would use *March of the Mods, Rock around the Clock, Hocky Cocky* [*Hokey Cokey*] etc. It livened up the end of the evening and sent people home happy' (e-mail: 9.9.2018 [italics added]). Steve Rowley recorded that Peter Kennedy, when he called barn dances always did the *Hokey Cokey* (e-mail 21.5.2019).

Part Three: Folk Dance Present
3:7 The Dance Event

3:7:1 Introduction

This chapter addresses why English social folk dance events continue to appeal by analysing the demographic of attendees and the socio-cultural specificity of the environments in which they can be found. In particular this chapter explores he wider context of the dancing: the dance event. Dance anthropologist Anya Peterson Royce argued in 1977 that many difficulties in dance analysis, particularly the Western separation of movement from context can be solved if focus is placed upon the dance event (Royce 1977:10). This approach was seen in the 15th symposium of the International Council for Traditional Music's ethnochoreology study group on the subject of 'The Dance Event' (1988). A range of papers were presented which considered the wider context of dance events, drawing attention to peripheral activities, not just the dancing itself (e.g. Ronström 1989).[1] In this analysis, I include a range of different types of events (see A3:2 'Attended Events') with an accordingly varied focus on the actual dancing. At the two festivals I attended (The Offline and Milton Keynes International) the ceilidhs were but one programmed event amongst many. Across my fieldwork, the percentage of dance participants to attendees varied widely; some dance events saw only eight people dancing amongst eighty-odd attendees. Credence to the use of the term *dance event* is given by the fact that all these events were advertised as *dances*, or at multi-faceted events the time dedicated to dance was advertised as such. This chapter focuses on the structure and organisation of dance events, drawing upon my ethnographic fieldwork, interviews with

[1] The concept of the dance event was also an important part of Cowan's analysis of dancing in Greece (1990).

event attendees, and data from 726 participant questionnaires. Hand in hand with explaining how, this chapter will further elucidate why this dance form continues to appeal.

3:7:2 Contemporary Social Context

3:7:2:1 Organisers

The public dances I attended were held by a number of groups including: Roman Catholic and Anglican churches, village hall committees, The Round Table, Liaisons (an over 50s singles club), a village Cricket Club, the U3A (an organisation for retirees), and a Trefoil (for retired Girl Guiders).[2] The Offline Festival was hosted by an online networking organisation Project Dirt and attracted individuals from a large catchment area for its weekend long event. Other hosts were dance or music focused organisations including: MKRoots School; The Chiltern Folk Association; The Camping and Caravanning Club's Folk Division; Stony Live! Festival; and The Stables a music venue in Wavendon, Milton Keynes (hereafter The Stables).[3]

There could be an important interplay between different types of organisations; for example, I met a Rotarian on the village hall committee who had organised a barn dance which was advertised through the Rotary website, and decorated with Rotary club flags from across the world. Proceedings went not to Rotary, however, but to the village hall (FN:11.11.17). Many events served a dual purpose, being both social events and fundraising occasions. One organiser for a Rotary event told me that they have been

[2] Charities which were the beneficiaries of some events included: Dogs for Good; Wheelpower; Schools in Tanzania; Calais Refugees (via REACH a Christian Missionary Charity); Oxfam (via Oxjam its nationwide festival of music); Rennie Hospice; Age UK; and Wolverton's Urban Farm.
[3] A full list can be found in A3:2.

holding barn dances for four or five years. Initially they did this as a purely social venture, the barn dance replacing a more formal president's dinner-dance. 2017, the year prior to my visit, was the first time they had run the barn dance as a fundraising event. She hoped that with ticket sales, raffle, and the bar they might raise £700 for their chosen charity (FN:27.4.18). Events differed on the emphasis they placed on raising money. One charity planned a number of different money-making activities at the event, including an auction, which raised £2,140 by itself (FN:23.6.18). In contrast, another event relied on attendee donations placed in a discreet bucket by the door (FN: 29.9.18). The organiser of this event told me that she was primarily interested in running a dance event for the local community, raising money for the advertised charity was, for her, a secondary concern (D: 4.5.18).

Although their influence was largely covert behind many tyro events there was often one keen folk dancer and/or folk music enthusiast involved in the organisation and planning. At the Church barn dance described in 1:1:1 the band and callers had been booked by a member of the Chiltern Folk Association. She was not a member of that Churches' congregation, but her church was in the same Roman Catholic Parish (FN:4.2.18). Bands seeking out audiences were instrumental in the establishment of at least four of the events that I attended. At one charity event, band members even brought in home-made cakes to sell in order to raise additional funds (FN:17.3.18). The StonyLive! festival has included a free open air dance since its establishment in 1998 by singer and folk club organiser Matt Armour (1935-2009). In 2019 the organising committee contained both folk musicians and morris dancers.[4] One church dance was organised by a member of a local folk dance club, whilst another keen dancer organised an annual dance for Liaisons. At this event, she told me that, despite it being a Liaisons initiative, not many of that club's

[4] I had myself sat on the committee for one year prior to starting my PhD in 2016, and my father has been secretary since 2010.

membership were actually present, and I recognised a number of faces from Chiltern Folk Association events.

The Stables is a large, publicly funded music venue which regularly hosts nationally and internationally renowned folk music acts. It was founded by jazz musicians John Dankworth and Dame Cleo Laine in 1970. In 2019 at least two members of staff had an active interest in folk music. Caller Bob Adams manages the front of house and Graeme Surtees, a member of the EFDSS's Folk Educators Group, is head of learning and participation. The Stables has run the Ceilidh Experience course since 2009. This is a bi-annual, ten-week Sunday morning course for musicians, which culminates in a ticketed dance held in their auditorium. They programme the bi-annual Milton Keynes International Festival which in 2016 and 2018 included a ticketed ceilidh and they also run the National Youth Music Camps. These were founded by John Dankworth's sister Avril, a folk music enthusiast, in 1970. Although the camps focus primarily on classical music, they do include an optional folk music workshop, and they have always commenced with a welcome barn dance.[5]

Barn dances/ceilidhs appeal to a significant number of residential course leaders. One of my interviewees recalled the ceilidhs she attended as a child at the residential children's holiday camps run by the Active Training and Education trust, based in Malvern, Worcestershire (Rebecca I:10.7.18). Callers from across the country told me about residential courses which had booked them to call for a ceilidh or barn dance.[6] Possibly drawing upon the most unusual examples, callers recalled being booked for: town twinning associations; a meet for yacht enthusiasts; a home schooling festival; the Student

[5] Communications with Bob Adams, Graeme Surtees, and Simon Ambrose in April 2019.
[6] On the 20.5.19 I posted a request for information on my personal Facebook page, making clear that this was part of my PhD research.

Scout and Guide Organisation; the Student Wilderness Medicine Conference; a conference about bats; and a conference for the European Prison Education Association. Similarly, I have been told that at one Welsh residential music camp for young classical musicians a twmpath (Welsh for barn dance/ceilidh) was held, and that ceilidhs are a fairly common feature at residential courses in Scotland. Although I was not able to attend any of them in person, I noted that barn dances/ceilidhs were also used for residential Christian events in Buckinghamshire such as the Lighthouse camp for children (held in Great Missenden), and the Catholic-associated Society for the Protection of Unborn Children's conference held near Milton Keynes (March 2019).

Indeed, through my research I became increasingly aware of a large number of callers and musicians who were church goers. At least three events which were non-church affiliated were organised by practicing Christians.[7] Church events are well represented in both my attended (A3:2) and missed events charts (A3:3). Of the three church events I attended, one was held in a modern Roman Catholic Church, one in a church hall, and one in a village hall. These events were mostly secular, although at one the caller finished the evening by leading the communal singing of the hymn *Lord of the Dance* (FN: 24.2.18). I was told that the previous barn dance organised by one church had been held in a school building, and the day had been filled with other activities including Mass (FN:4.2.18). The visibility of Christian events in my data is possibly heightened by their strong organisational networks. Many churches have online parish calendars which detail forthcoming events, and dances are listed as a matter of course. In addition, many own adjacent church halls or have a flexible worship space with chairs that can be stacked away

[7] Although I did not encounter any in my field research barn dances/ceilidhs are also popular amongst some Pagan groups. In 2009 I attended Goddess Camp, a small Pagan weekend festival in Leicestershire (est. 1998) which featured a ceilidh.

to provide a suitable dance floor. The high number of church dances possibly also reflects both the large number of churches compared with secular associations, and the additional community orientated congregational activities which many run. Ceilidhs/barn dances can also be seen as an appropriate site for Christian outreach. One of the few guides to running such an event, authored outside of the folk scene, is published online by Share Jesus International, a British-based organisation which emphasises the suitability of ceilidhs for church outreach (Share Jesus International [2018]).[8]

3:7:2:2 Locating Events in Space and Time

The Buckinghamshire Event Map (A3:1) shows both attended and missed events and illustrates a relatively even spread of occurrences across the county, although there is some clustering around the larger towns of Aylesbury and Milton Keynes.[9] I attended more events in the North of Buckinghamshire and large number of events in and around Milton Keynes is probably influenced by my residency in the town. Combining data from both missed and attended events, approximately half were held in towns (28), and slightly fewer in villages (25). The remaining six events were held in rural locations including hamlets, farms, and Waddesdon Manor (a National Trust property).[10] An urban/rural profile of Buckinghamshire using the 2001 census data (and excluding Milton Keynes) estimated that roughly a third of the county population lived in rural locations, a third in market

[8] My only opportunity to attend a non-keen ceilidh while an undergraduate student in London was at an event held in All Soul's Church and hosted by the University College London's Christian Society on 8.10.10. This featured: 'A night of wild dancing with "Wish in the Dark" Ceilidh band, with dessert and a short talk by Mark Meynell about who Christians believe Jesus is' (UCL 2010).
[9] The central western area of the county, just south of Buckingham is the only area where I did not attend any dance events. This area does not have any large towns. Due to my methodology of searching for events using town names as key words (1:2:7:3) it is possible that I missed events which were occurring in this area.
[10] I relied on Google assignations of place categorisation, but I recognise that such statuses are not standardised across Britain and are often contested.

towns, and the last third in 'urban' areas namely Aylesbury and High Wycombe (Buckinghamshire Partnership 2009). Thus, villages and other rural locations appear to attract more events in comparison to their population size than the urban areas of the county. Whilst villages and rural areas were popular locations, this did not necessarily mean that village inhabitants were more likely to attend dances. Attendees could and did travel from neighbouring towns to attend events in villages and on farms.

As a comparison 96 events or 59% of total bookings recorded by BBX were for events held in villages (58 different villages), only 50 bookings were from towns (19 different towns). BBX's bookings were not limited to the county of Buckinghamshire, they had gigs in neighbouring Oxfordshire, and locations as distant as Norwich, Hereford, Salisbury, and Brighton. From 2010-2018 the Also Known as Ceilidh Band (hereafter AKACB) from neighbouring Berkshire kept a publicly accessible record of their event bookings on their website (accessed April 2019). AKACB posted details of 314 events. Dances appeared to be almost as likely to be held in towns as villages.[11] Both BBX and AKACB had a much smaller number of city bookings, both attending 7 city events each over the duration of data available[12]. Villages are thus an important and comparatively popular site for barn dances and ceilidhs for both public and private events. More remote and less popular sites included hamlets, farms, and stately homes which made up 31 events (or 7% of bookings), from the combined data of BBX and AKACB.[13]

In my fieldwork the vast majority of the dances I attended were in community halls (20/30). These were mostly owned by village or other area based groups but a couple were

[11] 145 towns with 55 unique locations. 141 villages with 89 unique locations.
[12] Both bands had bookings in Oxford and AKACB also travelled to Bristol, Salisbury, and Portsmouth.
[13] Some less remote farm venues may have been included under 'village'.

owned by churches: one was a scout hall; the other a sports hall. Other locations included: marquees or festival tents (3 events); a market square (a free public event); a school playground (a private event); working farms (2 events); a Roman Catholic Church; and The Stables. Most of the missed events (A3:3) also appear to have been hosted in community halls, some of which were possibly owned by churches, whilst a few others appear to have been located within the church building itself.

Many callers have a preferred room layout and often persuade organisers to set out the space according to their ideal. Whilst dances do take place outside, on grass or hard surface areas, dances are usually held inside, in a large square or rectangular hall without any pillars. The floor is usually smooth without carpets or rugs, protrusions, dips, or gradient. It was not uncommon for dancers to assemble on wooden floors marked with court lines for use by the local badminton club. In such an ideal layout the band would be placed at one end of this room on the stage; if there was no stage the band often set up at one end of the hall, commonly erecting an informal barrier of amplifiers, leads, and music stands between them and the dancers.[14] Medium-sized tables, seating 6-10 attendees would often be placed around the outside perimeter of the room with chairs arranged around the tables. Experienced callers often discussed how rooms with alternative layouts, such as rooms which are 'L' shaped, or a set up where the tables occupy the half of the room furthest away from the band, are less conducive to encouraging participants onto the floor. A number of callers disclosed how they prefer a venue not to have a bar in an anteroom. Here the worry is that participants, particularly men, might gather out of sight of the dance floor, and not participate in the dancing. Most of the evening events I attended utilised the ideal layout, with minor variations depending on the structure of the building (for photos

[14] Stages are a common feature of the community halls which were built between 1900 and 1970.

see A3:9). At two more formally organised events, a table plan was provided allocating guests a seat alongside the attendees with whom they had purchased tickets.

Prior to commencing research, I had not considered the possibility that these dances might be viewed as a custom. I had not realised that they often occur annually. I had possibly been influenced by the dialogue around events, where traditionality is rarely discussed. With the exception of Burns Nights, which are explicitly associated with Scottish identity, there is not a particular time of year when it is customary to hold such dances in England. Yet perhaps it might be fruitful to recognise the cyclical nature of dances within certain organisations and communities as part of their own particular, customary year. Fourteen of the events I attended were reoccurring, usually annually but occasionally every other year. The National Youth Music Camps organisers believe that a dance has been held at the annual camps since their inception in 1970. Another event, a barn dance hosted jointly by a Rotary Club and Horticultural Society on the evening of a local well-established horticultural fair, had been running annually, with a couple of lapses, since 1982. There were also indications that other groups aspired to start a series of annual dances. The Marlow Round Table optimistically advertised their 2018 dance as being an 'inaugural' event. Similarly, another event was advertised as annual even though it was only in its second year. One of the organisers told me that 'although this event is 'annual' it is a 'bit of an experiment'' (FN: 11.11.17). It is not clear why organisers were keen to advertise these events as annual, however many organisations have seasonal event cycles which may encourage such an outlook.

The popularity of dances, and public dances in particular, appears to wax and wane with the seasons. I collated data from my attended and missed events list in one calendar year from 1st August 2017 to the 31st July 2018 and added to this band data from BBX and

AKACB (A3:4).[15] Although I did not intend to include Scottish themed celebrations in my research, of the two January events I attended in my fieldwork period, one was a ceilidh for the local Woman's Institute with Scottish themed food and attendees in tartan attire. Burns Night celebrations for many folk dance bands appear to be an oasis in the comparative dance desert that is January. February, March, October, and November had five or six attended or missed events each, but June and September appeared to be the most popular months to host an event with seven missed or attended events each. Whilst March can contain the moveable feast of Easter (which is more likely to be held in April), the other months are not holiday periods and indicate that tyro public dances are considered to be a regular, rather than a holiday, activity. December represented a dead month for both public and private dances, which relates to the busy Christmas period, whilst August, the conventional summer holiday and wedding month was quiet for my attended or missed events, but busy for the two bands, with BBX recording weddings, wedding anniversaries, and general family parties. It would appear that over the summer holiday period public dances were largely put on the back burner, while private dances were still being held. This is also the height of the folk festival season when keen dancers have the option of attending ceilidhs and dances at specialist events up and down the country.

Most of the events of my fieldwork were evening affairs commonly advertised as starting at 7.00 or 7.30pm. A minority of dances were held earlier in the day.[16] Events aimed at attracting children were especially likely to start in the late afternoon or earlier in the evening. There was a considerable discrepancy between the advertised start time and

[15] I removed data which did not make up one calendar year. With the data from BBX I analysed January 2008-December 2017 (165 events) and with AKACB January 2011 – December 2018 (267 events).
[16] The U3A held their Jane Austen event as an afternoon tea dance and the Camping and Caravanning Club's event also started in the afternoon at 3.30pm.

when the first dance might commence. At some events, the first dance might start within five minutes of the advertised start time, whilst others had a thirty-minute period for guests to arrive and become settled. The amount of time where dancing was a specified activity also varied from 45 minutes at the Trefoil meeting, to the four and a half hours of the Camping and Caravanning Club's winter dance, a 70th birthday party, or a fundraising event for Rennie Grove Hospice. Longer events had at least one interval for food lasting between twenty minutes and an hour, and there might be a second break for a raffle, the serving of dessert, or another pastime such as a charity auction. The small number of professional ceilidh bands, orientated to the tyro rather than the keen market appear to offer a different, more condensed approach to dancing at events which is similar to a conventional gig for a contemporary band. On their websites (accessed April 2019) Cut A Shine and License to Ceilidh both suggest that a normal booking for them would be two 45 minute sets. This is the same format which was followed by the Ceilidh Liberation Front at the International Festival, but not at the Offline Festival, probably because only 90 minutes had been scheduled for dancing (inclusive of any break) as part of a broader programme of festival entertainment.

I was struck by a comment which Janis Zakis made to me in interview. He compared events in the 1980s where 'most dances would go on to twelve o'clock' to the present situation where 'you would be hard pushed to get past 11'. He was unsure what had changed, but was adamant that dances were finishing earlier: 'I can't remember the last time we ever played through till twelve' (I:4.12.17). Zakis' observation that dances rarely go on until midnight tallied with my research findings. Only one event carried on until midnight, by which point two thirds of the attendees had already left and the organisers stacked tables and chairs around the remaining dancers (FN: 23.6.18). Most evening events ended between 10pm and 11pm and the majority finished slightly before the advertised end

time.[17] Events might run slightly over time but usually the band finished on time and started to pack up immediately. Participants at some events might continue to mingle and socialise but often attendees turned their hands to helping the organisers pack away chairs and tables and clear away rubbish. Sometimes attendees were explicitly asked to help with these tasks, particularly stacking chairs, but often they did this without prompting.

Using Facebook, I appealed to my contacts across England asking for suggestions as to why dance events are finishing earlier (July 2019). I had responses from seventeen current or former callers and/or musicians.[18] Individuals highlighted the restrictions put in place by event licenses and/or venue specific rules, the heightened restrictions on drink-driving, and an ageing demographic. The practice of having a disco as well as a ceilidh at weddings was also considered to be a factor which reduced the amount of time available for the folk dance portion of the reception. Caller Stephen Rowley noted changing attendance patterns with fewer attendees overall and a higher proportion of children at many tyro events. Kate Howson, musician and event organiser, suggested that at 'community events where people are not necessarily folk dance enthusiasts, they've had enough after a couple of hours dancing when they're not used to it!' The opinions of brides on the wedding website www.hitched.co.uk (2012, 2015) shed some additional light on the matter. Here, contributors living in England advised each other on the benefits of having a ceilidh for an hour or two followed by a disco. In addition to a ceilidh not being their preferred music/dance genre, contributors also (like Kate Howson) referred to it as being an energy intensive form of dance with participants becoming tired after an hour or

[17] Two finished noticeably earlier (by 30 minutes and 1 hour) in one instance due to a misunderstanding between the organisers and the band, and in the other due to low attendee numbers.
[18] Making explicit that I was asking for thesis research I posted this question on both my private profile page and the group for callers 'Cat's Calling Academy' on 31.7.2019.

two. My Facebook contacts also pointed out, however, that this trend of finishing earlier in the evening is not limited to ceilidhs and barn dances. It appears to be common at other (non-folk) dance and music events with which they were involved.

3:7:2:3 Themes

Advertising for most ticketed events normally utilised both physical and digital methods, many events relied on informal personal networks (either face to face or through social media) to spread the word. Posters might be put up in local shops and in the hall hosting the event. Organisers utilised local newsletters in both paper and digital format and their own or third party websites, of which Facebook and Eventbrite were particularly common. As the internet was my primary method of finding out about events, I struggled to hear about events outside of Milton Keynes which did not put some form of advertising or notification online. Usually organisers spent as little money as possible on advertising; one organiser whose event had been cancelled the previous year because of low advance ticket sales told me that this year they had spent about £60 on publicity. They had been on local radio and placed a notice in a local newspaper. In addition, Michael Graham, an upmarket estate agent, had helped advertise the horticultural fair with which this barn dance was affiliated, putting up large notices on the road outside the village informing passers-by of the forthcoming event (FN:5.8.17). Events which were run by The Stables utilised a wider range of commercial techniques, sending programmes to subscribers on their correspondence list, and in the case of the International Festival paying for large billboards throughout central Milton Keynes.

Organisers took a range of approaches to posters which were in most cases produced in-house and often utilised images which could be gleaned from the internet (A3:5; A3:6). Some designers went for a neutral approach showing, for example, a

photograph of people dancing at the previous year's event, a photograph of the band, or an image of bunting. Other posters were themed: The Jane Austen Tea Dance showed a Regency image, encouraging people to dress up if they wished. A more common theme was Americana. This took a number of approaches from utilising a Wild West typeface similar to nineteenth century handbills, to including images of dancers in cowboy hats, pictures of cowboy boots, and images of barns. In contrast to the American theme of some *barn dances*, none of the *ceilidhs* I included in my fieldwork were explicitly themed in their advertising, I did, however, attend a private Scottish themed WI ceilidh held in January (FN:11.1.18). Here the participants turned out in tartan and brought along Scottish food such as cranachan dessert. Similarly, at the Ceilidh Experience course there was a small but noticeable presence of participants in Scottish attire, including men in kilts and women in tartan dresses or skirts.

Decorations, which again varied from event to event often carried through the theme depicted on the posters (A3:5; A3:6; A3:9). At American-themed events, the drinks menu might feature Wild West font, iconography, and wording e.g. 'Saloon Beverages'. Two village events imported hay bales as decoration and/or attendee seating. Non-themed events sometimes had more neutral decorations such as check tablecloths, flowers, and colourful bunting. Charity events frequently included information about the cause, in the form of leaflets or displays. Sometimes these events had posters hung on the wall, or in front of the band. Bands themselves might use the event to display their name on banners draped over music stands or on self-supporting signs.

Lighting could add significantly to the atmosphere. Professional lighting rigs were used at the festivals and at the Ceilidh Experience dance. At village hall events, practices varied widely from full house lights to portable disco lighting. Contributors to *English*

Dance and Song have for a number of years emphasised how folk dances, in order to have popular youth appeal, should have similar lighting to discos (Monger 1981, Thomas 2007). In 1960 William Burgess and Richard Buckler ran an article on 'Folk Dance Lighting' arguing that there should be: 'no direct light on the dancers, as this invokes self-consciousness' (Burgess and Buckler 1969:27). Fifty years later, however, it is clear that Burgess and Buckler's ideals are far from universal. Cumbrian caller Martyn Harvey in 2011 complained of the 'white strip lights' used at folk dance events (in Schofield 2011f:12). Despite the enthusiasm for muted lighting by some callers, organisers can have a different set of prerogatives. Some want to leave the house lights on as they feel that this helps participants see clearly and reduces the chance of accidents. Other organisers associate folk dances with well-lit events; folk dance is seen as the obverse of disco dancing in the dark. This was illustrated to me in one field encounter, where, primarily in my capacity as band leader and caller, I was meeting a dance organiser to discuss a forthcoming event. I raised the subject of lighting and following the contemporary prerogatives of the keen ceilidh movement, I said that it is better to have mood lighting and asked if we could have fairy lights, rather than house lights. In response, the organiser talked about her friends who were 'traditional' Northumbrian, and 'really into their tradition and their dances'. She said that her friends like traditional dance because it is a community rather than a couple form of dancing. Moreover, it is 'not like a dance venue where the lights are dipped low' (D:4.5.18). At the event itself, several months later, fairy lights were provided in jam jars but the houselights remained on.

Attendees select clothing which they consider appropriate for dancing and/or an evening of semi-formal socialising. One female interviewee explained how she felt that flowing skirts were particularly appropriate for barn dances: 'usually we try to sort of wear something that swings because it looks nice' and 'just to be a bit swishy, it's quite nice,

nothing you know outrageous, a skirt or something, definitely a skirt is good for dancing' (Hannah I:13.6.18).[19] It can be hard for first time attendees to predict the likely dress code. One first timer had been perplexed by the various representations of barn dancing which she had found online:

> **Emily:** I did look a little bit, but they are so different every video was completely different, I was like, I'm not getting anything from here [laughter].
>
> (Emily I:21.3.18)

Many men attended dances in a check shirt and jeans, an attire equally suitable for both American themed events and semi-formal non-themed dances. Other attendees, usually a minority, went to greater lengths, donning cowboy hats, boots, neckerchiefs, waistcoats, pistols, chaps, and even fake spurs. Some attendees dressed up in Country and Western attire even if the dance was advertised without any Western iconography. One interviewee recalled a private party she attended where she mis-judged the dress code.

> I did go to this chap's 50th birthday which was a barn dance and we turned up in cowboy shirts and boots and cropped jeans and cowboy hat, everything. And everybody said "why have you come in fancy dress" and I said "because it's a barn dance". We just thought that is the way everyone would be dressed and nobody else was, it was really funny yeah. I didn't mind.
>
> (Elsie I:3.7.18)

[19] This reminds me of Horton and Jordan-Smith's article about dress choices amongst North American contra dancers (2004).

I met this attendee, Elsie at a barn dance which was not explicitly themed but at which she had donned Americanesque attire. In interview she deconstructed her garment choice in the process explaining how she associates the word *barn dance* with Country and Western films and 1950s Americana.[20]

> It's a kind of 1950s style dress, so I thought it, you know, I think of films like *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers* when I think of barn dances. I think of the way people dress in those kinds of films. I automatically thought of a dress which was 1950s/1960s in its style, I mean, you know, full skirt like this, but check.
>
> (Elsie I:3.7.18)

In the UK, gingham and check, despite being quite ubiquitous fabrics (and a popular choice for girls' primary school uniforms), are often associated with Americana. A number of events included tablecloths in plastic or fabric with a gingham or check pattern. I discussed this with one musician in his 70s, who commented that gingham for him brought up associations with 'Colonial America'. For him it was a 'very old fashioned' fabric which reminded him of the 'rock and roll' dances he had attended in his youth (D:8.6.18).

Bands utilised a range of approaches to clothing, from no apparent dress code to a more uniformed style. Examples included: jumpers monogrammed with the band's name; matching waistcoats; an item of purple clothing over a black base; or check shirts and cowboy hats. Some of the male band members who had enrolled on the Ceilidh Experience course donned kilts. Callers also appeared to feel inclined to dress up. In a 1976 article addressed to callers in *English Dance and Song* Bill Rutter (organiser of the Sidmouth

[20] I return to the subject of North American associations in 3:10:3:2.

Folk Festival between 1961-79) suggested that as most successful entertainers are 'larger than life; and dressed to kill', folk MCs should find clothes that are 'a bit flashy and stand out' to be 'a great help' in getting the proceedings underway (Rutter 1976:56). At one of the dances I attended, one male caller brought along a brightly printed 'Hawaiian' style shirt to change into, another wore a suit, a third a waistcoat decorated with commemorative badges. One female caller changed into sparkling silver shoes, whilst another donned a sparkling golden dress over loose trousers, a third a checked shirt and cowboy hat to match the band, and a fourth a top hat decorated with a scarf and badges. Reflecting on my own practice, I realised that as my experience calling dances increased, my own clothing practices changed. In particular I started regularly donning a bright jacket when I called in the hope of increasing my visibility and stage presence.

3:7:2:4 Music

With one exception, all the events I attended featured live music.[21] Musicians were nearly always amplified, especially at events with a larger number of attendees. The decibel level varied dramatically between events as the type of amplification varied from a small personal speaker for the fiddle only to full festival amplification at The Stables. The need, however, for the caller's instructions to be heard above the music meant that even larger bands with drum kits were often quieter than bands from other genres with a similar line up of instruments. The License to Ceilidh website explains that: 'As a ceilidh band it's important the Caller can be heard clearly over the other instruments so we tend to be a bit quieter than your standard rock band' (License to Ceilidh [2018]). The attendees I spoke to about this said that they found the level of sound at barn dances/ceilidhs to be quieter than the live music they had experienced at pubs and other venues. At many events, attendees

[21] The exception was the Jane Austen themed tea dace (24.2.18).

could talk over the music without shouting. One band told me that when purchasing amplification they had gone to a music shop which specialises in the folk market (Hobgoblin) and asked for 'a PA which doesn't sound like a PA.' Their speakers were small and their set up unobtrusive; they related to me how amused they were at a folk dance club when an attendee erroneously complimented them for playing without amplification (FN:5.8.17). Whilst amplification for folk music has historically been a contentious area I did not witness any disagreements about its use in my formal fieldwork.[22]

No matter what the level of amplification many callers and participants value live music. Buckinghamshire caller Sue Malleson's view was typical of this approach; she emphasised the flexibility of live musicians and the connection between musician and dancer. As she plays both fiddle and rhythm guitar her views were informed by her experiences as a musician:

> Recordings are fine but they actually do lack that life that really puts a spring into your step and also if you have got live musicians they can play to the dancers and they will respond to the dancers. You have got that communication and that is why I have never wanted to, you know, go out just with a tape recorder or something.

[22] The volume and necessity of amplification was the subject of much conversation in the letters pages of *English Dance and Song* during the 1970s, and the embracing of technology by the English 'ceilidh' movement was considered to be one of its defining characteristics (Watson 1983). I can recall two instances from my own experiences. The first was a wedding ceilidh I attended as a teenager [2006] where the bride was unhappy about the band's amplification. She was under the impression that they were going to play acoustically. Likewise at a public dance I attended in 2019 (after completing formal field research) other attendees asked me if I also found the amplification too loud for comfort. One friend who had helped to organise the dance blamed himself for querying whether the band had enough amplification, in the process encouraging them to double up on the speakers.

(Sue Malleson I: 7.9.17)

Interviewed participants, whilst generally agreeing with Sue Malleson's enjoyment of live music, did not stress the connection between dancer and musician, but rather a more general prestige associated with live music as entertainment. Ollie pinioned that having a band rather than a recording made the event more 'authentic' (I:2:8:18), whilst Michael wondered if it would be some sort of 'weird disco' if taped music was used (I:19:4:18). Some of the biggest advocates for live musicians were, like Malleson, musicians themselves. One young female brass player who had attended the Milton Keynes International Festival Ceilidh explained that she enjoyed watching the musicians play and felt the presence of live musicians 'just builds the atmosphere so well' and helps people to get 'into the music' (Connie I:3.8.18). However, live music was not always considered to be important. A number of attendees had been to events with recorded music and felt that while the caller was essential, a live band was not. Emma, Connie's mother was one of these, reflecting in interview that:

> Actually, for me, at that event, the live band was secondary. And so I was aware that they were live and I think it would have been a different atmosphere if it wasn't live, but really I didn't watch them at all, I was focusing on the dancing. And when I wasn't dancing I was watching people dance, not the band.

(Emma I:3.8.18)

Patsy, another female participant and barn dance enthusiast in her 60s wondered if it might be a good thing if more barn dances were held to recorded music. She reasoned that this would make them cheaper to run and therefore people might hold them more often (I: 31.7.18).

Rather than communities wanting to dance and hiring musicians, which is often how the relationship between dancer and musician is perceived, a significant number of dances were hosted by bands to give them an opportunity to play (see 3:7:2:1). This appears to be part of a wider trend that can be linked to musician training initiatives. Musician Alistair Anderson used ceilidh dancing as a way to enculturate young (non-folk) musicians in Gateshead, near Newcastle. Dances provided legitimisation for the learning of traditional music as playing for a ceilidh was seen as a '*proper* gig' where the music happens in a functional 'social context' (quoted in Keegan-Phipps 2008:139-140 [original italics]). Similarly, Rachel Elliott told me that it is easier to acquire funding for music rather than dance events and that this reflects the wider allocation of money in the arts sector.[23] She told me of how, amongst other projects, the EFDSS had utilised funding from the National Foundation for Youth Music [2013] to facilitate music workshops which had led to a final ceilidh performance for family and friends (Elliott I:18.4.18; e-mail 18.2.20). These examples indicate that dances can be seen as an inspiring social context for building interest and skill in traditional music.

Despite the predominance of live music both keen and tyro dance events do occur with recorded music and there are a number of reasons why recorded music might be used. An obvious factor is cost; event organisers might be willing to pay for a caller but not twice or thrice that again for two or three musicians. A second might be competency; musicians who are willing to play for free or for a small fee might not be competent. I was curious to know why a local caller was no longer interested in working with a group of musicians who had done a couple of public dances with her for no money. I was given to

[23] Arts Council England has a larger budget for music than for dance, there are Music Education Hubs across England, and there is the National Foundation for Youth Music. There are no dance equivalents for these organisations (Elliott e-mail 18.2.20).

understand that she found it easier to work with recordings as she could select the tune and the tempo, and generally found the recordings more reliable. Another Buckinghamshire caller, a former DJ who usually calls to recorded music, told me that in addition to cost, live bands can cause problems by 'playing out of tune and time'. He also felt that live musicians are 'restricted to the style their instruments can provide' whilst recorded music offers almost unlimited choice (CallersDirect I:22.11.17). Another reason for selecting recorded music, which is less applicable to the tyro dances of my research is the desire for a specific melody.[24]

Over 30 different events I recorded 98 male musicians and 48 female musicians.[25] The vast majority of musicians were in their 60s and 70s. Some in later middle age, fewer in younger middle age, and hardly any in their teens and 20s. One band which featured a rare teenager as percussionist was a family group and also included his mother and father. The modal average number of band members was four (nine bands), whilst six bands had three or five members (see A3:7).[26] The biggest band, of fifteen musicians was for the event hosted by Milton Keynes' Roots School which was primarily a training initiative for musicians. Popular instruments included the fiddle or violin (23 events), guitar (21 events), and piano accordion (13 events). Whilst there was the occasional inclusion of a wholly electric instrument (such as bass guitar or keyboard), acoustic or electro-acoustic instruments predominated. A number of bands utilised more unusual instruments including bagpipes, harps, bouzouzis, and banjars (see A3:8).

[24] The link between melody and music is explored later in (3:8:2).
[25] I discussed gender in greater detail in a conference paper (Middleton-Metcalfe 2020).
[26] This statistic excludes the figures from The Ceilidh Experience course where participants were divided up into bands by the organisers. Out of five bands from this course, three had six members and two five.

At most events bands are hired principally to provide instrumental music for dancing. Opinions of the musicians differed over whether bands should play by memory or use notation.[27] Most bands used a broad range of sources, from seventeenth century melodies to recent compositions in line with the modern British folk idiom and bands varied in the extent to which their repertoire specialised in any one historical, national, or regional style. Popular 'national' styles included: English, American, Irish, Scottish, and French. A small number of bands interspersed melodies which had a greater resonance in wider popular culture such as *My Grandfather's Clock*,[28] or *Feed The Birds.*[29] A music publication used by two or three different bands was *Band Swing* (2001) by Pete Mac, a piano accordion player affiliated to the Camping and Caravanning Club's folk division. *Band Swing* contains a typical mixture of tunes such as: *Waltzing Matilda* an Australian bush ballad [1895], *Aiken Drum* a Scottish tune [1800] attributed to Nathanial Gow, *Chinese Breakdown* [1920] a North American/Canadian tune, *John Ryan's Polka* an Irish tune which featured in the film *The Titanic* (1997), and *When Daylight Shines* a nineteenth century tune collected in England by Sharp and published in Peter Kennedy's *Fiddler's Tune Book Part Two* (1954b).

[27] Concertina player Pippa Sandford described this as being one of the (now largely historical) differences between EFDSS-style bands who would play from notation, and the ceilidh bands who had a smaller memorised repertoire (conversation 8.3.20).
[28] Written in the late nineteenth century by American Henry Clay Work and recorded by Johnny Cash in 1959.
[29] Composed by the Sherman brothers for the 1964 film *Mary Poppins.*

3:7:3 The Economic Event

The majority of events I attended were self-supporting and required attendees to purchase tickets in advance. However, I also attended five private events, two free events, and two events which were donation only. Some dances had additional forms of monetary support. In 2018 The Stony Live! festival received a small grant (c.£150) from the local council which facilitated a free public dance, and the Milton Keynes International Festival had council support, funding from Arts Council England, and additional money from the Centre MK shopping district. A number of local businesses sponsored various specific costs incurred by the Rennie Grove Hospice event, thus the band, food and a number of raffle prizes were sponsored by specific companies who were thanked for their support. For ticketed events, prices ranged from £5 (two of these were hosted by folk groups) up to £20.[30] The price for a ticket was thus largely comparable to a cinema ticket or cheap theatre ticket, however, many dances also included food in the ticket price.[31]

Participants, especially at fundraising events were usually asked to purchase a raffle ticket. Raffles are a form of gambling where punters buy a number, the counterfoil of which is put into a box and drawn randomly for prizes. As prizes are distributed on the night of the event, such raffles are not usually considered to be full gambling. Legally this type of raffle is known as an 'incidental lottery' and no licence is needed.[32] Raffles appear

[30] Although to attend the ceilidh at The Offline Festival, a day ticket to the weekend long event was needed which cost £100.
[31] For comparison, a trip to Royal and Derngate Theatre, Northampton to see *Richard III*, in May 2019 cost an adult £11 - £35, and to see *Les Miserables* at Milton Keynes Theatre £25-47. An adult ticket to see *Dumbo* in 2D in Milton Keynes Cinema cost £12.70. At one dance event where the tickets cost £11 there were flyers for a charity 'Annual Jaipur Charity Dinner' to be held on 11.11.17 at £27 per ticket.
[32] As per the Gambling Act (2005) and Statutory Instruments 2016 (no.239) 'Betting Gaming and Lotteries'. I only heard one attendee, who declined the offer of buying a ticket, referring to the raffle as gambling. He referred to his religion (possibly Methodist) as one which forbids all types of gambling (FN: 22.7.17).

to be a long-standing feature of community dances, although direct reference to them in written record is somewhat scanty.[33] The 1970s EFDSS guide to running a barn dance, recorded that raffles: 'can mean the difference between a profitable event and one run at a loss' (Wales [1972]:8). Although raffles do not always invoke the 'enjoyable interlude' which the EFDSS optimistically predicted, they were a common feature of many of the events I attended and could still make a considerable contribution to the financial success of the event. Raffle tickets were often sold in groups of five tickets (often priced at 5 tickets for £1) although at some events tickets were sold individually (often for £1 each). Prizes varied from a single metal stool fashioned from a tractor seat donated by a local auction, to two crates of assorted alcohol (each prize being a whole crate), marked at the higher price of a £5 ticket. More usual raffle prizes included a selection of smaller items, typically chocolates, soaps, bottles of wine, and, at more upmarket events, services or experiences such as a meal for two at a local restaurant. Tickets were either drawn out in front of attendees who could then select their own prize, or separately assigned and stuck to prizes for people to collect on their way home. One event publicly announced a profit of £226 on the raffle, another £100. At these events attendees had respectively purchased an average of £1.50 or £2.50s worth of tickets each.

Other events had different ways of making additional money: one church held a dessert auction where individuals bid between £3 and £20 to, in many cases, buy back cakes they had contributed to the event. One village event included a whisky roll where participants aimed to roll £1 coins closest to a bottle of whisky placed on the floor: the closest coin won the bottle. One charity event hosted, in addition to a raffle, a charity auction and a game of heads or tails where participants were asked to put £5 in an envelope

[33] In *The Cherry Tree* the dance included a 'lucky numbers' ballot (Bell 1932[1951]:168).

and repeatedly guess the way a tossed coin would land until one winner remained. The winner was rewarded with a cash prize of £100. The organiser publicly announced that she hoped the game would raise £1,000 (with 200 attendees all participating) minus the prize for the winner. One village event ran a manual tombola style raffle with numbered balls in addition to a conventional paper ticket raffle. Cash prizes were given to the individual that had pre-selected the numbered ball which was drawn from the rotating drum, presenting a lesser prize with each successive draw (£75, £18, and £7).

Most evening events included food (A3:2). Seven events served hot food, including: chilli; a hog roast; fish and chips; or a barbeque (often abbreviated to BBQ) which typically consisted of meat burgers, sausages, and similar foods cooked on a hot grill and served with bread, salad, and sauces. Food choices can vary across the country. Caller Helen Musser told me that troyls[34] in Cornwall often feature pasties as their interval food (I: 20.3.18). In my own research, five events provided a cold plate of food, typically a *ploughman's lunch*.[35] Other events reduced expenditure on food by asking attendees to 'bring their own' either to share on a large communal table or for personal consumption. Sometimes this difference was not obvious, as I learnt to my cost when I contributed a carrot cake to a non-sharing event. Even at a 'bring your own' event the organisers might provide savoury *nibbles* such as crisps, twiglet sticks, and small pretzels. At two events you could buy food, one was a free event where participants could purchase food from a BBQ van, whilst the other was a village event with a BBQ run by the committee. At this latter event food was £2.50 for a hot dog and £3.00 for a burger and was of similar cost,

[34] The Cornish word for barn dances/ceilidhs.
[35] That is a cheese and ham sandwich with salad garnish. According to the online *Encyclopaedia Britannica* the evocative name 'Ploughman's Lunch' for this type of cold meal, was coined in the 1950s. It grew in popularity in the 1960s as the result of a successful advertising campaign by the Milk Marketing Board (Siciliano-Rosen 2014).

quality, and presentation to a cheap food van or café in the south of England. Many events serving food included desserts which were often homemade.

At five events, dance organisers made use of a pre-existing venue bar whilst a further eight organisers ran their own bar serving a variety of soft drinks, beer, wine, and sometimes spirits. Bars were normally run with the specific purpose of raising additional funds, however their prices were usually slightly cheaper than pub prices. In order for committees to run a bar legally the venue needs to be licensed. If the venue is not licensed, organisers can apply for a temporary event notice from their local council. For an event with up to 500 people, Aylesbury district council set this amount at £21 in 2017 (Aylesbury Council 2017). Some events, particularly those hosted by churches were 'dry' with squash and/or tea being provided, whilst other events occupied a middle ground - participants were asked to BYOB.[36]

At events which had a bar, often its presence was clearly marked on the advertising and appears to have been considered to be a draw by the organisers. Events with their own bar did appear to have a higher number of male attendees. At one Rotary event, the main organiser thanked people for coming to the event, in the process elucidating how he felt the presence of a bar was a good selling point:

> Thank you for putting up with my badgering, "why don't you come to a barn dance? No, you don't need to dance, the beer is good anyway," but I hope you had a good time.
>
> (FN: 5.8.17)

[36] An acronym with a number of interpretations of the final word: bring your own booze/beer/beverages.

Within my participant questionnaire, references to alcohol occurred in response to questions about reasons for coming to the event ('alcohol' or 'booze'), and also in response to the question which asked about the attendees' relationship with dance. A number of questionnaire respondents (hereafter QRs) specifically brought up how they prefer to dance when they have had a drink. Some responses included: 'When Drinking/Drunk'; 'after a few drinks'; 'I dance at home or when I drink';' I like to dance when drunk'; 'when drunk'; 'I dance after a few drinks'; 'I like dancing after drinking'; 'Depends how much I have drunk!'. One QR noted that the consumption of beer made dancing tolerable for them. Referring to the options given in the questionnaire from 1- I hate dancing, to 3 – Dancing is OK, to 5 - I enjoy dancing, this QR wrote: 'No beer 1 lots of beer 3'. Of these alcohol related comments three were given by females aged between 18-34, but the majority were given by men aged between 18-64.

The biggest expenditure for most events is the provision of a band and caller. In the EFDSS's *Let's Have a Barn Dance* it is recommended that caller receives £6 and the band £10 (Wales [1972]:7). This favourable allocation reflected the caller's perceived status and pivotal role in proceedings. Now it is more common for the caller to be paid the same amount as one band member, although some callers set a minimum fee. When live music is used, callers are often booked by the band, although occasionally the caller will be hired first. Musicians trained in a range of other genres may be utilised to play for events, even though they might not be ideal from the caller's perspective. One London caller described in interview an event he was booked for where the band was made up of Church musicians:

> I said I would use CDs but they had organised a band as well […] a drummer who had never done English country dancing before, a bass player who couldn't read music, an organist, the church organist who had three sheets of, three jigs and three reels and they were waiting for a guy from Canterbury who played the accordion to turn up […] and they said "we have only got six dances [tunes]". I said "don't worry those dancers will not notice that you are repeating the same dances [tunes] over and over again" and they didn't.
>
> (Anonymous caller I: 28.9.17)

Not all musicians demanded payment. Indeed, four bands had organised public events so that they could have the opportunity to play. The music at the Camping and Caravanning Club's Home Counties Folk Division's winter dance was provided by the club. Theoretically anyone who wanted to could join the musicians. My own band played for no financial reimbursement at two local dances. At two events music was provided by members of MK Roots School (including myself) who played for no financial reimbursement, although we were given gifts of bottled beer at one event and flowers at another.

There are many varied and personal reasons why musicians might play for barn dances for little or no money. Musician Simon Haines has noted that: 'Many of us would rather play for a low fee than not play at all' (Haines 2020:27). Musicians might enjoy performing, have empathy for the event cause, harbour a desire to spread their passion for folk dance, or hope that the gig will lead to better paid work in the future. A number of musicians told me how they always ask for a fee, even if they then donate it to a charity of their choice. A common complaint is that if they agree to play for free gratis, then the organisers are less motivated to publicise the event. As a result events are more likely to be

cancelled, or have a low attendance. I experienced this with my own band, where after a dismal turn out at a local community event at which we had agreed to play for free, the most experienced band member swore that we should do no more free gigs, as they are usually badly attended. One band leader told me she now asks for a £240 deposit, where she once used to ask for £10 per band member to avoid cancellations (Delia Gleave I:19.2.18). Cancellations were not unusual; I charted four in my missed events data, at least two of which were due to low advance ticket sales.

The Christian organisation Share Jesus International's online guide to running a ceilidh, sets a budget for a band and caller at between £200-£500 which seems to reflect the going market rate for semi-professional bands. At the lower end of this budget, organisers might be able to acquire a band who are amenable to their cause and willing to play for less. During my research I met one such band who specialised in Christian events; they always ask for a £150 fee which they then donate to a charity of their choice.

More financially motivated bands would be happy to send out a duo/trio and caller to a local gig for £125 a head.[37] The fees that were disclosed to me by bands and organisers indicate that most semi-professional bands charged £100-£180 per band member, and these sorts of bands usually had a small core of three or four band members. Additional band members, perhaps a drummer or additional melody instrument/s might be added for clients willing to pay more for a bigger band. One of my interviewees, Camilla, who had been investigating local bands to play for her forthcoming 60th birthday party in Buckinghamshire, had agreed to pay a fee of £500 with her chosen band which she said was about average (I: 20.8.18). Most of the bands I met during my research gigged only

[37] It is uncommon for bands to receive tips: the anecdote of the host who gave the four band members an extra £20 each was the only one that I heard inside or outside my formal research period (FN:2.6.18).

occasionally. At an event held in the autumn, one musician confided to me that this was their band's second event of the year. In contrast The Ceilidh Liberation Front, also the only band which had a majority of musicians in their 30s, were much more active. For the International Festival they had travelled to the evening's event directly after playing for another dance at the Southbank Centre in London.

After the band and caller, the second most significant (and variable) fee can be the cost of hiring a venue, although some organisations own the properties at which they hold events and so can use them rent free. In Milton Keynes I hired a community hall for £120 for a Saturday evening in 2016, whilst a more run-down hall in the same town could be hired for £60. Another Milton Keynes organiser told me that the hall, band, and food costs (cold supper) had come to £750. In Stony Stratford, the festival organisers of StonyLive! hire an open lorry for a stage in order to hold a barn dance in the market square at a cost of £180, but they also pay for the presence of a St John Ambulance at an additional cost of £240.[38] Hall hire costs can be even more expensive in the south of the county.

The EFDSS's barn dance guided concludes that barn dances are 'rather a lot of hard work for rather a small profit'. The suggested profit in 1972 was £17; £1 more than the cost of the band and caller (Wales [1972]:8). Organisers today make a similar profit in comparison to band fees and exact sums were often disclosed at the end of the event, usually to cheers from attendees. The Cricket Club's fundraiser event raised £750, whilst two Rotary events raised £700 and £1,600, the Christian Charity Reach raised £300 – £400, the Roman Catholic Church fundraiser £600. An outlier was the Rennie Grove barn

[38] This is the 2018 price for the full day, which includes street performances prior to the barn dance.

dance; although I was unable to deduce profits from the 2018 dance, the previous Rennie Grove barn dance in 2016 had raised between £7,000 and £8,000.

3:7:4 Attendees

3:7:4:1 Demographic

The chart in A5:1 shows recorded attendance at events, alongside the questionnaire response rate. Figures varied from 21 attendees up to the 350 children who made up the entire student body of a primary school.[39] The Rennie Grove charity fundraiser which was the biggest ticketed event sold 200 tickets and had around 163 attendees. If the school dance is excluded the mean average attendance was 77. I was struck by the sparsity of attendees at many events which often struggled to attract the numbers for which the organisers had hoped. I recorded only two events which had sold out in advance. One attendee commented on the low turn out 'I wish more people knew it was on and had made it' (QR). Another also took the opportunity to reflect on the numbers: 'I helped organise this event - it is our second barn dance. This time we struggled to get people to come along. I think people are so busy now' (QR). Whilst the majority of attendees did not attend multiple events a minority did so and as my research progressed, I started to notice a small number of repeat attendees. The vast majority - 89% of QRs said that they had been to 'an event like this before'. Of these 272 felt that they had been to 'many of these sorts of dances' and would struggle to count them all up, whilst a slightly smaller number (252) felt they had been to a 'few' dances previously (roughly between 2 and 10 events). Whilst maybe not being regular folk festival or dance club attendees, many of my interviewees were nonetheless very enthusiastic about barn dances. Many commented that there seem to

[39] All the dance events attracted far fewer attendees than some of the big events of the 1970s. One band member recorded attendance of some 1,200 guests for a particularly large barn dance held in a Riding Barn (Hillyer 1973:10).

be fewer events now than there used to be and some asked me if I knew of any forthcoming public dances.

60% of QRs were female, whilst 34% were male (6% void). This concurs with research into questionnaire biases, where women are more likely to complete responses than men (Smith 2008:3). On a number of occasions, I would hand out questionnaires to be told that 'she'll do it for both of us'. Women are, possibly, over-represented in the data, however many events did have more women present than men and I attended two all-female events but no all-male events. Barn dances organised by Rotary (formally an all-male organisation), and the Round Table (still a male-only group), had a particularly strong male presence, but still the number of male attendees seemed to be on a par with, rather than exceeded by the number of women in the room. The event organised by the village cricket club had the largest male to female ratio. Events labelled as *ceilidhs* appeared to attract fewer men and had a notably larger proportion of female dancers than b*arn dances.* Family barn dances also appeared to struggle to attract fathers as well as mothers. At one (not atypical) family dance I noted 29 women, 16 children, and 5 men (excluding the stewards and the band) at the start of the evening (FN: 2.6.18). On a few occasions I witnessed groups of women who had come for a girls' night out, while their male partners selected another activity. I did not witness any such men's groups.

The modal average age of QRs was 55-64 (164/726), followed by those in the age brackets either side 45-54 (150/726), and 65-74 (152/726). As most events are hosted by voluntary membership groups, it would not be a great surprise if this data reflected the average demographic of these groups. Stacey's 1950s study of Banbury (Oxfordshire) indicated that individuals in their 40s and 50s were most likely to be active in associational committees (Stacey 1960:80). Whilst more people are delaying the birth of their first child

until their late 20s or early 30s and given extended life expectancy, it would make sense if individuals are also becoming more active in (non-sport related) voluntary groups in their 50s and 60s.[40] More mature attendees were less numerous, but nonetheless present at questionnaired events, with 56 or 8% of QRs aged 75 or over. At the other end of the spectrum there were even fewer responses from attendees in the youngest adult bracket 18-25 (16/726). Slightly older adults aged 25-44 made up about 22% of QRs (see 'Age of Questionnaire Respondents' in A5:3). It would seem that adults become more active in voluntary membership groups, and thus more likely to attend barn dances in their mid-40s, and less likely to attend when they retire from such organisations in their 70s. In addition, demographic studies show that the rural areas of Buckinghamshire (where these events are more popular) are predominantly populated by adults in middle age. Older adults are more numerous in smaller market towns, and younger adults in larger urbanised centres such as Aylesbury (Buckinghamshire Partnership 2009).

Six public dances from my fieldwork were explicitly advertised as 'family' events and I also attended two private dance events for children, one at a primary school and the other at the National Youth Music Camps. There was at least one family group and at least one child present at all but six of the events I attended. 'Family' dances had varied success rates in attracting children. The Chiltern Folk Association dance attracted only three, but when I did a head count at 6.45pm at the Stony Live! Barn Dance the event had more children present than adults. Some dances despite not being marketed as family events offered discounted tickets for children or families.

[40] Buckinghamshire is known as an 'escalator' county with migrants moving into the region when starting families (Murdoch et al. 2003:79).

Many of the events which did not include children were closed private events hosted by adult organisations, three examples being: the U3A, the Women's Institute, and the Trefoil. The Round Table, an all-male organisation with a maximum age of 40, had a more adult-focused ethos. One attendee commented that they had come for: 'a night away from the children!' (QR). There was a narrower demographic range at this event as there were no older adults either. For many participants it appears to have been a chance to let their hair down and there was a higher level of alcohol consumption. Similarly, one caller told me of an adults only barn dance held by a pre-school in which the attendees appeared to share a similar approach. The caller recalled the consumption of Jäegerbombs (a beverage which combines 35% proof alcohol with an energy drink), and a consequent discrepancy between the energy levels of the band and the attendees. After having been reticent to come onto the dance floor earlier in the evening, at 11.30pm when the band wanted to pack away the attendees wanted to carry on. This caller recalled the problems he had communicating with the attendees who 'weren't listening to instructions at all and were just doing their own thing' (FN: 7.10.17). Perhaps coincidentally both the Round Table and the pre-school event had a high proportion of attendees costumed in Country and Western attire.

A more typical event would have had one or two family groups present, which might also include a grandparent. Most children were aged between 6 and 12, teenagers at events were in a distinct minority, although one or two might be present in larger family groups. During the fieldwork and in interviews, the reluctance of teenagers to attend and participate was occasionally discussed. At one church event, a grandmother explained to me that in addition to her teenage grandson having a weekly sports lesson at the time the dance was scheduled, he had been unenthusiastic about the prospect of a dance; 'no way' had been his response. She seemed to indicate that it was generally considered to be an

unfashionable thing to do, and expressed a related concern that her grandchild will also stop attending church when he gets older (FN: 4.2.18). Tabitha described how she had offered to bring her nieces to the dance but: 'they didn't want to go, they were too cool for it apparently. They are thirteen and fourteen they were like "are you joking?"' (Tabitha I:11.6.18). Tabitha considered the possible reasons for the scarcity of teenagers at such events:

> It's not really forced intimacy exactly, but I suppose to a degree it is especially when they are swinging you around I think as a teenager that is probably when you go off it. If you dance with old guys that you don't like the look of, and they are spinning you around, and you are thinking "oh this is not for me", you know?
>
> (Tabitha I:11.6.18)

Even if teenagers were in attendance, they might not feel comfortable joining in the dancing. At three events, teenagers were more apparent as organisers or helpers than as dancers. One attendee at a Rotary event, told me of a scheme her friends had concocted to get the teenage boys dancing at a friend's 21st wedding anniversary party. The boys had refused to dance with their own mothers, so the women asked their friends' sons to dance. The sons could not refuse without being impolite and so the mothers finally succeeded in getting the teenage boys up and dancing (FN: 27.4.18).

Attendees were primarily local, with 47% travelling five miles or less and 71% ten miles or less (A5:2). Of the 25 QRs who travelled 100 miles or more, many were visiting family and attended the dance as a part of their visit, although a number of people had travelled long distances to attend the Offline Festival. 460 respondents, or 63% had

arranged to meet with friends at the event.[41] A smaller number of QRs (21%) had arranged to meet with family. Even fewer respondents ticked that they were meeting a club, or a date. When at the event, 42% of respondents said that they recognised ten or more people, some attendees noted that they recognised 25, 43, and even 50 people. This indicates that at many events there is a level of prior familiarity amongst participants which is not surprising considering that most were hosted by pre-established groups.

None of my interviewees had come to the event on their own. Personal networks had encouraged both awareness of the event and attendance. For example, Julia was encouraged to book her ceilidh ticket when a friend told her they were intending to go. She had already heard about the event but had delayed booking as she was so busy 'in four choirs – lots of things'. The presence of her friends, who themselves were new to the area, was reassuring and she talked about how it was nice to go to the event with another couple, even if they only danced together once in the same set (Julia I:1.8.18). Two other interviewees, both in their late 30s, who had not had any previous experience with barn dances/ceilidhs came with a group of friends. They had purchased tickets together as part of a girls' night out. In one of these groups was a former folk camp attendee, whose parents were playing in the band.

A number of my interviewees came to events in small family groups. Barn dances/ceilidhs were felt to be an appropriate inter-generational activity. Michael's parents, in their 70s, had recently moved into a village and wanted to expand their social circle, he happened to be visiting them that weekend and went to the dance with them. Similarly,

[41] Only 31% of QRs noted that they had arranged to meet with a spouse or partner (A5:4). I believe that people who travelled to an event with a partner were less likely to tick this box, as they were not technically arranging to meet them. Very few QRs had actually arrived alone.

Sophie in her early 20s, was going to attend the ceilidh with her mother and two of her mothers' friends. She then told her own friend about it, in the process expanding the circle of acquaintances to include her friend, her friend's boyfriend, and his mother. Like Michael, Sophie hoped that the dance would enable her mother to meet local people. Ceilidhs in particular seemed to attract women, particularly mothers and daughters. One such pair (Emma and Connie) had attended ceilidhs regularly throughout the daughter's childhood and teenage years. Connie, now in her late teens, continues to enjoy attending such events with her mother and younger brother: 'It's a very positive thing, it's a very good occasion and yeah really enjoy them and I think the whole family does, don't they? They all get involved' (Connie I:3.8.18). This family had attended the International Festival ceilidh before and mentioned how they had particularly enjoyed the atmosphere at this event. They had also attended barn dances/ceilidhs in a range of other contexts including as part of an ecumenical church event, at community Wakes festivals[42] when they lived in the Peak District, and for a relative's 60th birthday party. In another mother-daughter pair Odette the mother worked for the organisation that was hosting the dance. Lucy, the daughter, was studying music at university and saw the poster in the local chip shop when she was home for the holidays. She convinced her mother to buy a ticket and to attend the dance.

QRs were asked to write down their highest level of educational qualification. These findings can be found in A5:6 and record that over half (52%) of QRs had either an undergraduate (35%) or postgraduate (18%) degree. This is higher than the national average of 42% of degree holders amongst the working age British population (Clegg

[42] Much reduced from their historical significance as the primary holiday for the labouring classes, some locations continue to hold 'Wakes'. These are secular summer festivities often spanning a full week.

2017) and is especially high as 208 (29%) of my respondents were 65 or over, and degree acquisition has increased over time.[43] The 2017 Office for National Statistics (ONS) graduate data indicates that 21% of the UK population aged 20-60 have A-levels or equivalents as their highest educational qualification and an additional 20% GCSE's or equivalents (Clegg 2017). A much lower percentage of my QRs listed GCSEs (10%) or A-levels (6%) as their highest educational achievement. 14% of QRs listed BTECs and other vocational qualifications but as it is not clear at what level these exams were taken, there is not enough information to make a meaningful comparison with the ONS 2017 data.[44] Tentatively I would suggest that there is a higher than average level of tertiary education amongst attendees when compared with Britain as a whole. This would correspond with the higher average level of educational achievement in rural rather than urban parts of Buckinghamshire (Buckinghamshire Partnership 2009).

Many QRs were happy to share their current or pre-retirement occupation. Whilst the responses are not detailed enough to categorise them using a system such as the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification, the range of occupations listed does indicate the background of many attendees. It is probably relevant to note here that professionals are more likely to respond to surveys in general (Smith 2008) and to reiterate that I was unable to do questionnaires at all events (for a full list of occupations and further

[43] The percentage of QRs with degrees could be higher as some attendees who listed professional qualifications such as membership of the Royal Institute of British Architects, or occupations such as 'diplomat' are likely to have an undergraduate degree. In addition, nursing and teaching qualifications, which can now be sat as degrees were categorised under BTECs and diplomas. See A5:7 for further information.

[44] I do not feel able to suggest that the 11% of nil responses to the question on educational attainment accurately indicates the number of attendees without any educational qualifications compared to the 8% 2017 ONS average (Clegg 2017). 37 people also declined to give me their occupations. A number of respondents were reticent in telling me, a stranger at a social event, personal details which related to their income, whilst they were happy to answer questions which pertained directly to barn dances.

explanations see A5:7).[45] Barn dances attracted individuals with a range of occupations including roofers, carers, and hairdressers as well as bankers, doctors, and university lecturers. Nonetheless those involved with the multifarious manual trades formed a smaller group as a whole (38) than those who listed their job as clerk/administrator (51), or manager (54). There were a number of individuals in less prestigious jobs such as retail (19), teaching assistants (11), and carers (12). However, attendees in these types of jobs were generally outnumbered by the high percentage of professionals including engineers and architects (29), lecturers (18), civil servants (17), accountants (16), and scientists (14). The most populous occupation (61) was that of school teacher (primary and secondary). There were also a large number of nurses/midwives (30). Indicating the appeal of barn dances for modern Christians three respondents had religious occupations, only one less than the four involved in agriculture.

When asked which country they were born in 60% of respondents recorded that they were born in England whilst an additional 23% listed either the United Kingdom or Great Britain (A5:12). 28 respondents were born in Scotland, 6 in Northern Ireland, 3 in the Republic of Ireland, and 2 in Wales. A number of other respondents were born in other counties in Europe (22), Africa (12), Asia (13), Australasia (2), and The Americas (7). Many of the individuals born in Africa and Asia were born to white British parents.[46] 73% of all QRs recorded that they are 'white British', and a further number that they are

[45] In the 2011 census for Buckinghamshire (QS606EW - Occupation (Minor Groups)), the biggest occupational groups were: 20% 'professional'; 15% 'Associate professional and technical occupations'; 14% 'Managers, directors and senior officials'; 12% 'Administrative and Secretarial Occupations'; 9% 'Elementary'; 7% 'Sales and Customer Service'; 6% 'Caring personal service'; and 5% 'Process, plant and machine operatives.' This data retrieved from Nomis on 7.11.16 by Census Customer Services and e-mailed to CEMM.

[46] Although 12 individuals were born in Africa, only one recorded their ethnicity as African (white African). Similarly, only 2 respondents born in Asia recorded their ethnicity as Asian.

'British' (10%), 'Scottish' (4%), or 'English' (3%) with no additional qualification (A5:13). 13 individuals recorded that they are Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) British, 3 that they were Latino, and 4 that they had a mixed heritage (undisclosed). Respondents also included white Europeans (18), and white non-Europeans (6). Statistically ethnicity affects response with white individuals having a higher response rate (Smith 2008). There is also wider cultural conflation between whiteness, Britishness, and Englishness (Thomas 2011:91). If those individuals who described themselves as British or English without additional qualification were white then the data from the questionnaires supports my fieldnotes as I noted very few BAME attendees.

There was only one public ticketed event I attended with a noticeably large number of BAME attendees and this was the Roman Catholic dance described earlier (1:1:1). Of the 30 events I attended, over half (17) did not have one non-white attendee. A number of these were private events, reflecting the friendship groups and demography of the organisers. In addition to the Roman Catholic event which had an estimated 14 non-white attendees, other ticketed events which attracted a larger number of BAME individuals included the primary school dance in Bletchley (which reflected the catchment area), the ceilidh at the Milton Keynes International Festival [10], the Marlow Round Table dance [6], and the StonyLive! town barn dance [8].

The majority of QRs did not consider themselves to be regular dancers. The category 'I enjoy dancing and I dance regularly' attracted just 198 agreements. More QRs selected the two middling but positive statements to describe their relationship to dance with 206 QRs agreeing with the statement: 'Dancing is OK, I like doing it at social events' and a further 212 with: 'I enjoy dancing at social events and I would like to start doing it more' (see A5:8). The most popular dance genres attendees listed were: Zumba (65), folk

dance (58), ballroom (55), disco (52), and English folk dance (50) (see A5:9). The large number of individuals writing down folk dance and/or English folk dance must reflect the number of events I attended which had a folk connection, it is not reflective of the popularity of folk dance in Buckinghamshire more widely.

Many QRs were not ardent British folk music enthusiasts (A5:10). Only 7% of QRs indicated that British folk music is their 'favourite type of music to listen to'. However nearly half (47%) indicated that they 'like British folk music, and will choose to listen to it'. A further 38% were less keen, identifying with the statement 'British folk music is OK, but I wouldn't choose to listen to it'. The responses to this question (which allowed for multiple answers) indicate that barn dances reach an audience beyond committed folk adherents. Additional comments in this section were wide ranging, QRs took the opportunity of mentioning other bands and genres, explaining that they do not really know what British folk music is, or that they do not have an opinion about it. Conversely a minority of QRs recounted their experiences in folk bands and listed their favourite folk artists, or folk-related radio shows. Some keen folk dancers took the opportunity of explaining how they viewed folk dance music as distinct from British folk music more generally. At two different events attendees asked me to clarify whether folk dance music was included under 'British folk music' or not. This was an important differentiation for them because whilst they did not like folk song, they did enjoy listening to folk dance music.[47]

QRs had a wide range of motives for coming to events (A5:11). In this question, which allowed for multiple responses, over half of QRs (388) had come to meet with

[47] I touched upon the break between English folk singers and dancers in 2:4:2. Folk dance clubs who dance Playford style dances often use classical style music which is quite different to the folk music found at contemporary music sessions (Walkowitz 2010:238).

family or friends. Many were fond of dancing of all types (259), with 245 agreeing with the statement that they are 'interested/enjoy English folk dancing'. 238 had 'come out for a laugh', whilst 192 had been attracted to the geographic proximity of the event, 167 had come to support a charitable cause, and 137 attended because the event was connected to a club or group to which they belonged. Some QRs made it clear that they were at the dance because it was part of a bigger event they were attending, particularly The Offline Festival and the private birthday party. Bands also attracted a small number of attendees, with friends and family members turning out to support them. This was especially the case for the dance at the end of The Stables Ceilidh Experience course.

3:7:4:2 Orientation to English Social Folk Dance

In this section I take the opportunity to focus on attendees' orientation to English social folk dance. As I address inclusivity and fun elsewhere (3:9:2-3:9:4) I will instead focus on other elements of genre distinction, particularly how attendees differentiate between English social folk dance and other genres.

The perception of the choreography as a group form was seen as one of the key areas of genre distinctiveness.

> I think its nice to have that group, coming together, rather than it being on your own. You get it right. You get the moves right. Well done you! Actually if you do it as a group, like we did the other night I felt like I had accomplished something and that I had connected, and that is what I think they are supposed to do these kind of dances, they are supposed to unite communities, connect everybody and it be a social thing.
>
> (Sophie I: 9.7.18)

> It's about the social aspect, and everyone doing it together as a group. Whereas, whereas, you know, even in like a nightclub or something, you are still performing for other people. It still feels like you are dancing for other people because, because there are people who aren't dancing. Whereas, and I don't know, it feels like, very pressured, and looked at, whereas in a ceilidh dance everyone is doing it together, and the whole point of the night is that everyone is dancing.
>
> (Emma I: 3.8.18)

Although one attendee (who was a regular at her university Ceilidh Society) explained how she felt more anxious dancing ceilidh than ceroc, because any mistakes will potentially affect more people (Rebecca I:10.7.18), the dancing set was usually seen positively by interviewees, as individuals in the set offer help and support and dancing together fosters a shared moment of collective action.

At many barn dances/ceilidhs the music, although amplified, is usually quieter than at many live music events. This allowed participants to talk to each other whilst dancing. Doris first brought the importance of talking to my attention. She found it an aspect of the event which differed from her other dancing experiences and increased the sociability of the occasion: 'It's a different noise, you can talk and you can dance, while in other places you get the music so loud there is no conversation there' (Doris I:31.7.18). I then became aware of how, as a participant, I utilised conversation to assist in the dancing. I recalled a village event I had attended where I partnered a stranger. I introduced myself at the start of the dance and throughout *Buttered Peas* we made jokes about how well or badly we executed the movements (FN:23.9.17). Dances which involved clapping hands in a set sequence with your partner (such as *Buttered Peas*) seemed to evoke more conversation

and laughter between participants, as did partner change dances. Even when the music was louder at the Milton Keynes International Festival, attendees continued to communicate with each other. Connie recalled the mix of body language and verbal communication in this context. The people she was dancing with were 'giggling' and doing 'little jokes' swinging each other faster and faster and making comic 'facial expressions to do with the dance' (Connie I:3.8.18). One interviewee felt that the act of dancing with others precipitated additional communication and sociability.

> It is a totally different experience because when you learnt your salsa or whatever you have your partner or you dance by yourself. In here you have to, [as] you [CEMM] mentioned, you have to be holding hands with each other. Suddenly you are smiling you are talking to other people and that is the difference, you get to know people even if you do not know them as friends.
>
> (Doris I:31.7.18)

Although Tabitha had brought up contact as an area which can discourage teenagers from participating in the dancing (quoted in 3:7:4:1), none of my interviewees found the physical contact aspect of barn dancing to be problematic for themselves. Sophie considered touch in relation to sociability and the differences that she perceived between ceilidhs/barn dances and clubbing.

> When you go to a ceilidh or a barn dance you understand that you are going to be learning a dance together and you are kind of you are doing it to be part of a group. You know that's what is going to happen rather than if you are just out there clubbing and you could just be doing it for yourself. […] I think that is where the difference is and I do expect it to be a bit more, I would say, social in that sense, have a bit more physical contact.
>
> (Sophie I:9.7.18)

Sophie who used conversation during the dance to assist others in her set, went on to discuss how conversation could be utilised to mitigate the awkwardness of dancing with

strangers. She thinks her friends might 'have to maybe talk to someone to make it a little more interesting or exciting otherwise you are literally holding hands with a random person' (I:9.7.18).

Along with movement synchronicity, touch was discussed by my interviewees as helping to build a sense of community. As Doris explained:

> I think it is a beautiful thing to get people together to make more, community orientated […] I went with my friends but I didn't dance only with my friends, we danced with everybody.
>
> (Doris I:31.7.18)

Hannah suggested that hand holding could help to alleviate the isolation many older people might feel: 'I think its nice, it is nice for adults, probably nicer for older people because they don't get to touch many people. So maybe they should do more barn dancing' (Hannah I:13.6.18). This safe sense of touch is supported by the relatively brief nature of the contact which is always limited by the length of the dance figure. Although she empathised with her nieces' reluctance to dance with older men, Tabitha felt that the short duration of the contact helped to make it acceptable:

> I think its really great to break down barriers even when you dance with like old uncles or your old uncles' friends you don't mind you have a quick spin around and then you are on to the next. You have made contact with people much more so than if you are at a disco and you would never go near anyone.
>
> (Tabitha I:11.6.18)

For Ollie the act of directed group movement was seen as facilitating a sense of connectedness, allowing everyone to be 'on the same side of having fun' (I: 2.8.18).[48] For Sophie, the repeated nature of the sequence gave her something to aim towards and to feel success in its achievement (I: 9.7.18). For other interviewees, the set and guided nature of the dances was reassuring. Matt, the dance-reticent spouse of a more enthusiastic ceilidh attendee, explained how although he was averse to dancing, he would join in with ceilidhs/barn dances. Matt liked having the support of a caller who would give instructions throughout the dance and disliked it when 'they start you off and then just assume you can then do it' (I: 31.7.18). Indeed, the caller was considered to be an integral part of English social folk dance by nearly all my interviewees, and many wondered how they would be able to participate without a caller. Doris had experienced a non-called ceilidh at her niece's wedding in Scotland and she had found the experience very excluding. At the Milton Keynes ceilidh she appreciated the caller and having the movements explained in advance, this allowed her to have a more enjoyable experience (I: 31.7.18).

Many attendees and organisers appear to view barn dances/ceilidhs as a less sexual form of dance. This perhaps helps to explain the appeal of English social folk dance to church groups. This understanding is not limited to England but reflects broader British attitudes towards folk dancing. A recent example of this comes from a 2018 popular BBC Radio Four comedy programme *The News Quiz* in which Scottish presenter Susan Calman joked that Scottish country dancing is: 'specifically designed to prevent sexual interaction' (*The News Quiz* 2018). Such attitudes are not limited to comedians. In one paper exploring gender and Scottish dance, Russian teacher and researcher Sergey Alferov wrote: 'Scottish

[48] This reminds me of Andrée Grau's suggestion, drawing upon the work of John Blacking, of the possible role of dance, or rhythmic bodily movement, in human evolution (Grau 2015:239-240).

Country dancing seems to be more about friendship, socializing, and joy of life, than about love, passion, or romance' (Alferov 2013:5). At one non-church affiliated event, I commented to my dancing partner that she must have been to a ceilidh before. She said that when she was growing up she used to go to barn dances, her Anglican church youth group used to have them. She then reflected that barn dances were considered to be 'more appropriate' than disco dancing, which would have had 'muted lighting' (FN: 17.3.18).[49]

As dancing is so often associated with sexual behaviour why are barn/ceilidh dances considered to be asexual? One answer lies in the genre's association with schools and children. Some dances are held in contexts where a sexualised narrative would be seen as inappropriate, such as in primary schools or inter-generational family gatherings. Its use in such contexts is likely to enforce wider associations of this dance form as being asexual. Writing about North American uses of European folk dances at the turn of the twentieth century Shay has argued that in presenting the material to fit in with contemporary moral ideas about childhood, the dances were removed of their sexual content (2008:77-78). Correspondents to *English Dance and Song* in the 1940s and 1950s worried that contact with country dancing in schools would infantilise the genre in the minds of many (Chellew 1947, Cooke 1945). Sibyl Clark considered one of the challenges for the 1953 radio broadcast 'Children's Country Dance Party' to be how to explain the idea that country dancing 'is an *adult* form of social recreation' (my emphasis Clark 1953:44). Similarly, when Ron Smedley directed two educational programmes on country dancing for BBC school television in the late 1990s he made sure to include footage of adults and teenagers dancing at an evening event which was complete with muted disco lighting (Smedley 1998).

[49] See discussion in 3:7:2:3.

In addition there is the distinct possibility that the idea of folk dance as an asexual genre draws upon a wider stereotypical binary between the sexual 'other' and the sexually restrained (white) Brit. In ceilidh/barn dances the figures often focus on moving the whole body e.g. 'Circle Left' or 'Swing'. Pelvic or hip rotation which is often associated with black culture (and more sexualised forms of dancing) is entirely absent from the prescribed movement and rarely features in attendees limited extemporisations (Bourne 2017:79, Dixon Gottschild 2003:147-148, 184, Holmes 2014). A related point is that English folk music lacks a large youth following. The majority of bands I met in the field were composed of retirees. This demographic is rarely accused of causing moral panic by unleashing unbridled lasciviousness.

Keen folk dancers have, throughout the twentieth century, attempted to rebut the idea that social folk dance is not sexual. Kennedy did this through his process of re-heterosexualisation in the 1940s (2:3:2). More recently folk dance promoter Gareth Kiddier explained that folk dance is about being able to meet and engage with others in the hopes of finding 'a [life] partner you can enjoy being with' (quoted in Mead 2016:31). There were often moments of intimacy between couples during or at the end of a dance. At a Rotary associated event in one North Buckinghamshire village, I recorded two couples embracing each other on the dance floor whilst waiting for more couples to arrive (FN: 11.11.17). Similarly, at another village in South Buckinghamshire couples took the opportunity to exchange kisses during 'lines forward and back' (FN: 7.10.17). However, whilst folk dancing can be used to advance adult sexual relationships, this is not how the genre is generally advertised or understood. More commonly it is folk dance's perceived suitability for intergenerational interaction which is stressed instead (3:9:4).

3:7:5 Conclusion

Whilst there was significant diversity in the types of dances I attended in my research, I want to draw out some generalisations. 89% of QRs had been to a dance of this kind before which indicates some level of prior familiarity. Some attendees, who are probably over-represented in my small interviewee sample might be described as converts to this dance genre. Although they are not involved with folk dance clubs and do not go to folk festivals, they made an effort to attend local tyro dances, and would consider hosting a private barn dance for their next significant party.

Public ticketed barn dances appear to retain important links to rural areas; they were commonly held in villages and other rural locations, as well as towns. Many of these events were annual, a set feature of groups' social calendars. Wherever they were based, dances attracted a primarily local, middle-class audience. QRs were predominately white, well educated, well qualified, and in their 40s, 50s, and 60s, mirroring the common demographic of a contemporary Buckinghamshire village (Murdoch et al. 2003:47, Buckinghamshire Partnership 2009).

Most barn dances/ceilidhs were financially self-supporting. In addition, there was a pervading ethos of (non-political) communitarianism at many events where organisers volunteered to put on events, attendees brought raffle prizes or desserts and assisted with the tidying up, and some musicians played as much for their own enjoyment as for subsidiary income. Barn dances were not high-class entertainment, and ticket prices were usually substantially lower than other charity events which included food. Whilst fundraising motives might provide the explicit raison d'etre for an event, barn dances and ceilidhs can be costly and time-consuming to organise, especially when hot food is

prepared and served. At many dances, the event was as much an occasion for socialising as for fund raising.

The popularity of these events appears to be waning. Whilst there still seems to be a comparatively large number of public events in Buckinghamshire, many were not widely popular, and it was the sparsity rather than the density of attendees which was often commented on. Perhaps this was a reflection of the amateur advertising, as the more professionally organised events put on by The Stables were well attended.

For some organisers and interviewees barn dances/ceilidhs were seen as a safe dance form, accomplished with the house lights on. The genre was contrasted with modern improvised club dances, which are seen as being more about the spectacle of the self. Interviewees, for whom the caller is integral to the genre, appreciated the guided nature of the dances, drawing analogies with being involved in a team, and they explored the ways in which the dancing itself opened up avenues for communication with others on and off the dance floor. Although some are adult only, many public ticketed dances were advertised as ‘family’ events where the attendance and participation of children was encouraged. In addition to appealing to folk enthusiasts, barn dances/ceilidhs also appear to be notably attractive to church groups.

3:8 The Realisation of the Dance

3:8:1 Teaching and Dissemination

The realisation of this dance form, how it is interpreted and made manifest is an important aspect of its appeal. This chapter includes analysis of three important aspects: teaching, music, and stepping.

The integrated pedagogic nature of this dance form appears to have ensured its continued popularity. Teaching is a key aspect of English social folk dance, participants relied upon the caller to select both the repertoire and the interpretation.[1] At tyro dance events, a large amount of time is spent in familiarising participants with the selected choreography. After the dancers have been assembled and have moved to the correct set formation the caller will instruct them verbally. This part in the proceedings is called the *walk through* and is done without music. When the caller is satisfied that enough attendees now understand the figures then they will ask the band to begin playing and the dancing commences with the caller continuing to give verbal prompts. I analysed data from 264 dances compiled from 26 different events and found that from the announcement of a dance to the last strain of music, participants will typically spend as much time, if not more, learning than dancing.[2] Most dances lasted between three and five minutes, and it was usual for participants to start dancing four to six minutes after the dance has been announced (A4:4).[3] Popular songs are three to five minutes in length and it is probable that

[1] A caller might choose to do the same sequence of figures to either a reel, jig, polka or hornpipe.
[2] Those dances that had no explaining time were either encores or *The Snake Dance* (A4:2/DE:8).
[3] Teaching time was measured from the announcement of the dance, rather than from the explanation of the first figures for a group of participants already assembled in the correct formation. Four dance events are missing from this analysis because I was not able to make either an audio or visual recording.

the ubiquity of recorded music has influenced the length of dances.[4] Much time was often spent in encouraging participants onto the floor and assembling them into the correct formation.[5] At one charity event, the caller spent over five minutes encouraging dancers onto the floor and into the correct formation and another five explaining the figures. This was the longest preparation time that I recorded in my field research (FN: 23.6.18).

It is unusual even for regular keen dance events to have a discrete teaching section, although some, such as Bath Ceilidhs, have trialled pre-event workshops (Schofield 2011f:12).[6] I did not encounter any of these in the field, indeed there can be some hostility towards the idea. This anonymous band leader made clear his objections after a workshop for beginners was proposed at a dance event they were booked to play for:

> I have discussed your idea with the band members and they are very firmly of the opinion that it is an unnecessary complication. They also think it would be inappropriate, given the fact that we have a very able and experienced caller who is highly skilled at teaching the dances as we go along.
>
> (e-mail: 14.10.15)

In the majority of cases then, callers are expected to be able to integrate the teaching process into the dance event, rather than having separate time dedicated to learning.

[4] This has probably precipitated the practice of having multiple shorter sets. At one event, I called a version of *Up The Sides and Down the Middle*, participants were gathered in one long set and I was waiting for each couple to take their turn as top couple. After 7 minutes and 12 seconds with one couple left to go down, the others members of the band stopped the dance talking about how it had gone on for too long (D:29.9.18).
[5] This was usually the job of the caller although often participants assisted, by calling for friends to join them, or by leading acquaintances onto the dance floor.
[6] A New Years Eve Contra dance I attended in Warwickshire in 2018/9 included a pre-dance workshop.

Whilst callers often shied away from the label of *teacher,* callers are nonetheless responsible for teaching in the colloquial use of the term; 'enable or induce (person etc. *to* do) by instruction and training' (*Concise Oxford Dictionary* 1982). Callers, with the exception of those that were school teachers by profession, generally avoided the term *teacher.*[7] As *The Barn Dance Book* made clear the concept of teaching is frequently associated with compulsory juvenile education, which is often deemed antithetical to the concept of *fun,* a key tenet of social folk dance (2:9:2).

> Do not loose [sic] your temper with the dancers. They have come out for a good evening. You are responsible for their enjoyment of it. It should be a Barn Dance after all, not a Country Dance lesson, no matter how poorly they are dancing. Don't order people around.
>
> (Reay 1990)

Garth Porter a keen folk dancer from Milton Keynes expressed a similar view:

> It's gone now, but this awful thing burnt into peoples' minds about being made to do it *nicely* at school to a BBC presenter talking patronisingly at you. It did, in my book, it did *so much damage* that people would not want to go along to a folk dance club because they would feel, no we are not wanted.
>
> (Garth Porter I: 15.1.18)

A binary has sometimes been explicitly posed: 'Caller – Entertainer or Teacher?' was the topic under discussion at the workshop I attended at Broadstairs Folk Festival (14.8.17). This question was also raised by Kiddier's keynote at the EFDSS's Callers' Development

[7] This is a tendency that can also be found amongst some individuals in the contemporary community dance movement. Here alternative terms (including leader, worker, practitioner, animateur, or artist) are popular (Amans 2006:6-7).

Day (9.2.19). Kiddier proposed that you are either teaching or calling. He expected callers to *teach* at workshops but (in contrast) provide 'fun', and not teach, at the evening dances.

Such a strong disconnect between teaching and fun is inexorably linked both to Kennedy's change in direction in the 1940s (2:3:2) and wider concepts of fun which are generally contrasted with skill acquisition and competence (3:9:2). Whilst, in the words of Hugh Rippon, the caller cannot leave inexperienced dancers 'fumbling and groping around' through lack of assistance (Rippon 1971:106), *teaching* was not generally at the forefront of any of the caller training I attended (A1:4). Callers possibly felt under pressure *not* to be teachers precisely because many individuals first experienced country dancing in a compulsory educational context. However, given the decline in school provision callers have now begun to worry about a lack of familiarity, rather than being primarily concerned about the wrong sort of exposure. All the callers I spoke to were sad about the decline of country dance training in schools. In the words of one: 'people [have become] totally ill at ease with moving to music' (Sue Malleson I:7.9.17). Despite this callers still assume that participants come with a prior knowledge of the basic figures. Callers explained to me that they know participants are really inexperienced when they have to be shown how to 'Swing'.

Most callers were actively involved throughout each dance. Often, they remained onstage issuing prompt calls until the last strain of music. In conversation with callers most emphasised that this is not ideal; however, they expressed worry about the dance 'falling apart' if they ceased prompting. Bob Adams explained:

> Some audiences get it and need very little calling sometimes two or three times through the dance you can stop and just let the music play and they will be fine. Other audiences the moment you stop it all starts falling apart and increasingly as people don't do stuff in schools anymore, you get this kind of, "nah I need my hand held all the way through the dance", which is a bit disappointing but, its real.
>
> (Bob Adams I: 31.8.17)

The worst manifestation of 'falling apart' would be if the confusion within a set was so great that people would leave the floor prematurely, that is before the caller had planned to finish the dance. Callers' concerns for participants to accomplish the dance correctly is usually rooted in a concern that participants will become confused and drop out if they continually make mistakes. Dropping out is feared not only because it might prevent remaining dancers from being able to continue, but also because participation at tyro events is usually considered to be of primary importance (see 3:9).

To aid participation a caller may compose a dance at short notice by combining four to six easy figures. I did this myself at one family barn dance, having exhausted my stock of easy dances and being faced with a very small group of dancers, mostly under twelve years of age, I created a simple sequence circle dance on the spur of the moment (FN: 29.7.19). Similarly, I spoke to one caller who had devised an adaptation of *Virginia Reel* at a rock festival. She was concerned that the attendees were 'high or off their face and not able to dance' and so created a sequence which had 'minimal interference between the couples' so that if couples went wrong they would not 'disrupt the dance' (FN: 23.9.17).[8]

[8] Sara Houston (e-mail 13.5.19) has pointed out that this approach differs markedly from that found amongst many community dance practitioners where dances are adapted to allow for participant inclusion.

Although sets lost phrasing and made other deviations from the caller's ideal fairly regularly, I never witnessed whole sets disbanding, although on at least one occasion I did see couples leave the floor who were confused by the dance (FN:8.9.18).

Despite the reliance upon the caller, participants are not entirely devoid of agency when it comes to selecting the dances. Although it was not common to do so, participants could, and some did, request dances; *Strip the Willow* was requested at two events and *Muffin Man* at another. In addition, organisers might specify dances in advance. At one ceilidh at which I was calling, the organiser wanted to check that I had selected the 'right' sort of dances. She produced a list of dances from Grand Chain, an Edinburgh-based Scottish country dancing website (Grand Chain Online) and asked me if these were the types of dances I would be calling (FN:11.1.18). Possibly participants also influenced caller choice by uttering positive vocal responses to popular dances, particularly *Strip The Willow* (A4:2/DE:7). Encores or repeats of dances were even rarer than requests, and were not usually a sign of participant popularity.[9] Usually the decision to play an encore was made by the caller or the band.

Most callers I witnessed in the field brought with them a collection of dances in books, folders, or cards, often arranged by formation or complexity, which they used during the course of the evening. In interview many callers described the practice of planning a programme which utilises various dance formations. For example, they might pair two dances of the same formation together: two dances in CFC formation; followed by two square dances; followed by two longways dances and so on. Different formations offer visual diversity whilst allowing callers to repeat the same basic figures. Dance notation

[9] For example, attendees did not shout for 'more' or 'encore' or clap very enthusiastically for a prolonged period of time.

minimises the need for callers to memorise choreography and most prompt cards include musical requirements, assisting clear communication between the caller and the band.

While some callers prepare a set list in advance, a number change the dances or perhaps the figures depending on the competencies of participants. Buckinghamshire caller Delia Gleave explained her approach of assessing the room at the event. This was a practice which all callers I interviewed utilised in order to be able to match the skill of attendees to the complexity of the sequence:

> [I] nearly always start off with one I made up because it is very easy but it gives them a basic tool kit of figures, to get them onto the next one. And I can see from the first one [dance] what we are up against […] And I will remove anything with 'Ladies Chain' in it as well. Unless Tim in the band will come down and demonstrate because as a woman caller I find it really difficult to demonstrate […] On the whole I've got some I have made up, and some I have missed the hard bit out of, you just. You can tell? [the competencies of the dancers] Can't you?
>
> (Delia Gleave I: 19.2.18)

Gleave discussed the benefits of using a band member to demonstrate a difficult figure with her. In general, demonstrations were a very small part of the teaching process. In the whole of my formal research period I noted that band members were only used to demonstrate figures or dances on three separate occasions, once for a 'Reel', another for a 'Ladies Chain', and the third for a dance which was similar to *The Gay Gordons* called the

Drunken Piper.[10] On two of these occasions, the callers themselves were also members of the band so they possibly had a greater awareness of their dancing abilities and willingness to demonstrate. On other occasions callers selected dance participants to help demonstrate. One caller enlisted the services of his wife, another the assistance of a prior acquaintance, and, at a third event, a participant who was dancing within the set positioned at front of the stage. Attendee Hannah expressed her desire for more demonstrations, which she hoped might shorten the time taken to explain the dance:

> Sometimes the instructions weren't that clear or sometimes, what I found at the last barn dance, it was too long, it was too long instructions, they should just have made them shorter [...] because I think people then lose interest if there is a lot of standing around, with the children, and then it is so long anyway they lose concentration and then you don't know what to do anyway. It is probably better to have a couple that knows what they are doing either dancing at the front or dancing with people because then you learn by showing it.
>
> (Hannah I:13.6.18)

After my official fieldwork was over, I was at the 2019 Stony Live! barn dance, when I overheard a conversation between a male and a female attendee:

[10] The first eight bars of this dance is identical to *The Gay Gordons.* Then in the second half of *Drunken Piper,* the dancers do a 'Right Arm Turn' then a 'Left Arm Turn' with their partners, a hand clapping sequence, and 'Swing'.

> "One right at the front, in front of the stage" they were saying. I asked them "Are you talking about having someone to demonstrate". The man seemed apologetic. "I am a visual learner" he said "I need to know what something looks like." They said that it would be so helpful if there were people to demonstrate the dance.
>
> (D: 1.6.19)

Usually the caller remained separate from the dancers, relying primarily on vocal communication and sometimes gesture to convey instruction. Sometimes callers would join the floor to help couples who needed assistance and they might join the dancing, especially if numbers were low, though usually they did not. As such, callers often provided limited visual guidance for dancers.

All the participants I spoke to found the presence of the caller to be helpful if not integral to the idea of barn dances (3:7:4:2). At most events, however, callers are not the only ones offering help. Indeed, as callers are usually not participating on the dance floor, less experienced participants look to more confident dancers for guidance. The importance of inter-peer learning had come to my attention through Ballantyne's research. In her interviews with ceilidh dancers in Scotland it became clear that participants rely upon those dancing with them for teaching and guidance (Ballantyne 2016:252-253). This is of particular interest as the benefits of inter-peer learning were rarely discussed at the caller workshops I attended. Although it was generally considered helpful, in a vague way, to have some attendees who were already familiar with the basic figures (Haines 2014:31) and in my own fieldwork I noticed that a couple of callers publicly thanked participants who had assisted other dancers (FN:17.2.18; FN:5.8.17).

In *The Barn Dance Guide* problematic participant behaviour includes 'experienced' dancers who 'may anticipate the calling' (Skipper and Skipper 1981:19). The authors do suggest that by mixing up the skill level in different sets the experienced dancers can lend a hand 'so that they are helping instead of hindering you' (Skipper and Skipper 1981:19), but the general tone taken is one of caution. Similarly in *The Barn Dance Book*, aspiring callers are advised to watch out for the:

> Self appointed expert in country dancing who often ignores the caller and forces his set to do something different to everyone else. His favourite ploy is to arm wrestle right and left hand stars into a crooked arm position he once learned in a country dance lesson at school.
>
> (Reay 1990)

Bob Adams explained to me that inter-peer learning could be quite frustrating as the most confident dancers might not be doing the dance correctly:

> The ones who are getting it right lose confidence and start copying the ones who are getting it wrong. It happens all the time, don't ask me why. It is probably because the people who are going wrong are doing it with such confidence.
>
> (Bob Adams I:31.8.17)

I started my participant interviews before reading Ballantyne's research. Informed by my experiences as a caller I was primed to record negative inter-peer experiences but found the opposite was true. For Hannah, who had wanted more demonstrations inter-peer learning was helpful, especially as the other members of the set could help her children to join in. Without the help of other dancers she felt the dancing would be 'just chaos […]

sometimes you need somebody pointing you in the right direction […] it was quite helpful, sort of, to be pointed, nice' (I:13.6.18). Michael explained how, having limited experience with dance, and struggling to hear the caller, he relied heavily upon other participants to guide him:

> The caller is useful in the background but I found I could only do it after I had seen a few other people do it and when my mum, who understood the caller better could prod me in a gentle way and say now this is what you do […] the caller yells out the various moves but if you are not familiar with them half of your brain is thinking 'well what the hell is that?' and 'I think I know what Do-Si-Do is, I think', but even things like that, your brain is trying to work out what the move is, and then, by which time, they are telling you what the next one is.
>
> (Michael I:19.4.18)

Rarely do participants express such confusion directly to callers, more often they blame themselves.

Inter-peer assistance, especially physical assistance, can be seen as being tantamount to bullying. At the EFDSS's Callers' Development Day (9.2.19) we were told to watch out for 'bullying' on the floor and at the callers' workshop at Broadstairs Folk Festival in 2017 we were strongly discouraged from manoeuvring other people in the set into the correct positions (14.8.17). These concerns contrasted with the opinions expressed by attendees who valued the help offered by others in the set. I watched one obvious example of physical inter-peer help on video. One participant (not at the top of the set) puts the top couples into a cross hand swing position before they gallop down the set. She gestures for them to go down the set and claps and cheers them as they go down (FN: 10.3.18). I

wondered whether this would count as ‘bullying’ as it involved one participant physically manoeuvring two others into position. Certainly, it involved unrequested physical touch, yet on this occasion it seemed to be to be a welcome intervention, greeted with positivity by the less certain dancers.

Participants learn social folk dance from two principal sources: the caller, and the other participants. Most callers assume a basic common knowledge relying upon verbal communication and prompts, and there is little demonstration. Perhaps because of this inter-peer learning is very valuable to attendees. However, its importance is rarely discussed positively by callers. Ironically with such a plethora of dances and interpretations it is increasingly difficult for even experienced dancers to correctly anticipate the next move. Callers usually prefer participants to be listening to them, and helping others can be seen as an unnecessary distraction as it increases the chances of missing the next instruction. Although some callers do thank participants who assist less experienced dancers, there is a critical divergence between the callers default position of ‘listen to me’ and the physical, visual, and verbal assistance given between participants.

3:8:2 Music[11]

Kennedy encouraged the loosening of ties between the dances and the tunes: 'Some of these melodies are attached to particular dance figures but most of them can be used at will for a whole heap of dances' (EFDSS 1947:1).[12] *CDM1* included a list of tune names arranged by metre which could be substituted for the notation within (EFDSS 1947), although this did not prevent the suggested tunes from becoming fixed to certain dances over time.[13] In my fieldwork, the overall link between melody and dance can be characterised by its inconsistency (A4:5).[14] The diversity of tunes employed at these events can also be linked to the use of amateur or semi-professional musicians, playing for pleasure as much as profit (3:7:3).

Kennedy saw tune substitution as an additional way to add popular appeal: 'To the layman, the choice of a popular tune can make him believe that he knows the dance before he starts' (Kennedy, D. 1957:116). Similarly, in 1976 Bill Rutter advocated 'tunes like *Goodbye Dolly, Pack up Your Troubles* and even *Doh a Deer'* for tyro events. Anticipating that 'purists' will complain about the use of such tunes which are 'not traditional' he argued that they are perfect for such dances because: 'They are singable, and if they are

[11] Most of the music at dance events was specifically tied to the dancing. Although some events included a set of tunes or songs where the caller did not instruct any dances. Such interludes are sometimes called *listening pieces* amongst bands. Listening pieces were most common at the start and end of the periods of time reserved for dancing. The ceilidh for OxJam was unusual in including two songs *Molly Malone* and *Dance for Thy Daddy*, however in general songs were rarer then tunes (FN:17.3.18). Another notable exception was the private birthday party which included music and song from various groups of musicians, including the host (FN:17.2.18).
[12] Douglas Kennedy's approach might have drawn upon the practice of traditional dancers. Peter Kennedy noted that his informant for the dance *Galopade* (alias *The Rifleman*) recalled that it could be danced to any tune in the same metre (Kennedy, P. 1949:91).
[13] See earlier discussion of *Cumberland Square Eight* (2:6:2).
[14] By contrast tune substitution amongst Playford enthusiasts has historically been the source of some controversy (Dawson 1955:70, Graham 2001:4).

singing, they're happy, and happiness is contagious' (Rutter 1976:56). The appeal of using well known tunes was made evident to me at the first dance I attended during my fieldwork. The band used *My Old Man Said Follow the Van* (1919), as part of a medley of tunes for the last called dance *Circassian Circle*. Many participants sang whilst dancing and watching the scene I was moved by how much the singing seemed to enhance the participants connection with the dance (FN: 5.8.17).

Whether or not the melody is associated with the dance the choreography will nearly always be shaped to fit the phrases of the music or visa versa.[15] Most dances were performed to melodies in $\frac{4}{4}$ or $\frac{6}{8}$ (jigs), with a minority in $\frac{3}{4}$ (waltz) or $\frac{9}{8}$ (slip or hop jig). Often the metre as well as the melody was not fixed; for the same dance one caller might ask the band to play a tune in $\frac{6}{8}$ whilst another may ask for a tune in $\frac{4}{4}$. [16] This is a tendency I have illustrated in A4:5 where I have used my field research to record the given melodies, time signatures, and BPM for the most popular dance, *Circassian Circle*. Many musicians can identify different types of $\frac{4}{4}$ metre. This time signature is used for reels, hornpipes, polkas, and schottisches.[17] The level of subjectivity in metre interpretations is not normally discussed in folk music notation books or in guides for musicians or callers such as the various incarnations of the EFDSS's handbook *English Traditional Dancing* (Jewitt 1997, Knight 1995, 2002, 2012). Nor was this difficulty tackled at any of the caller training events I attended; metre is usually discussed as an absolute (A1:4). Recognising

[15] The two most common exceptions are the unphrased dances *The Snake Dance* (A4:2/DE:8), and *Continuous Strip the Willow* (A4:2/DE:7).
[16] Whilst I have noted the diversity of metres employed, I have not analysed how the metre affected participation. In interviews, callers expressed different preferences, some arguing that jigs were effective at encouraging people to dance, whilst others proposed the same for reels. So diverse were other factors (in particular the competency of the musicians) that I did not attempt such a comparison.
[17] Some tunes, including many polkas can be correctly written in $\frac{2}{4}$ or $\frac{4}{4}$.

the subjectivity of metre labelling, I have defaulted to using the more general reference of $\frac{4}{4}$.[18] With the exception of hornpipes, where callers might attempt to teach stepping (3:8:3), the selection of metre appears to make little difference to the dances execution as the same walking step is used for most metres.

Melodies are usually arranged into two eight-bar phrases which are referred to as the A music and the B music, however a minority of tunes, have three or more parts. Returning to the historical lineage of this form it is noticeable that phrase matching was important for Sharp. In *The Country Dance Book Part One* he described the country dancer as one who takes 'extraordinary care' to 'begin and end each figure precisely with the opening and closing bars of the strain of the music to which it belongs' (Sharp 1909:25, cf. Sharp and Butterworth 1916:22). It is unclear how much this was a record of traditional practice and how much this was an aspiration for his revival.[19] Either way, phrasing was strongly advocated by Sharp, and in all editions of *The Country Dance Book* the figures are explained next to a description of the part of the music to which they relate.

I was struck by Ballantyne's finding that novice Scottish ceilidh dancers' musical awareness was often focused upon the beat or pulse rather than the musical phrase (2016:252). My interviews with participants reflected her findings in an English setting. For most of the participants I interviewed, including those who were musicians themselves, listening to the music indicated listening to the rhythm or beat rather than the phrase. Participants might use counting as a strategy to keep time. Emily had attended dance

[18] The alternative option would have been to create an analytical musical framework for identifying different metres, a task beyond the scope of this chapter.
[19] Dommett recorded that amongst individuals he spoke to (born in the 1890s and 1890s) country dances at local events were often performed as a 'race' between the sets on the floor with a 'complete disregard for the phrasing of the music' (Dommett 1982:11).

classes where she had learnt to waltz, swing, and jive. I asked her which parts of the music she was responding to at her first barn dance and she replied 'the beat, because I have actually got rhythm [laughs] so I listen to the beat of the music and go along with that' (Emily I:21.3.18). Whilst not using the term *phrase* Patsy, who was a more experience participant, nonetheless identified the importance of phrasing, and she explained the practice of keeping time in relation to two bar or eight bar beat patterns:

> Counting, you are counting eight beats. And then to turn, yes. I definitely listen to the music because sometimes the caller doesn't need to talk all the time do they? So you would go to the left to eight and come back to eight and we very rarely got back on eight in time.
>
> (Patsy I:31.7.18)

Becoming out of phrase with the music is generally seen by callers and keen dancers as a problem which needs to be corrected. Guides such as *The Barn Dance Book* offer advice to callers how to do this, they suggest asking the dancers to 'Swing' until the end of the phrase, or asking the band to repeat eight bars (Reay 1900). I recorded a number of events in my fieldwork when callers directed dancers to wait until the start of the next musical phrase before initiating the next sequential move. At one event the caller used fillers such as 'square your sets' and 'hold on, hold on, wait for the music' to get the dancers back into synchronicity with the music. The participants clapped on the beat as they stood waiting for the next call (FN:24.2.18).

One woman, who taught adults with additional learning needs at a training centre in Aylesbury (Buckinghamshire) in the 1970s and 1980s, recalled how she adapted the dances for her participants. Whilst she made substantial alterations to the figures of the dance she made sure to keep the phrasing:

> I decided that I would hold some dance sessions with dances based on the barn dance routines but much slower and interspersed with clapping while the slower ones caught up with us […] so while the others caught up we would clap clap clap and then do the right hand turn after the left hand turn. Then we would all circle and this sort of thing and they thoroughly enjoyed that [….] into the middle and out, you know and then because we needed a gap while those who couldn't move that quickly, [could get into place] that is where I would say, clap, clap, clap, clap, clap, ready *right* hand star.
>
> (Anon I: 24.7.17)

Despite her efforts, she recalled being criticised by another country dance instructor at the centre, who taught a more able group of participants, for not keeping close enough to the musical phrase.

For tyro events, the caller will normally discuss their requirements with the band leader prior to the event. Sometimes the caller might request a particular piece of music, but even if they do not then they will usually outline the metre and length of a tune and sometimes the number of repeats. Instructional books and webpages offer guidance on suitable melodies and/or length and metre (e.g. a 32 bar reel). One caller who was becoming accustomed to working with a band that had a small repertoire described to me how she chose the dances to fit the tunes available to her:

> Most of these I've got written down at the side what music for people to play because when [this band] comes they don't know the dances they only know the music. So I've got down *Rattling Bog, Old Joe Clark* so I know what music goes to what, but to be honest when [this band] first started he said "we have only learnt this and this" so I said "right you play that I will fit any dance to it".
>
> (Valerie Symon I: 8.11.17)

Another caller described how he might change the dance, and therefore the musical requirements at the last minute, depending on the number of attendees on the dance floor.

> I tell the band I don't want a 48 bar jig, I want a 32 bar jig. Some bands, well one particular band always wanted me to tell them what tunes I wanted. But I don't work to tunes either, I tend to just say I'll have a 32 bar jig which I know will fit that dance, and they can play what they like.
>
> (Tim Rooke I:21.8.17)

Calling appears to increase the importance of phrasing because disparity of action across sets is problematic for a caller. Most callers aspire to have all sets going through the same figures at the same time so that one verbal prompt is appropriate for all of the sets. The marriage of phrasing to music is very ingrained in the culture of this dance form. It is highly unusual for a dance figure to go across the phrasing of the music and dancers are encouraged to increase or decrease their pace so that the dance and music phrases are synchronised. Once the dance had started it was very unusual that the music was stopped before the conclusion of the dance, even if some participants fell over. The three times I witnessed callers making the decision to abort dances, it was because the dancers had become out of phrase with the music. In each case the mistake was explained, and then the dance recommenced.

Phrasing has become a focus for perceived failure. As one Devon based caller expressed in *English Dance and Song* in 1983:

> Quite often four or five times through a repetitive dance, it will begin to fall to pieces (not all dancers recognise eight bar phrases) and a little reminder from the Caller will pull it all back together again and avoid disaster.
>
> (Beeson 1983:26)

'Disaster' is when the sets become out of phrase and start completing figures at different times. This can cause particular problems in progressive set dances such as the *Dashing White Sergeant* or *Sicilian Circles* where sets split up and are reformed each round through the dance. If dancers are completing the figures at different rates then it can leave undesirable gaps in the action where attendees have to wait for the slower dancers to catch up.

For less confident dancers, if sets are finishing at different times, it is difficult to check your own progress by looking at the other dancers. If dancers are confident and the dance does not involve progressive sets then theoretically there is nothing preventing the successful completion of the dance even if sets are doing the figures at different times.[20] However, synchronised dance and music phrasing is usually seen as being key to a well-

[20] Supporting the argument that the emphasis on phrasing has been influenced by the central role of the caller, Colin Quigley observed at non-called dance events in Newoundland which used a historically related form of dance that 'I have never seen dancing perfectly phrased with the music, although "keeping time" was frequently upheld as a mark of good dancing' (1985:28). Similarly, at a non-called Irish Ceílí I attended at St James Working Men's Club in Northampton, organised by and for the local Irish community (14.4.18), dancers did not adhere strictly to the phrase of the music. In progressive dances, you waited for the slower dancers to catch up before starting the dance anew. This did not seem to dent the dancers' enjoyment of the evening.

executed dance. I kept a diary for one of my first calling commitments at a wedding of a friend, I was annoyed and upset with myself that I had misremembered the figures. I had called a 'Do-Si-Do' rather than a 'Salute' which meant that the rest of the dance went across the phrasing of the music (Diary: 3.7.17) Whilst it did not seem to matter to these dancers, the practice of keeping the dance in phrase with the music was ingrained in my training. My perceived failure weighed heavier in my mind than the success of their enjoyment.

The caller training I attended emphasised that directions should be given with enough time for the dancers to take in the call (30.4.18, 16.6.18, 14.8.17). Some callers developed methods for delivering instructions which were designed to help dancers grasp rhythm and phrase. Bob Adams often sings his calls:

> Not everybody appreciates that tunes are in 32 bar patterns, 8 bars repeated or 4 bars repeated or even 2 bars repeated, the music just sort of plays and they sort of rush around the dance floor. But actually if it is going to work well, because it is a team game, everybody needs to be doing everything at the same time and the way that you help the dancers to understand is you mark the music very precisely with the call and I find that helps.
>
> (Bob Adams I: 31.8.17)

Other callers such as Sheena Masson used diddling during the walk through. *Diddling* also known as *mouth music* is the singing of a dance tune using sounds that make no sense in themselves such as 'didedumdididdleli'. Masson discussed this at the EFDSS Callers' Development Day (9.2.19), explaining how diddling helps dancers to fit the movement with the music. She also described how this practice helps communication with the band, demonstrating the tempo and rhythm required.

The practice of calling seems to increase the importance of phrasing. Many of my participant interviewees considered the caller and their guidance to be essential to barn dancing.[21] Calling and phrasing encouraged individuals to feel that they were blending in rather than standing out. Matt explained how the groupness of barn dancing mitigated the self-consciousness he felt with other dance forms.

> Sometime ago we would go to various things like this [barn dances/ceilidhs], you were in the middle of the group and you were all doing it together and you don't feel that self-conscious.
>
> (Matt I:31.7.18)

Matt's comments are similar to the suggestion made by Leeds Craig that some men find reassurance in codified movement forms (Leeds Craig 2014:15-16). It is, however, the synchronicity across sets, not just the set structured movement which was found to be helpful, and this was not exclusive to the male experience. Jade recalled how the synchronicity across sets helped her set to self-correct when they went 'too fast' or became out of phrase with the music (Jade I:19.3.18). As well as providing reassurance, lack of synchronicity can also cause participant worry, Matt continued:

> but then you, feel as though you are doing it not as well as other people, then you feel that you become out of step, you kind of feel more self-conscious [laughs] if you understand what I mean.
>
> (Matt I:31.7.18)

[21] This is in contrast to keen dancers who have in the past complained in print of the 'dictator-like presence of some callers' (Howson and Panton 1988:27).

As so few aspects of tyro folk dancing are prescribed and discussed in as much detail, the emphasis on phrasing perhaps becomes magnified as a central indicator of a successful dance. For participants this emphasis on phrasing with the music is perhaps less important than the synchronicity among and within dancing sets. Critically there are downsides to this emphasis on phrasing. In contrast to the genre's emphasis on inclusivity, a strict adherence to phrasing theoretically prevents some dancers from completing the sequences at the pace which they might find the most comfortable. In addition, whilst some may find the synchronicity a help in mitigating self-consciousness, becoming out of synch has the potential to reduce an individuals enjoyment of the dance by increasing concerns that they are getting the sequence wrong.

3:8:3 Stepping

Whilst in every day discourse 'step' is used to refer to a walk, throughout this thesis *stepping* has a more specific meaning. Taking my lead from the keen usage amongst English folk dancers in the early 21st century, *stepping* refers to footwork other than straight walking. It is a reference to 'step dance' the broad category encompassing many forms of percussive footwork-led dances such as tap, English clog, or American flat-footing. It is this footwork which is the focus of this chapter section and once more I commence by considering the Edwardian social folk dance revival.

> The Country Dance is pre-eminently a figure dance, depending in the main for its expressiveness upon the weaving of patterned, concerted evolutions rather than upon intricate steps or elaborate body-movements.
>
> (Sharp 1909:20)

So wrote Cecil Sharp in *The Country Dance Book.* Certainly, much social folk dance development has been focused on these 'concerted evolutions' rather than on the movement of the feet.[22] The extent to which stepping was a part of the social dances Sharp witnessed needs additional detailed investigation which is beyond the scope of this thesis. There are indications, however, that stepping was an intrinsic part of country dancing for at least some traditional dancers.[23] Sharp described the 'normal' step for country dancing as:

> [A] springy walking step, two to each bar – executed by the women with a natural, unaffected grace, and on the part of men with a complacent bearing and a certain jauntiness of manner.
>
> (Sharp 1909:25).

Eminent dance researcher Tom Flett supported this idea when he noted, some sixty years later, the use of a 'lovely lilting step' in Orkney which he said was similar to the step used by 'the traditional dancers of Northern England' (Flett 1962:13-14). Although walking might have been the normal step, other footwork patterns were specified by Sharp.[24] Contrasting country dancing with morris dancing, Sharp takes care to differentiate between

[22] Boyes has argued that the neglect of percussive dancing in the Edwardian folk revival was influenced by the largely working-class popularity of this form at that time (Boyes 1993[2010]:100-101). Clog dancing was a popular stage entertainment featuring in variety acts as well as high profile competitions (Radcliffe 2001).

[23] Helen Kennedy recounted the polka step she witnessed in Warwickshire in 1911 where the men 'cock[ed] the free leg up behind to get a good send off' (Kennedy, H. 1955:158). Whilst Maud Karpeles recorded that of the dances she saw in Northumberland, one was the '"Sets," a form of Quadrille in which the "stepping" is a remarkable feature' (Karpeles 1931).

[24] Utilising the terminology from the second edition of *The Country Dance Book* edited by Maud Karpeles (Sharp 1934), callers of 2020 might refer to a *hornpipe*, *step-hop*, or *hop-step* for Sharp's 'hop-step'; a *gallop* for Sharp's 'slip'; and *double step* for Sharp's 'change-hop step'. The EFDS display team were filmed during the 1929 visit to New York. This film includes footage of country dancing with a double step (*British Folk Dancers* 1929).

the two advising that: 'the raised leg must never be thrust forward as in the typical Morris step' (Sharp 1909:26).

Like Sharp, Kennedy advocated the walking step as the basic movement for social folk dance. A dance walk remains the predominant movement utilised by participants. Skill can still be shown in the ability to time the walking step to the musical beat, however, this movement avoids any virtuosic footwork which could be intimidating to new participants. Unlike the Kennedy's dance walk (discussed in 2:3:2) the walking I witnessed by attendees lacked rhythmical undulation or 'lilt'. I did not witness any callers teaching a method of walking, indeed callers very rarely joined in the dances at all, and thus offered limited opportunities for participants to copy their footwork.

I have reproduced for this thesis a number of different types of stepping patterns. To make these as accessible as possible I have done this through film which can be viewed by following the links in the Appendices (A1:5).[25] A reasonably popular alternative to the walking step, for dances in $\frac{4}{4}$ or $\frac{6}{8}$ was the skip-step (A1:5 film one). In the skip-step the knee of the raised free leg is bent upon the hop, the foot of the free leg resting close to the supporting leg. For a melody in $\frac{4}{4}$ the dancer would make four skip-steps to each bar of music, one on each beat of the bar. The skip-step was and remains advocated for country dance teaching in schools (Clark 1956:4, Kennedy, H. and Kennedy, D. 1960:8, Knight 2012:13,). At the primary school event I attended, skipping was firmly encouraged: 'skip and skip and skip and skip' the caller told the children (FN:8.6.18). This supports the

[25] If this had not been a technical possibility then I probably would have used Newcastle notation. This is a comparatively accessible form of percussive dance notation devised by members of the INSTEP research team. Further information, including a free guide to this system can be found at: https://insteprt.co.uk/about-newcastle-series/about-newcastle-notation/ (accessed 2.3.21).

suggestion that unprompted skipping by tyro participants at other events was influenced by country dance lessons in school.[26]

Other anomalous examples of dance stepping included an un-named crossing step (A1:5 film two), similar to that known as the 'grapevine' in other genres, in which the right foot alternates between crossing over the front and then the back of the left foot (travelling left) and the left foot crossing over the right (travelling right). This was taught as part of a warm-up routine[27] and segued into *The Snake Dance* at the Milton Keynes International Festival (FN:29.7.18). I also witnessed one attempt at teaching a rant step, at the ceilidh for the National Youth Music Camp (FN:5.8.18). The rant step has had more focus than any other stepping pattern in English social folk dance. Most researchers consider it to be an EFDSS misinterpretation of a polka step.[28] The rant step taught by the caller at this event was similar to that used at contemporary keen dance events in Southern England, and its usage demonstrates the influence of the folk dance revival upon contemporary tyro events. The rant step is demonstrated in film three (A1:5).

Similarly, it is probably the popularity of the step-hop, also known as hornpipe stepping (demonstrated in film four A1:5), at folk festivals which has encouraged its

[26] Although at least one caller also encouraged adult participants to skip (FN:23.6.18).
[27] The only one I witnessed during my fieldwork.
[28] The contemporary folk rant step was influenced by the revival of North-West morris dancing which encouraged the use of a highly energetic cross polka step. When William 'Bill' Scott was brought down from Northumberland to teach the London EFDSS members in the 1950s 'he taught the polka and it was Douglas Kennedy who used the term 'rant'' (Rogers 2002:6). In interviews Les Barclay (I:3.11.2017) and Tony Foxworthy (I:23.11.17) explained how when they witnessed this stepping in more traditional settings in the North-East of England in the 1960s, the dancers used a much flatter neater step than the contemporary rant step (cf. Barclay and Jones 2015:108, Foxworthy 2001:8).

occasional teaching and use at tyro dances in Buckinghamshire (2:4:2).[29] A skip-step to $\frac{4}{4}$ has four changes in the bar, one to each beat. In contrast, a step-hop consists of two changes over the course of the bar. In this step it is the beat that is emphasised rather than the raised leg. Normally the raised leg is placed much lower than it is with a skip-step, reaching its highest position on the second and fourth beats of the bar. Perhaps the step-hop was a deliberate attempt to find an interpretation of stepping which was easy but different from the primary school skip.[30] I witnessed demonstrations of this step-hop at a significant minority of events, including the EFDSS's 'How to Teach Social Folk Dance' day of workshops (16.6.18) and the first day of The Stables Ceilidh Experience course (21.1.18). In both of these cases, the footwork was not linked to an actual dance but was taught separately as an introduction to stepping. At both the National Youth Music Camp's ceilidh (FN:5.8.18) and at the Ceilidh Experience's showcase, the step-hop was taught for the dance *Clopton Bridge*.[31] I also witnessed an alternative hornpipe stepping which combined single and double steps for the dance *Three Hand Star* at a family dance hosted by the Chiltern Folk Association.[32] The step-hop is usually considered to be vigorous, but I also saw it introduced to retired Girl Guides for the dance *Nottingham Swing*. There it was

[29] I discuss this in a forthcoming conference proceedings publication. 'Hornpipe Stepping at Barn Dances and Ceilidhs in England' *Stepping On: A Conference on Stepping in Dance.* Held at Cecil Sharp House, London. 16-17.11.19. BENNETT, Toby (ed.)
[30] An example of the undesirability of skipping amongst the English folk dance fraternity comes from contemporary morris dancing. 'Big George' the Squire of Manchester Morris Men allowed TV producer Richard Macer to join the team with the words: 'OK we think it's a goer, the skipping has stopped' (*For Folk's Sake: Morris Dancing and Me* 2019).
[31] At the showcase the musicians played $\frac{4}{4}$ tunes *Lunch in the Pub* and *Peat Fire Flame* (alias *The Fireside Reel*) at 76BPM (FN: 18.3.18).
[32] *Three Hand Star* was composed by Nibs Matthews and published in *CDM5*. Here Matthews does not prescribe a hornpipe, but suggests that the dance can be done 'to any reel or jig' (Bell 1957:15-16). The musicians played two hornpipes *Navvy on the Line* and *Trumpet Hornpipe* (alias *Captain Pugwash*) at 63BPM. (FN:22.10.17)

taught as a stately step with the musicians playing the hornpipe *The Boys of Bluehill* very slowly (FN:19.6.18).

The examples discussed here are exceptions. Stepping, like other elements of style and etiquette not usually focused upon at tyro events. It is often seen as a technical addition which is too complicated for tyro event attendees to grasp. Barry Goodman described the challenges he faced at tyro events which made the teaching of stepping unpractical:

> I kind of gave up quite a few years ago, of trying to get stepping into those sorts of parties because, they are there to enjoy themselves […] they haven't actually come to dance. They have come to get drunk with the bride and groom or wish someone happy birthday or whatever. And they probably weren't expecting to have to run around and get all hot and sweaty.
>
> (Barry Goodman I: 23.1.18)

Callers are usually focused on dealing with the challenges of inspiring enjoyable participation. They essentially teach the basics of sequence dancing to attendees who are often unfamiliar with any form of structured social dance, and callers usually work without demonstrators and rely on verbal prompts. Stepping is usually seen as something which comes with more experience, at events for keen dancers, such as folk festivals.

3:8:4 Conclusion

How the dance is experienced, the nature of the genre itself, is a central feature of its appeal. This dance form is primarily composed of fixed sequences which are chosen and taught by the caller. The caller is central to the tyro dance events of my research and participants are happy to engage with the dances and interpretations that the caller selects. The large number of dances which exist, the desire by many callers for variation, and the

practice of assigning melodies arbitrarily, arguably mitigates against the ability of attendees to build up a familiarity with repertoire. Requests are rare. Although it is difficult for them to feel confident with set sequences, participants can easily find security in the simplicity of the footwork, and the limited requirement for anything more complicated than a simple walking step.

Lack of familiarity with specific sequences does not appear to be problematic for attendees as callers not only teach each dance before the music starts, but also verbally prompt once the dance has started. The reliance upon the verbal prompts of the caller seems to have solidified the importance of dance and musical phrase synchronicity. The continued popularity of the genre, and the spread of caller practice to neighbouring Scotland (Ballantyne 2016:242), can in part be attributed to the success of combining the functions of teacher and MC in the caller. This is somewhat ironic considering many callers' hostility to the label of teacher. Many callers feel a need to contrast their approach to the negative connotations of compulsory country dancing in primary school education. The presence of callers contributes to many attendees' willingness to engage in an activity comprising novel choreographic forms. Teaching, phrasing, and prompting offers reassurance and encourages participation, and also, as I will explore in the next chapter, the association of the genre with *fun-ness*.

3:9 Core Tenets

3:9:1. Introduction

In this chapter I will address how some of the appeal of this genre lies in its ideals or key tenets. Three intersecting areas are discussed: *fun* the most widely reiterated purpose of social folk dance in England in the present day; *participation* which is intrinsically linked to the concept of fun; and, related to the emphasis upon participation, *inclusion.* Whilst some aspects of this chapter are localised in terms of both geography and genre, many of these ideas have a wider Western-European, particularly British, applicability. Notably there is much overlap with the ideas expressed by Scottish ceilidh participants (Ballantyne 2016, Lorrain Smith 2008). In addition to discussing these ideas this chapter takes a critical stance to reflect upon the real-world limitations which these ideologically-based tenets face.

3:9:2 Fun

Fun is often described as the main reason or purpose for attending and organising English social folk dances. Upon introducing the Callers' Development Day dance teacher Kerry Fletcher stated that the purpose of this event was to distribute information on how to promote this dance genre in a: 'Safe, fun, friendly, and accessible way' (9.2.19). At the same event one caller recalled that he often hears people say that 'going wrong in a folk dance is all part of the fun of it.' He argued that actually teenagers wanted guidance on how to do the dance properly. That he felt the need to discuss the importance of teaching the dance, something which one might expect would be a caller priority, highlights the prevalence of a widespread emphasis upon *fun,* rather than capability. This focus on fun affects which dances callers select. Not atypical was the caller who told me that he will rarely do anything complicated because: 'barn dance in most cases is a social event where

people want to come along, dance [and] have fun' (Anonymous I: 28.9.17). In the optional write-in section of my questionnaires, *fun* was mentioned by some 20 QRs, from short answers such as 'good fun' to longer comments:

> We do many dances and it is great to see how people enjoy the evening even if they are unsure at the start. We are privileged to see how music and dance creates community and fun! (QR)

Articulations of *fun* as a core principle appear to arise in the pages of *English Dance and Song* shortly after Douglas Kennedy's retirement. In 1962 Hugh Rippon, then head of publicity for the EFDSS, wrote an article considering the best way to advertise both the Society and folk dancing more broadly. He considered and dismissed approaches based on *Englishness* and secondly on *traditionality* settling upon a more commercially viable prospect: 'Our selling point could be that we are offering something friendly, sociable and with the fun element ranking highly' (Rippon 1962:45).

Fun is often used to explain the meaning and purpose of social folk dance, but as an answer it does not in itself elucidate callers' and participants' interpretations and experiences. Theoretically it is difficult to separate *fun* from many of its common synonyms (such as pleasant, enjoyable, amusing, or playful) or indeed from 'pleasurableness' more generally. In *Freedom to be: A New Sociology of Leisure* by North American John Robert Kelly, fun is conceptualised as: 'embodying an experience of immediate pleasure' (Kelly 1987:208). Importantly, Kelly argues that: 'fun is more than feeling; it is action based and implies *doing something'* (Kelly 1987:208 [original italics]). Kelly's supposition has been expanded upon by North American sociologist Walter Podilchak (1985, 1991). Podilchak used qualitative

interviewing techniques and analysis to examine how fun is conceptualised as being different to *enjoyment* and *leisure* (Podilchak 1991). He concluded that:

> Fun is an active social structuring in direct face-to-face interaction, wherein the individual is externally or interactively engaged to create a with-equal-other social-human bond. The individuals are simultaneously emotionally attached in and through their structuring of an activity.
>
> (Podilchak 1991:133)

By contrast *enjoyment* involves a more internal process which is distanced from the experiences of others. Podilchak thus emphasises the social nature of fun, arguing that it is best experienced through an immediate, rather than mediated, engagement with others. Equality is important to sustain 'fun-ness', individuals cannot experience fun if they feel marginalised.

Indeed, unlike the concept of pleasure derived from mastering technique (cf. Kolb and Kalogeropoulou 2012), in my own research fun was not generally used in the sense of satisfaction of achievement. One of my interviewees directly linked the fun of participation to the ineptitude of her self and her fellow dancers: 'The ones I was dancing with were just as bad as me so it was quite fun actually' (Emily I:21.3.18). A similar trend could be found in the QRs which included: 'I am useless at dancing but enjoy the fun'; 'Fun so far, not my usual night out but amusing and enjoyable'; and 'Was Fun. I wouldn't usually. Fun to Try'.[1] In the context of my research, fun was linked with its colloquial association of being: 'not for a serious purpose' and seriousness can be posited as the obverse of novelty

[1] I am reminded of Pauline Greenhill's study of Canadian morris dancers. Morris dancing is a team activity which has elsewhere been conceptualised as representing *serious* leisure (Spracklen and Henderson 2013:21). However Greenhill noted that for the dancers she interviewed 'the ethos of enjoyment' appeared to be 'antithetical to perfection' (1994:88).

(*The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 1982). English social folk dance events were primarily social occasions, taking place in a party atmosphere. Tyro event locations were not serious dance spaces and accordingly lacked specialist accoutrements such as mirrors, support bars and special floors.

In studies of dance, or leisure more broadly, *fun* is most often associated with *unserious* leisure. In sociologist Robert Stebbins' influential categorisation: 'unserious leisure, though hardly humiliating or despicable, is nonetheless too fleeting, mundane, and commonplace for most people to find a distinctive identity in it' (1982:258). Whilst exploring specialist leisure activities, North American sociologist Gary Fine has argued that when individuals start to make investments of time and money in a leisure activity, they also provide more complex reasoning for their actions: 'For adults, at least, fun is an insufficient justification for leisure' (Fine 1998:226).

A difficulty in addressing fun in relation to English social folk dance is the relative lack of comparative data. Other dance forms which aim to attract newcomers, also utilise a focus on fun in their public discourses.[2] After conducting research amongst contemporary morris dancers, where many participants indicated that they were primarily involved for 'fun', I was surprised to find *fun*, as distinct from *enjoyment* or *pleasure* missing from most academic studies of the motivation for participation in amateur dance.[3] It is likely that due to its ubiquity researchers disregard *fun* in order to find a unique reason behind participant motivation. The apparent absence of fun from academia echoes a wider reticence towards taking fun seriously, except of course, in the commercial leisure industries. Fine has argued

[2] A gym page advertising Zumba classes in Milton Keynes reads: 'Its easy to forget you're working out when you're moving to music! Join these social, fun classes, with all your favorite [sic] music along with friends new and old' (Shenley Leisure 2019).
[3] Exceptions being Brown's research into North American shag dancers (Brown 2007) and Greenhill's study into Canadian morris dancers (Greenhill 1994 88-89).

that the Protestant work-ethic continues to influence a wider bias towards constructive leisure activities, which have a different orientation towards fun-ness (Fine 1998:224-225). In 2004 Sara Houston, utilising a concept of *fun* which included both *joy* and *pleasure*, examined how fun is often missing from discussions about the benefits of community dance projects. Importantly, fun is also absent from the funding discourse, and she suggests that there is a concern amongst practitioners that emphasising fun would de-legitimise their work (Houston 2004). This is an argument which has been touched upon by Nahachewsky. In his article identifying different types of folk dancers he identifies one group for whom: 'Enjoyment is the main priority. They do have a relationship with the source culture, but dances can be fun whether they are authentic or not' (Nahachewsky 2008:45). He then inadvertently emphasises the low cultural status applied to dance activities which are done primarily for fun by suggesting that groups with other primary interests are more worthy recipients of state funding.

In dance academia, the importance of fun appears to be considered most seriously in articles concerned with pedagogy. Both Susan Stinson (1997), and Miriam Giguere (2011) have explored the importance of fun in motivating pupils in compulsory school dance classes. They deconstructed and analysed the different ways in which children utilise the word *fun*. It is possible that in social folk dance there is a correlation between the generally held public emphasis on fun and the role of the caller as a *teacher* who introduces unfamiliar choreography to the assembled participants. In the field it was clear that many participants associated fun with lack of skill. This was demonstrated in one conversation I overhead between a group of adults in their late forties:

Woman 1: So your side actually managed to do *Strip The Willow*? Our side got absolutely twatted, but still had a good time.

Man 1: I think they were stripping the wrong line, they didn't know which side to strip.

Woman 1: We had a full-on melt down, it was hilarious, that's the point isn't it? Sometimes I think the caller should make it up.

Woman 2: I prefer it when no one knows what they are doing. I've been to some dances and I feel that they just tolerate me as a foreigner.

[They joke about how these dancers look so serious, with their arms down by their sides].

(FN: 29.7.18)

An important implication of this emphasis on fun and the concomitant disregard for accuracy is that such an approach can result in a higher risk of bodily injury to the self and/or to other participants.[4] I only witnessed two accidents in the field,[5] however it is likely that other minor bumps and bruises were sustained by dancers which were caused by lack of bodily control or awareness. As a dance participant I am more than aware that they are not uncommon.[6]

[4] In a 2018 interview Scottish actor Richard Rankin joked that through ignorance 'foreigners' or 'the English and the Americans' are more likely to make mistakes at ceilidhs in Scotland which result in physical injury to themselves or others (TV Insider 2018).
[5] In both instances during a gallop down the centre of the set, where a dancer tripped over, landed awkwardly, but not badly, and stood back up to continue dancing.
[6] A folk magazine contributor recalled, alongside inappropriate touching, rough dancing leading to injury at a recent folk festival ceilidh (Bailey 2019:7). In conversation a fellow dance PhD student at Roehampton described being bruised at a public ceilidh she had attended in 2017.

One interviewee flitted between ineptitude, fun, and equality of movement when discussing her enjoyment of the genre:

> Yeah, I think it's quite normal for people to mess up, when we go left, right. That kind of thing, and so, so it doesn't feel like there is as much pressure to perform or anything, it's just, I think the main bit is just having fun and I think that's the really important thing about ceilidhs, no-one gets worried about whether their dance moves are better than everyone else's because you are all doing the same dance moves.
>
> (Connie I:3.8.18)

Supporting Podilchak's theoretical emphasis on equality as a necessary fundamental condition for the creation of fun, the set nature of the English social folk dance repertoire allowed participants to engage in a social activity with others, in which equality of action is essentially controlled. This has two facets. Firstly, the pre-ordained structured movements combined with a strict emphasis on phrasing, means that sets usually complete the same actions more or less simultaneously. Secondly, action is usually distributed equally between dancers. If one couple have a unique figure such as galloping down the middle of the set and back up to place, there will usually be progression in the set. This allows every dancer an equal chance of being in the top couple. The equal allocation of figures and set movement is so normalised that it is considered self-evident that a good dance would give equal opportunity of movement to all participants. However, when compared to other British social dance genres where the male and female roles have different movements, or when experienced dancers will do more complicated choreography, or play a more overt role as demonstrators or leaders, then it becomes clearer that equality of movement is

a more unusual choreographic element of the genre than might first be assumed. Such equality of movement possibly contributes to participants 'fun' reading of the event.

As the concept of *fun* was often used to advertise events and encourage participation, there was arguably an expectation or predisposition towards having fun. Websites, usually run by bands or callers often emphasised the fun nature of the genre. A typical example from Stroud based caller Stephen Rowley's website reassures readers that: 'No prior knowledge or experience is necessary to join in and have fun' (Rowley Online). Fun was also used to advertise events informally and encourage attendance amongst participants. In the hours before the evening dance at the National Youth Music Camp, members of staff were asking each other and the children whether or not they were: 'Coming to the dance? It's going to be fun' (FN:5.8.18). Similarly, one dance participant told me how she tried to encourage her friends to come to a local fundraising ceilidh. They told her that 'oh but I don't dance, I don't dance' and she responded: 'I don't dance either but its good fun' (Doris I:31.7.18).

Within the context of English social folk dance events, the anticipation of fun, the event context, the pedagogic nature of the event, and the structured 'equal' nature of the dancing, all contribute to the genre's sense of 'fun-ness'. As folk dance is seen as being, most importantly *fun*, and fun is linked to engagement in activity with others, it is important to examine how participation is conceptualised by attendees.

3:9:3 Participation

Much discussion around social folk dance emphasises its participatory nature. For most callers, the ideal event would be (space permitting) one where all the tickets were sold, all the ticket holders attended, and all the attendees also danced. However, for most dance events this was far from the reality. In attempting to draw people to the dance floor callers would often stress the participatory nature of the dance:

> We're going to start with a nice simple dance, you won't get any enjoyment out of this unless you actually get up and take part so its not, its not a spectator sport, you need to get up to get any enjoyment out of it.
>
> (FN: 22.7.17)

This focus on encouraging participation is well known amongst callers. Cresby Brown analogised the job to that of 'an animateur, it just *isn't* going to work unless he or she gets people out onto the dance floor' (Brown [2019]). If a specific number of couples were needed for a dance then callers would normally ask for more couples to join in, rather than ask willing individuals to sit out.[7] One caller explained to me that he selects his dances partly based upon how many people get up to dance in order to allow participation for as many as possible:

[7] In a 2019 *English Dance and Song* article, callers were specifically asked not to 'bully' attendees into dancing, but to make the dances fit to the number of participants who rise to dance (Ward 2019:11).

> [I] see how many people are on the floor and then I will decide what dance I am going to do. I have a good idea what I want to do, but sometimes I have to change it, like the *Snowball* which is a five-couple dance, sometimes you might get eight couples stand up so I have to quickly change that to two four-couple dances.
>
> (Tim Rooke I:21.8.17)

Once dancers had joined a set then it was expected that they would stay in the dance until the band ceased playing.[8] Dropping out of a dance mid-way was comparatively unusual and appeared to be related to physical endurance with many or most individuals leaving through apparent exhaustion. Pairs of younger children dancing without adult supervision also left dances prematurely. At the National Youth Music Camps event, the caller berated a group of teenage girls who, after joining the set at the start of the walk through, had left before the explanation was finished. The caller made an analogy between the dance and a musical concert: 'Girls, you wouldn't leave a musical performance half way through'. Some of the other teenagers booed and the girls returned to the dance (FN: 5.8.18). This was the most explicit example of etiquette enforcement I saw throughout my research. Dancers with more experience who might need to leave due to health matters or event duties would often self-substitute, recruiting another attendee to replace them in the set.

I was expecting more interviewees to emphasise the participatory rather than performative nature of the dance, I now understand that this was probably due to my inculcation within the keen folk dance world. It would appear that spectating is an important but little discussed element of these dance events. One female interviewee who

[8] A similar etiquette existed in the nineteenth century (Wilson 2009:131).

had not participated in the dancing discussed her own self-consciousness, making it clear that watching the dancing was as much, if not more, of an attraction than actually participating.

> Everyone is watching! I go down to watch, and not in a nasty way, I go down because I love to see everyone enjoying themselves and spinning around but I don't think, I don't, you know. Maybe if I felt, maybe if I felt more confident and less wobbly and old I would probably still do it, but I just feel they don't want to see [laughs] me flobbering around there and I love to see the children as well.
>
> (Tabitha I: 11.6.18)

I came across many examples where older individuals, although present at events, opted for minimal or no involvement in the formal dancing. One group of older Irish women attended a ceilidh in aid of Age UK. One of their group used a zimmerframe and had done some individual, improvised dancing to the music when she had first entered the room, but had sat out of the formal dancing. Her friend told me of the enjoyment they felt from watching others dance, especially when things went wrong (FN: 5.7.18). At a different event a couple in their 80s attended, spending the evening conversing and meeting friends. They told the caller that they are now too old to dance, but they decided to participate in the final *Circassian Circle,* although they had to leave the dance to rest before the last strain of music had finished (FN: 23.9.17).[9] Whilst participation is associated with fun, this does not mean that attendees cannot and do not derive enjoyment

[9] The last dance always attracted the highest proportion of attendees. It was also for the last dance of most events that as a solitary attendee I experienced the most direct invitations to dance.

from other aspects of the dance event. Although it contradicts the ideal of participation for all, for some individuals simply attending an event is enough fun in itself.

3:9:4 Inclusion

One enthusiastic interviewee asked me: 'why do I like ceilidhs? I am sure you were going to ask me that at some point; aren't they all inclusive?' (Patsy I:31.7.18). English folk dance has a long history of being taught to a wide range of individuals.[10] The desire to make social folk dance as accessible as possible is very important to many callers and to some attendees. Inclusive practice is vociferously advocated by the EFDSS, and was explicitly considered at the Society's training events I attended (10.3.18, 16.6.18, 9.2.19). What exactly is understood by this idea of folk dance as an inclusive genre is, however, quite varied.

Making a dance event inclusive usually involved altering the programme or the sequences of figures within a dance so that it became easier or indeed possible for attendees to complete. During my research various callers told me about gigs where attendees had been either deaf adults, adults with learning support needs, or wheelchair users. One caller made a specific point of approaching a wheelchair user to ask if he would like to join in the dancing. She told me that, in her experience, wheelchair users often assume that they cannot participate (FN: 12.9.17). Another caller explained how once it was certain that an expected wheelchair user was not going to attend she was happy to include *Strip The Willow*. She had planned on replacing it with a different dance which she felt would have been easier for a wheelchair user (FN:24.8.18). This substitution approach

[10] In the 1910s English folk dancing was taught to children with learning support needs (Kennedy, D. [1973]:215). In the 1950s a women's wheelchair folk dance club was formed (Ireson 1957).

contrasts with contemporary community dance practice where the process of dance creation is often devolved, allowing individuals to test the mettle of their own strengths and weaknesses (Kostoula 2013). Indeed it is the didactic structure of barn dances/ceilidhs which are seen by participants as being beneficial to their inclusive nature. In the words of one organiser: 'barndances put everyone on an equal footing as you get told what to do, it doesn't matter if you mess it up, that is part of the fun' (FN:22.7.17). Participants do not have to be confident in dance creation or improvisation to be able to participate, as the caller will teach and direct them, and the goal is to have 'fun' rather than to be choreographically perfect.

Intergenerational involvement is important to the idea of the genre as an inclusive form. In an EFDSS outreach publication from 1968 *English Dance and Song* editor Tony Wales, who played drums in his Sussex barn dance band the Derrydowners, argued that: 'these dances provide an ideal community or family activity which all age groups can enjoy together' (Wales 1968:4). This view has continued, the EFDSS's school handbook *English Traditional Dancing* described the genre as appropriate: 'whether you are five or ninety-five' (Knight 2012). Edel Quin, whose background is in Irish dance, gave a keynote address about safe dance practice at the EFDSS Callers' Development Day. For her an important characteristic of folk dance is that it is 'accessible for all ages' (9.2.19). Likewise Share Jesus International argued that this dance form appeals to 'all age groups' (Share Jesus International [2018]). Event attendee Hannah specifically mentioned inclusion in relation to inter-generational contact:

> What I like about it, I think it's very inclusive because you get old people you get young people you get everyone doing it together […] Usually societies tend to be split so it used to be clubbing or whatever for younger people and [the] older people [would] do something different and I think [with] ceilidh everybody can participate and that is quite a nice thing.
>
> (Hannah I: 13.6.18)

The move towards gender-neutral calling at keen dance events can also be seen as an important aspect of inclusive dance practice. In this approach alternative words are substituted for gendered descriptors (Heywood 2017, Bailey 2019). Gender-neutral calling was discussed at all three of the EFDSS training days I attended, and many folk festivals now hold gender-neutral dances. However, only one tyro event of my research used such an approach. At the Milton Keynes International Festival ceilidh the caller used 'concrete cows' and 'woolly sheep' to differentiate between dancing partners (FN: 29.7.18).[11] This gender-neutral approach delighted one attendee as she had come to the event with a friend whose children were gender-fluid. She also felt that the terms had removed the stigma or 'problem' of the high percentage of females on the dance floor (Patsy I:31.7.18). Whilst such explicitly gender-neutral calling was not common at tyro dances, not all the calling was explicitly gendered either. Instead of asking for a line of men facing a line of women, callers often asked for two lines facing each other across the set. Many simple dances do not require separate movements for the individual dancers, callers can thus direct

[11] 'Concrete cows' was a reference to Milton Keynes' famous public statues. 'Woolly sheep' was a sister pairing made up by the caller on the spot. This utilised the same theme and syllables but had no local connection.

instructions to the whole couple. Other callers flitted between explicitly and implicitly gendered instructions.[12]

Individuals usually partnered people from among the groups they came with. It was rare for people to cross the floor to ask someone to dance from another table.[13] Whilst gay couples might have been welcomed at events, and I did see at least two instances where individuals appeared to be dancing with a life-partner of the same sex, men dancing together when women were available was still a cause for concern. One older male caller asked two couples (female-female and male-male) to split up and dance with each other, explaining the traditionally gendered nature of the coupling. The attendees appeared to be happy, rather than distressed by the new arrangement (FN: 30.9.17). Similarly, during a dance at the end of the ceilidh course at The Stables venue in Milton Keynes I recorded the following exchange:

> A female […] points out to me that you are used to seeing women dancing together but she has just noticed a man dancing in the women's place opposite another man. "You don't want to assume" "they might be …" it is left half unspoken that the men could be gay, in which case, in this instance it would be not the right thing to separate them, but what happens if it [the pairing] is a mistake?
>
> (FN: 18.3.18)

At many events it is expected that individuals want to dance with their life partner. As this extract illustrates the sight of male-male pairing can still be a cause for concern because

[12] I have discussed gender in greater depth elsewhere (Middleton-Metcalfe 2020).
[13] Some individuals exercised a greater level of formality, or older style manners. At one church dance, a man in his 70s sought permission from his friend's husband after she had consented to dance with him (FN: 24.2.18).

there is the possibility that these are heterosexual men dancing together out of ignorance of the male/female pairing norm.[14]

When participants discussed the inclusivity of barn dances/ceilidhs they were not always referring to individuals in economically and socially disadvantaged groups (Gray 2000). Individuals utilised a different sense of inclusiveness and inclusivity than that which can be found in recent political and policy discourse (e.g. Levitas 1998[2005]). It could be argued that the concept of inclusion is being used to discuss how this genre is accessible to white, straight, non-disabled, but *dance-shy* attendees. Patsy described a work function held by a high-street bank for its employees. She recalled that although many of the younger attendees were initially reticent, they were eventually able to participate and enjoy themselves (Patsy I:31.7.18). This anecdote was given as an example of the inclusivity of the genre. Similarly, for one organiser inclusion focused on bodily appearance. She felt that barn dances were more welcoming to individuals who were overweight: 'That's the nice thing about barn dances, she said, you don't have to be experienced and you can be any shape or size, it doesn't matter, it's just fun' (D: 4.5.18).

One key barrier to the inclusion of dance-shy attendees which is curiously absent from most discussions of this dance form is the coupled, or partnered nature of the genre.[15] At a fundraising dance at which I was calling, an experienced female participant in her early 70s, who had arrived at the dance alone, asked me: 'Please can you not say "another couple needed or another two couples needed"'. She explained that if you are on your own, or in a group of three then you can't join in the dancing (FN: 29.9.18). In the 1940s, the

[14] There is an implicit homophobic undertone here, as this concern implies that it would be problematic, or at the least undesirable, for a heterosexual man to be wrongly construed as gay.
[15] This is where social folk dancing differs markedly from circle or sacred dancing, as brought to Britain in the 1970s by Bernhard Wosien (Watts 2006).

coupled nature of English social folk dances was minimised in EFDSS printed discourse in order to emphasise the group. The team nature of folk dance was seen to be a unique selling point which differentiated it from ballroom and old time dancing (2:6:4). This emphasis on the group nature of the genre unwittingly discriminates against individuals who come to events without a dancing partner. In turn, this means that social protocols to assist coupling are uncommon.[16] Partner-change dances made up only a small minority of the dances I recorded at tyro events. The vast majority involve keeping the same partner throughout, and this was especially true for the most popular twenty dances (listed in A4:1). Despite the ideology of groupness, many events are an opportunity for one-to-one intimacy between friends or lovers. The ideal of dancing with sundry others, however, was important for many of my participant interviewees. One woman appeared conflicted between an ideal of the dance event, that you could dance with many different people, and the reality that she mostly danced with her husband (Elsie: 3.7.18). The ideal of inclusiveness does not remove the barrier to participation that even non-disabled, straight individuals face if they arrive at an event without a dancing partner. Common caller practices such as asking for 'one more couple' rather than 'two more people' can serve to exacerbate the unintentional exclusion of those who come alone.

[16] It is possible to imagine alternative approaches where people who want to dance are asked to come onto the floor on their own and are then assigned a dancing partner.

3:9:5 Conclusion

Edel Quin considered the first key characteristic of folk dance to be that it: 'stems from cultural and social tradition' (9.2.19).[17] In contrast, my fieldwork indicated a different set of priorities amongst callers, organisers, and attendees. Podilchak has theorised that relative unfamiliarity is a key component which distinguishes fun from enjoyment (Podichak 1991:134). Knowledge of particular dances, or figurative sequences were generally lacking amongst even the most enthusiastic of tyro dance attendees. Far more often than *tradition* it was *fun* which was discussed as the most important element of this dance form. A concern for choreographic preservation might even be seen as antithetical to the purpose of social folk dance. Fixing choreography restricts callers from making inclusive adaptations. Although there is limited emphasis on correct choreographic interpretation, leaving callers free to adapt and change dances at will, the didactic nature of the form remains central to the genre. Whilst such an approach might be seen as a hinderance to the goal of inclusive participation, particularly as understood by contemporary community dance practitioners, my attendees considered this structure to be helpful in promoting engagement, and thus inclusion amongst the dance-shy.[18]

Participation for as many attendees as possible is an important ideological foundation of social folk dance. Callers want attendees to leave events having had fun, and fun is associated with participation in the dancing. For most callers, barn dancing is not a 'spectator sport' even though many attendees do enjoy watching in addition to, or instead

[17] I am reminded of the disjuncture between the vision of Scottish country dance as a dynamic and ever-evolving form held by enthusiasts, and the wider public perception of it as being frozen in time (Lorrain Smith 2008:164).
[18] Even if this form is especially attractive to the dance-shy, it still relies upon participant confidence. Little time is (or can be) allocated at barn dances towards personal, individual encouragement and support.

of, dancing. Possibly the emphasis on participation is linked to proselytisation. Just as Kennedy advocated dance parties rather than displays (2:3:2), many callers believe that an effective way of encouraging a future recruit is through a positive participatory experience. Participation is arguably critical not only to the success of the evening, but to the success of the genre more broadly. However, there are a number of reasons (from the coupled nature of the dance, to caller practice, to participants personal preferences) why the aspiration that all attendees will participate in the dancing is rarely achieved in reality.

Fun is often used as a public narrative which illuminates the aspirations for the genre held by those that are involved with it. Such an approach reflects broader cultural attitudes towards folk/tradition in a contemporary English context, such as the emphasis on participation, rather than perfection, that can be found in 'egalitarian' instrumental music sessions (Stock 2004), or folk song clubs (Brocken 2003:121, Winter and Keegan-Phipps 2013:27). Contrary to expectations of folk dance being associated with heritage and tradition, *fun* is a much more widely articulated reason for attendees' engagement. Returning to Rippon's 1962 statement (3:9:2) that *fun* offers a more commercially viable reason for engagement with folk culture than *Englishness*, the following chapter will further elucidate the relationship between social folk dance and identity.

3:10 Identities

3:10:1 Introduction

As the rest of the thesis has outlined, tyro events are inexplicably linked to a particular approach to social dancing which was promoted by the EFDSS. Although some of the dancing repertoire, particularly those sequences linked to the old time movement (such as the *Dashing White Sergeant* and the *St Bernard's Waltz*) should perhaps more accurately be conceptualised as British rather than English, tyro events are inexorably intertwined with the wider English folk dance revival. This chapter will explore the relationship between identity and English social folk dance elucidating the extent to which this genre is associated with national identity, and in the process I will problematise any straight forward identification with Englishness.

Within my participant questionnaires, I asked a direct question about the national associations of social folk dance. 235 (34%), of my QRs considered, in the wording of the questionnaire, 'this event to be' *British*.[1] A similar proportion elected for *English* (32%), and *Celtic-English* (30%), whilst 19% opted for *Scottish*.[2] This question prompted discussion at events, with a number of attendees asking me what the *real* origins of social folk dance were, and to check whether their conceptions, usually that the dance genre was Scottish or North American in origin, were correct. At least some participants were swayed

[1] This question allowed for multiple answers.
[2] The relatively high proportion of respondents for the *English* option was possibly related to the number of events I attended which attracted a high number of keen dancers. In particular the events run by the Chiltern Folk Association and the Camping and Caravanning Club.

by the presentation of the questionnaire.[3] One interviewee explained how its wording influenced her response:

> I think I thought it was Scottish then there was also an option English-Celtic. Oh yes, definitely that's my answer English-Celtic-Scottish. Because the morris men are English aren't they? And they do dances, rhythmic dances, so that's what I put together.
>
> (Patsy I:31.7.18)

Patsy's response showed an initial reticence to the idea of *English* folk dance. However, the questionnaire design made her reconsider her scepticism through its presentation of a range of possibilities which included the hybridised suggestion 'Celtic-English'. This reminded her of morris dancers, a well-known form of English performative traditional dance. Her memory of morris dancers suggested the possibility that there could other forms of English folk/traditional dance. Therefore ceilidhs/barn dances could be English, or there might be an element of Englishness in them. Evidently, however, it was not a prominent or immediate association for Patsy. Patsy's dilemma reflects the broader statistical finding from my research, attendees evidently feel that barn dances and ceilidhs are not particularly English. Returning to my key research question of why this dance genre continues to appeal, this chapter considers whether the lack of widely held English associations adds to its popularity.

Whilst I am aware that the only way to be an anti-racist is to speak up and actively challenge embedded hierarchical notions of white supremacy, this chapter is not designed

[3] The working title of my thesis was printed on the questionnaire: 'An investigation into repertoires and identities within contemporary English social folk dance'.

to be a handbook offering explicit guidance on how to create an anti-racist dance event. In its focus on finding out what national identities this dance form is associated with, it has to set aside questions relating to the ongoing project of power-redress. Political/philosophical questions regarding whether English social folk dance could ever be constructively anti-racist, and what changes could be made to enable this are beyond the scope of this chapter.[4] However, in the process of analysing the whiteness of English social folk dance I am able to suggest some of the reasons why this dance form largely fails to attract an ethnically diverse cohort.

This chapter commences with a section which briefly outline of the most salient aspects of the broader socio-political discussion about English/British identities. It then continues by summarising the relationships between folk and Englishness that have so far been uncovered by other researchers, before discussing media representations of social folk dance in England. I then go on to examine the genre's association with North America, the Celtic nations, and the perception of the genre as heterogenous. Lastly, I turn the attention back to Englishness and consider how the entangled concepts of history, community, and heritage are used by my interviewees in ways that implicate an English or Anglo-British[5] identification. In my penultimate section I focus on ethnicity, and the whiteness of these events, the whiteness which is often associated with Englishness (Mann 2011). Taking my cue from Richard Dyer's plea that: 'The point of looking at whiteness is to dislodge it from its centrality and authority, not to reinstate it' (Dyer 1997:10), I hope to draw out further

[4] I do believe this to be a complex philosophical discussion, which goes beyond a simple, perhaps even tokenistic broadening out of the ethnic background of event attendees.
[5] Here used to refer to English born Britons who do not identify with any of the other nation states of Britain, or other nations, but who might not identify with the label *English* either.

links between these dance events and a latent or implicit sense of Englishness, which I believe is largely under-articulated by attendees.

3:10:2 Britishness and Englishness

As with most forms of nationality identifying as 'English' is not straightforward. The historical specificity of this situation relates back to the dominant role of England within Britain, which has led to a widespread elision between Britain and England (Kumar 2010:476, Fenton 2007:326). Simon Featherstone summarised the opinions of many historians when he stated that 'England's evasion of popular nationalism' could be 'partly explained by a historical willingness to subordinate national expression to broader domestic and global structures of colonial and imperial power' (Featherstone 2009:3). Being the majority culture, much of quotidian English culture in England, just like whiteness itself, is often rendered invisible because of its ubiquity (Fenton 2003:11). According to a variety of social science surveys, the majority of people living in England consider themselves to be more British than English. This contrasts with the situation in Wales and Scotland where national identity usually takes precedence over the union (Kumar 2010).

Social historian Antony Smith suggested an influential schematic binary between inclusive/exclusive or civic/ethnic nationalities in *Nations and Nationalism* (1998:193-195). Such a typology is commonplace amongst political and social scientists (Condor 2011b). As Susan Condor explained that civic nationality is 'constructed as racially neutral' whilst ethnic formulations 'are determined by descent' (2011b:102). While Britain offers a state-based form of national identity, Englishness has often been associated with an ethnic based, and thus exclusive identity. In sociologist Robin Mann's study of Englishness and locality, respondents turned conversation about Englishness to a

consideration of ethnicity, associating Englishness with whiteness (Mann 2011). Many BAME citizens identify more easily with a British rather than English identity (Thomas 2011, Mann and Fenton 2017:72-73). Mann with fellow sociologist Steve Fenton has explored how even multiculturalists see 'Englishness' as a white identity (Mann and Fenton 2017:77). In the early twenty-first century, Englishness was more often associated with conservativism than with liberal progressiveness (Haugaard 2006).

In their study *Nation Class and Resentment* Mann and Fenton highlight the class-based nature of national identity. The middle-classes are more likely to value having liberal attitudes and see vulgarity in overt displays of Englishness (Mann and Fenton 2017:73, 96). Politics professor Michael Kenny whose *The Politics of English Nationalism* explicitly considers liberal commentators' unease with their subject matter, summarises that for many cultural and political researchers: 'Englishness is irretrievably tainted by its regressive, conservative and ethnically charged character' (Kenny 2014:1).[6] In academic circles the subject of Englishness can cause authors overt embarrassment, reminiscent to the white guilt discussed by Dyer (1997:10-11).[7] The question of whether it is possible to hold progressive liberal political views and identity as English has taxed sociologist Leddy-Owen, who cautioned against an open embrace of Englishness by political progressives, after conducting research amongst Londoners where he found that Englishness was more commonly linked to negativity rather than positive ideas (Leddy-Owen 2014). The possibility of a liberal Englishness, such as that promoted by folk

[6] I am here reminded of a similar cultural scepticism towards the importance or relevance of tradition which I believe also contributes to broader negative attitudes towards English folk culture (Abbs 1987, Shils 1981, Negus and Pickering 2004).
[7] For example Featherstone (2008) referred to the 'potential embarrassments and anachronisms of the subject' of English nationalism (3); the concept of Englishness studies as a 'potentially embarrassing fantasy' (27); and concludes by saying that 'studying Englishness can still be quite embarrassing' (178).

musician Billy Bragg (2006), has garnered significant academic interest, in part it would seem, for the inherently contradictory nature of this idea (e.g. Bryant 2003, Tranmer 2009, Beech 2011).

Susan Condor has argued that the binary civic or ethnic national typology has a broader appeal among British politicians who were in the 1990s and 2000s focused upon branding 'Britain as an essentially, and distinctively, multicultural society' (Condor 2011b:103). Whilst Condor's main argument is to highlight the (somewhat ironic) nationalistic overtones of the multi-cultural approach to national construction, her work helps to elucidate the politically difficult nature of English folk dance and music. Because of the essentially historical and nostalgic outlook of traditional dance and music cultures, English folk culture has the potential to be aligned with exclusive nationalistic projects. Discussions about tradition/folk in texts such as *Nationalism: A Very Short Introduction* focus on the use of tradition in exclusive notions of nationality. We need to ask, says nationalistic expert Steven Grosby, 'why those traditions are presented as asserting, or are exploited in the service of establishing, various forms of kinship that distinguish one group from another?' (Grosby 2005:33). Caroline Lucas, in her scathing critique of The Imagined Village, a high profile, multi-cultural English folk project, hailed by other academics as an example of progressive liberalism (Winter and Keegan-Phipps 2013:146-152), suggested that it would be impossible to ever fully entangle English folk music from exclusive concepts of white indigeneity which contribute to extreme right-wing politics (Lucas 3013:16).

Whilst Lucas implies that English folk culture is already used to further an exclusive political agenda, Trish Winter and Simon Keegan-Phipps emphasise that the danger lies in the potential for re-appropriation (Winter and Keegan-Phipps 2013:133). Likewise, Karl

Spracklen and Stephen Henderson noted that morris dancing 'is potentially exclusionary if used to construct and legitimize monocultural versions of Englishness' (Spracklen and Henderson 2013:22). A well-documented example of how English folk-culture could quite easily become co-opted for racist ends was the British National Party's usage of contemporary folk song 'Roots' by Show of Hands in 2006 (Winter and Keegan-Phipps 2013:132-134, Lucas 2013). Exclusive interpretations of nationalism are, of course, the bastion of contemporary fascism, and reinforce the white hegemony which continues to perpetuate ethnic inequality and racism (*Britain's Fascist Thread* 2021 Episode Three). However, this much discussed occurrence is somewhat of an outlier, and might possibly be due to the personal music preferences of the party's erstwhile leader Nick Griffin. References to folk tradition were missing from BBC four's 'Britain's Fascist Thread' which despite its name focused mostly on English movements (*Britain's Fascist Thread* 2021). Potentiality is not the same as reality and there is a distinct disjuncture between the expectation that those interested in English folk music will support conservative political ideologies, and the left-leaning political inclinations of many adherents. Illustrating this, recent research exploring the politics of contemporary folk dance and music in England has found that the 'other' to which this culture is positioned is none other than the hegemonic forces of globalisation and capitalism (Spracklen and Henderson 2013, Winter and Keegan-Phipps 2013).

Much of the discussion regarding the possible re-appropriation of folk fails to take into account the historical cultural specificity of England within Britain, and the largely insipid relationship between political narrative and folk culture. As Roper explored in his historical essay 'England - The Land Without Folklore?' it was only in areas where England had a cultural inferiority complex (notably music and cookery) where interest was originally inflamed enough to organise societies to further interest in these forms (Roper

2012). The ubiquity of many aspects of Englishness, particularly its language, and its position as a dominant nation meant that England did not historically need to use vernacular culture as part of a nation-building project, neither was traditional culture seen as a useful tool for the tourist industry. In the words of Featherstone England had 'no urgent need to record and preserve residual social formations or traditional cultures that might encode the nation' (Featherstone 2009:3).[8] The historical specificity of the English/British relationship, has meant that English folk/traditional dance and music does not appear to strongly appeal to many who favour an exclusive version of nationality and citizenship. As Keegan-Phipps argued up until recently 'engagement in folk music and dance was relegated in status to something of a national joke, caricatured in terms of out-of-touch, bearded geography teachers, lacking in self-awareness or any real artistic ability' (Keegan-Phipps 2017:4).

The results of a 2018 Yougov poll further illustrates the wider disconnect between English folk music/dance and English Identity. Commissioned by the BBC this poll of 20,081 individuals living in England asked whether respondents felt that 'English music and dance' contributed to their 'English identity' (YouGov/BBC 2018). The majority of respondents (51%) felt that English music and dance did not contribute strongly to their English identity whilst 43% felt that it did. This figure dropped further when respondents were asked about 'local music and dance' (22%) a category in which folk music possibly has greater salience. As a comparative 76% felt that 'England's history and heritage' contributed to their English identity. This reflects the cultural importance of built history within a British/English context which is epitomised in the practices of the two leading

[8] Although there are indications that in the first two decades of the twenty-first century elements of folk culture were being used in the construction of a distinctive, though not necessarily exclusive, English identity (Kenny 2014).

heritage organisations. English Heritage and The National Trust both focus primarily on the preservation of buildings and landscapes.[9] In contrast to attitudes towards built history it would seem those who might consider folk dance to be an important part of their English identity are in a distinct minority.

The limited resonance of English traditional dance forms amongst the broader Anglo-British population is underlined by the paucity of references made to it in mainstream British media. Between 2016-2019 I noted portrayals of English folk dance broadcast on television and BBC radio.[10] Whilst references to English folk dances of any type were uncommon, in terms of quantity morris dancing fared much better than social dance and even then not every mention was positive.[11] The BBC Radio 3 series *Sound of Dance* included an episode about English Folk Dance (*Sound of Dance* 2019). Although it started with a reference to listeners who might have 'taken your partner by the hand, Do-Si-Do'd, jigged, or reeled' the programme spent little time on social folk dance, and when it did tackle the subject it referred to Playford style dances only. In March 2017, the BBC sent a reporter to Barn Dance Fitness in Birmingham to report on the activity as part of a wider series about unusual get-fit options. This resulted in a two-and-a-half-minute clip showcasing the group (*BBC Breakfast* 2017). In contrast to this dearth of contemporary imagery, country or similar social dances were represented in greater number and more detail in depictions of the English past. In particular the popular costume drama series

[9] Anthropologist Sharon MacDonald in *Memorylands* noted how entangled the concept of heritage is with the built environment; even the phrase *intangible cultural heritage* chosen by UNESCO to refer to non-material aspects of culture refers back to the tangible environment (2013:17).
[10] A lengthy representation of a contemporary barn dance in Wales which features American costumes and a line dance, can be found in the popular BBC sit-com *Gavin and Stacey* Series 2 Episode 5 (2008).
[11] Morris dancing was the focus of a full length documentary aired on the BBC. *For Folk's Sake: Morris Dancing and Me* (2019). In this social dance appeared briefly, encapsulated in a 1930s photograph of the presenter's EFDS/S affiliated great-grandmother.

Poldark (2015-2019) which is set in eighteenth century Cornwall featured quite a few historical dance scenes.[12] These fleeting media representations indicate that social folk dance plays little or no part in mainstream portrayals of English identity. If it is not commonly articulated in the media as being an important part of English identity, then what role do identifiable national associations have in adding to the appeal of this genre? Such questions are the ones I seek to address in the rest of this chapter.

3:10:3 Non-English Identities

3:10:3:1 Celtic Associations[13]

For many dance participants, the word *ceilidh* implied a Scottish or Irish origin for this event type. Making their point clear, one QR wrote that: 'Ceilidh is a Scottish word'. At one barn dance I talked to three females from Buckinghamshire who were all married in the early 1990s. All three had had a social folk dance at their wedding. Whilst one described how her wedding featured a 'barn dance' another stressed that hers had been a *ceilidh*, not a barn dance, as her event was *Scottish* (FN:24.2.18).

A small number of QRs made it clear that they came to the event seeking Scottish or Irish culture: 'I am interested in SCOTTISH folk dancing', 'To Celebrate St Patrick's Day' and 'To do something relating to my culture (Irish)'.[14] Furthermore a minority of attendees used the questionnaire to articulate how their expectations of a Celtic event had not been met:

[12] Halsway manor was planning a fourth 'Dances from Poldark' weekend in 2021. These workshops are led by Stuart Marsden who choreographed the television series. Available at: https://halswaymanor.org.uk/event/dances-of-poldark-weekend-3/ (Accessed: 6.4.21).
[13] I utilise *Celtic* to refer primarily to Scotland, the island of Ireland, and Wales. Cornwall, the Isle of Man, and Brittany are also associated with a wider Celtic culture but featured less prominently in my interviews with dance attendees (cf. Chapman 1992).
[14] There were no English equivalents for these types of statements.

> At this event at MK I expected more Celtic music and free dancing as most of the group dancing was English country dancing with a small amount of Celtic music as dance music. The Celtic input was very little as such (QR).

One ceilidh attracted a small group of Irish women in their 70s. I wanted to elicit their impressions of the evening: 'It wasn't 7s and 3s and house' I said referring to Irish ceílí figures. One of the group said that they were just discussing amongst themselves how it was not like an Irish ceílí. They felt that it was more like 'square dancing' (FN:5.7.18).

Whilst some aspects of Englishness, particularly those relating to politics and power (such as the Houses of Parliament) are synonymous with Britain, it has been argued by historian Malcolm Chapman that folk and tradition are more commonly conflated with the Celtic nations of Britain (Chapman 1992:117). Although Simon Keegan-Phipps has called the 'relative supremacy of Irish and Scottish traditional music' in England 'historical', it is not entirely defunct (Keegan-Phipps 2017:8). Indeed, for two of my interviewees Camilla and Sophie the dances reminded them of Scotland and other Celtic countries. When Camilla first said that she thinks of these dances as British, she qualified this by talking about Celtic nations:

> **CEMM:** Do you see it as Scottish then, ceilidh dancing, or do you see it as English at all or British or?
> **Camilla:** I suppose Celtic yeah, British I suppose, but I suppose because of my heritage I think Scottish but it's as Irish and Welsh as anything else.
>
> (Camilla I: 20.8.18)

Camilla and Sophie both had Scottish heritage and I had made initial contact with both of them at events which were advertised as 'ceilidhs'. For ten years a Scottish couple had hosted a St Andrew's Day event, which included dancing, in Camilla's village in Buckinghamshire. She had regularly attended this event and other occasional barn dances/ceilidhs held nearby. For Sophie, ceilidhs reminded her of childhood memories of her time in Scotland, listening to traditional music at her grandparents' house, and family parties where she watched three generations dancing together. She compared the sense of aliveness she remembered in relation to traditional music and dance culture in Scotland, to her experiences of English tradition:

> I love folk music but also a lot of it does remind me more of my Celtic roots when I listen to it. I automatically like get transported and I am back in my nan's house and we're listening to it. So for me it doesn't resonate with England and English society anymore […] I feel that I only know it and like it because my Scottish parents played it to me.
>
> (Sophie I:9.7.18)

Whilst Scottish culture was still alive to her, she did not feel the same way about English traditions where she felt the connection between culture, place, and people had been lost.

The context of one's first experience is important in shaping perceptions of the genre's origins or national associations. Ollie had experienced his first ceilidh in Edinburgh as part of his girlfriend's university graduation celebrations and this helped to form his opinion of the genre as Scottish (Ollie I:2.8.18). In contrast Doris was born and raised in South America, she was introduced to ceilidh dancing through her daughter who had attended Warwick University where she had joined the Ceilidh Society. Her daughter

convinced Doris to attend her first ceilidh which was in Madrid, Spain. Doris was reluctant to attach a region or country to this style of dance but did not see it, or indeed dancing more generally, as being particularly English (Doris I:31.7.18).

3:10:3:2 American Associations

I was regularly asked in the field if barn dances were American in origin. There was significant conflation between barn dances, square dances, and line dancing. One QR commented: 'A lot of people came in cowboy boots and hats because they probably like me love country music, so more country please (American)'.[15] During the BBC's clip of Barn Dance Fitness, presenter Mike Bushell enters the room wearing a large brimmed cowboy hat (an item often associated with North American Country and Western music) which is comically knocked off by a pair of swinging doors. As this happens, he sets the scene: 'It's time to cast aside all we thought we knew about barn dancing. It's not all about Do-Si-Dos in this former swimming baths in Birmingham' (*BBC Breakfast* 2017). The Barn Dance Fitness event was not American themed, attendees danced in a mix of casual attire and clothes designed for gym exercise. The scene with Bushell's hat was used to create a blatant visual metaphor that barn dance stereotypes, including their association with Americana were going to be 'knocked away'. Surprisingly, given the wider cultural conflation that this reference would suggest, only 7% of QRs elected for *American*, and 13% for *American-British* when asked what they considered 'this event to be' (see A2:1).

[15] One band agency Midsummer Music, anticipating or perhaps responding to past confusion, notes on their website for perspective bookers that: 'Line Dancing is NOT the same as Ceilidh or Barn Dancing' (Midsummer Music Online [original emphasis]). Not all bands take this approach and although I did not attend any events where this happened, a number are happy to combine line dancing, barn dancing, and country and western style music. For example, Milton Keynes band Pinkers Spinney offers 'a Ceilidh, Barn Dance, Hoe Down with or without line dancing, or any combination of these for a fun filled evening' (Pinkers Spinney Online).

It is probable that these low figures were affected by my research sites which included a number of events run by 'folk' groups, members of which are, I believe, less likely to associate English social folk dances with North America.

Illustrating a set of associations which are probably more common amongst the wider population, one interviewee, Michael, when asked if he had been to a similar event before, told me about a festival he had seen in France where: 'They all turn[ed] up with their Cowboy hats and all their American gear' to go dancing on the square. Michael appears to have witnessed the Sejours Country Dance Tour, an annual week-long line dance event held in Bordeaux. Whilst this event reminded him of the village barn dance at which I had met him, he also reflected that the two events were different.

> I couldn't quite work out what it was in the sense that there is obviously bits of American, bits that I vaguely remember from school, bits which are almost medieval, it's a bit of a mix, I wouldn't know how to categorise it.
>
> (Michael I:19.4.18)

Some musicians and callers make a point of attempting to de-Americanise barn dances. In May 2019, Devon based musician Henry Piper contributed to a forum for predominantly English folk musicians, on the subject of social folk dance (melodeon.net). Piper's comments illustrate the disjuncture bands and callers can experience between their own perceptions and those of the attendees.

> Our callers often patiently explain that what they are doing is English or at least British, but for some reason most ceilidh/barn dance guests still automatically equate barn dances with America. I remember on one occasion we were soundly berated by a disappointed punter that we had no fiddle or banjo, he couldn't believe that you could have a barn dance without either of these !! […] At the end of the day I suppose it doesn't matter what the customers think they are doing as long as they enjoy it (and they mostly seem to) but sometimes I find it frustrating that these people seem to have so little knowledge of our home grown social customs.
>
> (Piper 2019 [spelling and grammar conventionalised])

Whilst I did not witness any sort of British/English proselytising in my field research, I did interview two callers and musicians Jo and Janis Zakis whose band Ock'n'Dough advertise themselves as 'the world's only Anglo-Latvian Zydecajun Ceilidh Band' (OcknDough Online). Janis was born in Latvia, but has lived in Northamptonshire since he was a young boy. He described how Ock'n'Dough are 'very passionate about the traditions from around here […] we would always look at the English tradition first before we did anything else.' While we were discussing identity, his wife Jo, who now does the majority of the calling, told me of a booking at a golf club where she explicitly contradicted the event theme to announce the dancing as being English.

> The bloke that was running it said "we're going to have a right old hoe down" and everything like this, so I got on the mic and I said "I know you are all dressed up and you think this is a barn dance but we are actually going to be doing traditional English dances" and they all cheered didn't they? [laughs] I thought this could go one of two ways. And they were all really pleased, because I think they were, sort of, you know, really English people weren't they? They all cheered waaayy.
>
> (Jo Zakis I:4.12.17)

Despite Piper's comments that the callers he has worked with 'often' tell the guests that the dancing is English, in my field research callers were more likely to 'play along' with the American theme. From Jo's presentation of the story, this was also an unusual line to take, the exception, rather than the rule.

3:10:3:3 'A Bit of Everywhere'

From the low number of responses to the 'world' and 'European' categories of my questionnaire and the incredulous noises some attendees made in response to these options, it is clear that for many these events are seen to be specific to the United Kingdom, Ireland, and North America. They are not generally considered to be part of a wider pan-European or global tradition of dance. This view is perhaps unsurprising given the historically strong hold of euro-scepticism in England/Britain, which mitigates against viewing the United Kingdom as an integrated part of Europe (Wellings 2010). Similarly, the category of 'world' music is little used in England to refer to British/English traditional culture, it is normally associated with music from outside the 'Anglo-American and European mainstreams' (Bohlman 2002: Preface).

This does not, however, detract from the views expressed in interview, especially amongst more experienced attendees, that these dances have their origins in more than one place. One QR considered these events to include: 'A mix of traditional music and dances from England, Scotland, Ireland, US and sometimes other countries.' Similarly, in an interview with a mother (Odette) and daughter (Lucy) the question about whether they thought the dances were British or English was answered by Odette who said that: 'They are a bit of everywhere aren't they these days? Because they have had so many influences from various places it's a mix I think probably'. Lucy was studying musicology and had been talking about her studies to Odette. As a result, Odette's views about the origins of folk music had become more nuanced and the view expressed in interview reflected her new heterogenous opinion about the origins of social folk dance (I:13.7.18).

At one event I attended, the caller, who had taken an interest in the participant questionnaire, directly addressed dance origins in her post-interval pre-dance spiel:

> Now I notice the question in the questionnaire what sort of dancing or music do you think this is? Is it Celtic? Is it British? We are going to do some American barn dancing now [cheers from the audience] well to be more precise it is half a line dance and half a party dance. So come up, there will be more Irish coming up and then we might do something that qualifies as world music maybe towards the end. So don't say we are not eclectic.
>
> (FN:23.9.17)

This caller was the only one to include a Bollywood-style line dance in her programme. She had qualified as a dance teacher with the Imperial Society of Teachers of Dancing and was passionate about teaching many different genres. A few months before, she had taught

some Syrian dances at a fundraising event. The questionnaire seemed to give her the opportunity to talk about the diversity of dances which she had programmed for that night, which reflected her own personal interests.

Julia, a former caller, explained how her view of social dancing had changed over time: 'I realise now *Waves of Tory* is probably from Ireland, some of these are from Scotland, from Canada, you know Appalachia all sorts of places' (Julia I:1.8.18). She felt that Cecil Sharp and the EFDSS had influenced people's views in a colonial fashion, homogenising dances from many sources into one *English* tradition: 'you know grabbing all the dances and saying they are English' (Julia I:1.8.18). Her husband, Edward had experienced similar dance events in Scotland and France, and he had noted that there were differences in style and approach between countries 'the kind of romping around which you get at a ceilidh seems to me, very much an English thing' he concluded (Edward I:1.8.18). However, Edward also emphasised the heterogenous nature of the event, explaining that barn dances could include non-typically English choreography such as *Horses Brawl* (1/21).[16] The most important thing, he stressed in his interview, is not the origin of the dance but its enjoyability.

Like Edward, caller Bob Adams stressed enjoyability as the most important factor in dance selection. He made an ornithological comparison; dancers of the past, not just in England but in Scotland and America were like 'magpies' who selected their favourite dances and did not worry about their attributed origin. He explained that this magpie tendency is why you get dances which seem to be nationalistically out of place, giving as examples *Canadian Barn Dance* and the *Swedish Masquerade* at Scottish events (Bob

[16] A reconstruction of a medieval French dance found in Thoinot Arbeau's *Orchéographie* (1588). This appears to have been introduced into the keen English folk scene as part of the enthusiasm for French dance and music in the 1980s.

Adams I: 31.8.17). Adams' inclusive view of tradition is reminiscent of the pluralist approach to performance and repertoire visible in the Newcastle University folk music degree. This pluralism was identified by Simon Keegan-Phipps as being a core part of the course's distinctly 'English' approach to traditional material (2008:209-229). However, multiculturalism is often seen as excluding Englishness. In Mann's exploration of place, he concluded that for his interviewees 'an English place is antithetical to a multiethnicplace' (Mann 2011:109, Fenton and Mann 2017:77). This idea was echoed in my interview with Connie who questioned the idea of a distinctive English culture 'I don't think England has much of a culture in itself […] people don't really go to *English* things in England' (Connie I:3.8.18). Whilst it remained unclear what (if any) specific nationalities or identities Connie associated with ceilidhs, she appeared to see celebration of the 'other' as being far more appealing and even, in some ways, more 'English', than engaging in activities which are explicitly linked to Englishness.

3:10:4 English Identities

3:10:4:1 Community, History, and Heritage

Social psychologist Susan Condor, former director of the place and identity research group at Lancaster University, has researched how discussion of nation-hood in England is related to class and status. The middle-classes were generally more considered in their use of language than working class interviewees, but whilst more guarded that did not make them any less nationalistic (Condor 2011a). Mann and Fenton have made similar conclusions regarding middle-class liberal unease with the concept of Englishness (Mann and Fenton 2017:73, 96). Such difficulties with regard to talking about Englishness directly makes an interesting comparison with similar studies on social folk dancing in Scotland

where the link with Scottishness appears to be regularly reiterated by participants (Lorrain Smith 2008, Zhao 2017).[17] I was reminded of Condor's analysis when revisiting my interview with caller and retired physical education teacher Valerie Symon. I asked her; why should we teach country dance? In reply Symon described the value of folk dance on a number of levels: **'**very good socially, excellent part of history and tradition, whole different life skill and […] good music' she concluded 'it's just a part of our heritage from my point of view, same as maypole dancing' (I:8.11.17). Here 'our heritage' is not defined along clear nationalistic, geographic, or ethnic lines.[18] Without further qualification, it is impossible to know whether by 'our' Symon was thinking of England, Britain, or Western-Europe, but her reference to maypole dancing perhaps implies the first.[19]

Some interviewees gave a rose-tinted vision of history, expressing a view that there would have been a greater sense of community cohesion in times past. I was surprised by the level of enthusiasm first time event attendee Jade expressed for barn dances. She explained how the very name *barn dance* was itself an evocation of 'the old times' when there 'was more community, more spirit' than the present day. For Jade the present day

[17] This is possibly influenced by the expectations of the researcher. Fenton discusses Bond and Rosie's 2002 research wherein only 45% of respondents listed 'Scottish' in their top three identity labels. To Fenton's surprise Bond and Rosie concluded that Scottishness is an important identity, despite the fact that their research showed that gender, occupational, and familial identities were given by a higher percentage of individuals (Fenton 2007:326).
[18] Ronström (2018) suggests that the term *heritage* has replaced *traditional* or *folk* music, particularly in situations where there is a shift away from direct cultural experience to a more general, if not generic orientation.
[19] From the 1830s to the 1880s maypole dancing was a theatrical stage entertainment. In the words of historian Roy Judge it was 'presented as a nostalgic recreation of dances as they were performed in the days of Merrie England, a land of make-believe which was "ancient", "picturesque", "peculiarly English" and "Elizabethan"' (Judge 1983:3, see also Judge 1997). The teaching of maypole dancing is not uncommon in English schools, particularly those that hold May Day celebrations; indeed, they are possibly increasing as a feature of such events (Smith 2008:144). Maypole dancing also featured in the grand opening sequence of the London Olympic games in 2012 (Winter and Keegan-Phipps 2014:4).

was too self-centred and materialistic 'there is too much like his and hers or theirs and ours'. This prevalent cultural attitude was a problem which she hoped a stronger sense of community would be able to address. She thought if her town had a 'massive festival' once a year which included a barn dance, this would help to strengthen community ties and bring back solidarity of spirit (Jade I:19.3.18).

Similarly, Goodman spoke of a lost connection between folk traditions and general life. Whilst he saw dancing at weddings as having an obvious social function, he mostly felt that society's connection with folk dance had been lost. Goodman, who is heavily involved with the current keen folk scene, was optimistic that through 'invention' or re-invention of tradition it would be possible to re-build lost community connections:

> We have to invent it, we have to pretend that it is something that we do. But that is like morris dancing, that is like folk singing the whole tradition no longer exists in the same way that it did and indeed in the same way that it does in other countries as you well know. But I still think we should do it and it can be done because, because it has always been there in some form or another even if it has lost its community connection in a lot of places.[20]
>
> (I: 23.1.18)

There are a number of ways of interpreting such comments. They could be seen as feeding into conversations about *beleaguered* Englishness, a term utilised by Mann and Fenton (amongst others) to discuss negative perceptions of Englishness based upon the acknowledgement that Britain is a declining world power (Mann and Fenton 2017).

[20] This is reminiscent of Douglas Kennedy's theories about folk dance as a cure for societal ills (2:3:3).

Alternatively, they could be read as a plea for re-localisation, which itself has been explored as providing a non-hegemonic, diverse, interpretation of Englishness (Winter and Keegan-Phipps 2014: 136-138).

Explicit references to Englishness were rare in my research, they were most likely to appear when a comparison was being made to other countries:

> I wish this type of dancing was more indoctrinated into our culture like it is for Scottish people. I don't feel that as an English person I have a "traditional" dance and it's a shame (QR).

> Barn Dancing/Scottish/Irish/ Dancing are wonderful for community spirit and bonding. Great ice breakers. We should celebrate our own customs more, every other country does. We always seem embarrassed. Morris men should be more widely exposed. They weren't even in the Olympic celebrations (QR).[21]

Such nation-based oppositional comparisons are commonplace in identity construction. It has been argued that oppositions serve to construct notions of separateness through distinction (Cohen 1985:12; Chapman 1992:209); the concept of "who we are" is strengthened by comparison to "those who we are not". It is perhaps unsurprising, therefore, that the most explicit associations between Englishness and social dances came from a settled immigrant. Hannah had participated in her local town barn dance in England for a number of years. In interview, she compared her experiences with growing up in what she perceived to be a folk-less part of Germany.

[21] Although they were not overly prominent, two morris dance teams did feature in the official closing ceremony of the 2012 London games. In addition the opening 'Isle of Wonder' sequence also featured a plaited maypole dance.

> **CEMM:** Does this dance feel in anyway English to you?
>
> **Hannah:** The dancing yeah, yeah, because I don't get that in Germany at all, I mean I've not been to every European country where you know, but definitely in Germany there is nothing like that. You get English folk music and Irish folk music it's very popular over there and you get probably down in Bavaria people doing their traditional dance with their Lederhosen and stuff that is not something I would do. [laughs] I like it, I think the music is better here.
>
> (Hannah I:13.6.18)

For Hannah, barn dances seem English because they differ from the experiences of folk dance that she had witnessed in Germany.

When I asked Michael if he thought there was anything particularly English about barn dancing he replied by making historical references: 'it has this old feel I suppose, I said medieval stuff earlier'. The dance he attended reminded him of non-specific TV programmes and 'historic films it does hark back a bit to that'. For Michael it was the choreography which gave the dancing a feeling of being 'old'. He linked this sense of age and heritage directly to his own identity as an English person.

> That structured dance move where everybody moves the same and you all do a similar thing. I think that does have quite a reasonable heritage to it and I like it partly because of that. If I am going to make an arse out of myself you might as well do it in something which is sort of vaguely English and lots of people have done it before.
>
> (Michael I:18.4.18)

Although a sense of history can confer nationality on a dance form, such an association tends to reinforce existing conceptualisations and does not necessarily promote an explicitly English identity in itself. Whilst Michael associated history, tradition and folk dancing with Englishness, Camilla, whose experiences of social folk dance has been shaped by her Scottish heritage, related these concepts to Scottishness (I:20.8.18). Perceived connection with a generic past is far from being a uniquely English trait, however references to history and community enabled QRs to discuss folk dance and, in particular, *English* folk dance in a way which was in tune with wider cultural (and particularly class) sensibilities.

3:10:4:2 Whiteness

I discussed the ethnicity of event attendees in an earlier section of my thesis (3:7:4:1), highlighting the largely Anglo-British identification of QRs. This, of course reflects the membership of the voluntary groups who chose to hold dances. My research is part of a broader conversation about physical and cultural ethnic separation (Thomas 2011:79), which contributes to the cultural structures of racial oppression which the Black Lives Matter campaign has recently brought to wider public attention (Cervulle 2017: xxi).[22] Following Dyer (1997) this section seeks to put the whiteness of English social folk dance events under the microscope and in the process address issues of exclusion and absence. Dyer argued that assuming the universality of the white experience, and equating humanity to white humanity lays the groundwork for racism and white supremacy. In explicitly discussing and naming whiteness I hope that this chapter contributes to the wider

[22] Whether or not the barriers to greater BAME participation in English social folk dance are similar to those which bar the way to greater political participation are worthy of further research. Nicholas Emler suggested restricted education and social opportunities, limited material resources, and incompatible cultural values to be factors in reduced levels of political participation amongst minority groups (Emler (2011).

ongoing project of anti-racism. The main aim of this section is to critique the ethicised elements of English social folk dance in order to draw out further conclusions about how and whether this dance form is identified with Englishness, and if so, what are the implications of this for the popularity of this genre.

In 2019 I was told by a committee member and musician about a meeting he had attended in North Buckinghamshire. The barn dance committee were filling out a council funding application form. He suggested letting the council know about the band's intention to teach traditional English dances. Another member of the committee replied to the effect that whilst that was all very well, they had better put something on the form about supporting ethnic diversity and inclusion, as they did not want the event to 'sound like a Brexit dance' (D: 6.3.19). Englishness in this context was associated with whiteness, exclusion, and support for the British exit of the European Union, a position which in the early months of 2019 was seen by many who voted to remain as being linked to a xenophobic interpretation of English nationalism (Kenny 2016).[23]

In my interview with Patsy I asked her directly about Englishness, and she replied by talking about ethnic diversity.

[23] In the 2016 EU referendum all three Buckinghamshire constituencies voted to leave by a comparatively small margin: 50.7% South Buckinghamshire; 50.5% Aylesbury Vale; and 51.4% Milton Keynes (BBC Referendum Online)

> **CEMM:** Do you think it would be quite uncomfortable if these dances were sort of overtly English? What would that even be?
>
> **Patsy:** Yes, why would you even go there? We weren't very ethnically diverse were we on Sunday night? So that is why I was thrilled that the Phobiarama men were there at the beginning, it was a shame that they couldn't come back because they had shows right through. No I would say we were not at our diverse best.
>
> (Patsy I:31.7.18)

Patsy was 'thrilled' that there were at the beginning of the night a visible number of BAME individuals. The 'Phobiarama' artists to whom Patsy referred were performers at the festival of which this ceilidh was a part. Whilst there were about six other BAME participants already at the ceilidh, the four or so Phobiarama artists were more noticeable.[24] They were in their 20s, whilst the majority of attendees were older, they were dressed in tracksuits and casual wear, whilst other attendees wore smart/casual attire, and the Phobiarama artists were not retiring, one did an impromptu break dance in the middle of the set (FN:29.7.18).

Perhaps for Patsy, a self-confessed lover of ceilidhs and barn dances, the presence of BAME participants affirmed her view of the event as being inclusive. An overtly white dance form does not align with many liberally inclined participants' aspirations for an inclusive community-orientated event.[25] I was reminded of studies into morris dancing

[24] In 2013 Milton Keynes had a BAME population of 26.1%. With 203 attendees 59 BAME participants would have been representative of the wider area (MK.gov Online).
[25] I came across only one overtly xenophobic view. I was interviewing a keen dancer who was telling me about the development of folk dancing in Buckinghamshire. After the tape had been switched off she mentioned that she was a 'total anglophile who loves this

(Spracklen and Henderson 2013:19), and English country dancing in North America (Walkowitz 2010:257), where white, liberal participants expressed the desire to attract more BAME individuals.[26] In my fieldwork I found only one explicit example of BAME individuals being uncertain about whether they would be welcomed at a barn dance.

> One [BAME] man comes over and talks to me. He says that he has brought along his neighbours' children and points them out, they are dancing with his daughter, their parents are [Asian] and are a bit 'unsure' about this event. He goes on to comment along the lines of, imagine living here and not being sure of an event like this.
>
> (FN: date withheld).

Whilst this individual found fault in the reticence of his Asian neighbours, this exchange illustrates that for less confident BAME individuals, barn dances and ceilidhs might not be as welcoming as other events which have a less overt associations with older (pre-multicultural) Britain.

The location of many dances in villages and other rural locations might also be off-putting. In some formulations of Englishness, now associated with small 'c' conservatism, the rural landscape (itself imbued with connotations of community, tradition, and history) is an important icon in the construction of a (white) English identity (Agyeman and Spooner 1997, Fenton and Mann 2017:76, Helsinger 1997, Ingle 2011, Murdoch and Marsden 1994:232). In *Contested Countryside Cultures* Julian Agyeman and Rachel

country' and that she worried about a perceived gap being opened up by the retraction of Christianity which was being filled by Islam (date withheld).

[26] At the Social Dance Conference organised by the EFDSS (10.3.19) I showed a chart illustrating the 352 questionnaire responses I had so far received and analysed. This showed a total of only 4 BAME QRs. There were audible gasps and what I interpreted as sad grumbles from the audience about the lack of diversity represented in these statistics.

Spooner have argued that as the British countryside is so associated with whiteness, this can produce a sense of fear amongst BAME individuals (1997:199, cf. Cloke 2006). American themed dances do not discourage such associations either, whilst North American dances might be seen, in the words of one English caller to be a diverse 'melting pot' of British, Irish, Eastern European, South American, and Native American cultures (Bob Adams I:31.8.17); in the USA there is no escaping a widespread association between country and western music and conservative whiteness (Hughes 2017). Another related reason for unease may stem from cultural differences, whether from a lack of familiarity with events of this type, or their perceived unsuitability. The prevalent attitude of getting it wrong and having a laugh (2:9:2) may not align with some cultural sensitivities, whilst physical contact with the opposite sex might also be problematic (Jewitt 1997:8).

A latent sense of exclusion was expressed when I asked Emily, a woman of mixed race heritage, about whether barn dances foster a sense of community. She explained how, not being from the village where the barn dance was hosted, she felt the event to be exclusive rather than inclusive: 'in [village] they kind of, they are a bit cliqué kind of, stick to their own, so if I had come on my own I probably wouldn't have enjoyed it at all' (Emily I: 21.3.18). However, this was perhaps indicative of the exclusive nature of villages more generally (cf. Agyeman and Spooner 1997:204). A white attendee from the same event but also from outside the village itself also felt that it was a village event 'for the village' (Jade I:19.3.18). This does not negate the idea that Buckinghamshire villages are associated more with whiteness than its towns. Villages in Buckinghamshire (as in Britain more widely) are generally less ethnically mixed; the BAME population of Buckinghamshire is largely concentrated in larger towns such as High Wycombe, Aylesbury, and Milton Keynes (MK.Gov Online). From a critical race perspective Katherine Tyler has explored how there is a strong association between village life and

whiteness, even in her research site which was a village very close to the outskirts of the multi-ethnic city of Leicester (Tyler 2010).[27]

A seemingly mundane anecdote provides a concluding example of how important informal preparation within family or friendship groups can be in managing expectations, and thus facilitating a positive dance experience. Doris had only recently settled in Buckinghamshire after living most of her life in South America. When attending her first dance she wore her 'nice sandals' but her daughter told her that she would not be able to dance in such shoes and that she should wear trainers instead (I:31.7.18). When I first met Doris she was amongst a group of female friends, one of whom was Indian and had come to the ceilidh wearing strappy sandals with a stiletto type heel. This woman left the dance early because, despite enjoying the event, her shoes were hurting her. Doris was sympathetic for it had come as a surprise to herself to find out that footwear which had served perfectly well at other types of dancing events would not be comfortable for ceilidh dancing. Due to the higher proportion of BAME settlement in urban areas (MK.Gov Online), BAME individuals possibly have fewer opportunities to access such knowledge than white people as barn dances/ceilidhs appear to be more popular in villages and other rural locations.[28] Carried out through informal networks BAME individuals possibly have fewer opportunities to access such preparatory knowledge.

[27] The very real implications of the village as a white middle-class space are explored in studies of urban planning which uses Buckinghamshire as its case study (Murdoch and Marsden 1994, Murdoch et al. 2003).
[28] It seems that country and maypole dancing is also more prevalent in village primary schools (Smith 2008).

3:10:5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the national associations of contemporary social folk dance events, focusing on the extent to which the genre is associated with Englishness in order to address the relationship between national identity and popularity. I have discussed the dearth of representation of English social folk dance in popular culture, and the confinement of media depictions of social folk dancing in an English context to historical dramas, to suggest why many attendees do not identify this dance with Englishness. Lack of formal, explicit identification with Englishness, however, does not mean that Anglo-British attendees necessarily feel they are play acting at being Celtic or American. Attendees can hold seemingly conflicting opinions without harming their enjoyment of the event, viewing dances as both Celtic and English, or American and British. Whilst support for the idea of these dances as being 'world' or 'European' was practically non-existent, a less grand vision of heterogeneity can also be detected, particularly amongst those with a greater knowledge of the genre. The heterogenous approach is not altogether distinct from some manifestations of Englishness (Condor 2011b).[29] Talking about 'English folk' does not come easily to the attendees of tyro dances, and even dance callers are only slightly more at ease with the subject. However, this does not mean that Englishness is entirely disassociated from this type of dancing. This is especially so when concepts of history, heritage and community are invoked, all of which can be associated with a broader national identity and in this case, Englishness. In conclusion, given the socio-historical particularity of the English/British relationship, the connection of the dance genre with Englishness is largely vague and implicit. This works to the benefit of the genre as the

[29] It was the embrace of multifarious styles which Keegan-Phipps identified as uniquely 'Englishness' about the folk music degree course in Newcastle (2008:209-229).

connection can be strengthened by those who want to, and my research shows that this is rarely as part of an explicitly nationalistic, exclusionary agenda, and ignored by those who do not. The genre's vague connection with Englishness is particularly useful in keeping the genre's appeal amongst the Anglo-British middle classes (who are normally against displays of explicitly English affiliation) as it is from this demography that the bastion of organisational support and attendance is drawn.

Part Four: Conclusion
4:11 Thesis Conclusion

As a genre English social folk dance could be said to suffer from a form of intersectional research marginality. Firstly, dance studies is a comparatively new academic discipline, which due to the primacy of Cartesian dualistic thinking struggled to establish itself as an area of serious academic research until the 1970s (see Carter 1998). Within dance studies social genres have historically been neglected in preference to theatrical, elite dance forms. As Paul Kiddy argued in his thesis, on top of the marginalisation of dance, and within that discipline social dance, *folk* dance has been subjected to additional neglect (Kiddy 2015:10-13). This is especially true within an English academic context, where the place of folklore studies has been contested, and somewhat unsecure, throughout the twentieth century.[1] Up until now there has been a great paucity of knowledge regarding English social folk dance and I hope that by my efforts I have made a significant contribution to the field of dance studies.

This thesis has emphasised a sub-type of amateur dance participation which is, in itself, already a marginalised research area (Williams 2017:6-10). By focusing on participants at tyro events this research has explored the experiences of the inexperienced, the beginner, or non-specialist adult dancer. Outside of dance pedagogy, studies have tended to focus on keen dancers in more-or-less bounded dancing communities, rather than the place of dance amongst "non-dancers". By focusing on why this dance genre continues to appeal to an

[1] There were programmes at the Institute of Dialect and Folklore Studies at the University of Leeds (1964-1982), and the Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language (1975-1997), renamed the National Centre for English Cultural Tradition (1997-2000) at the University of Sheffield. In 2001 Newcastle University launched its BA(hons) in Folk and Traditional Music, this was followed by Leeds College of Music's BA(hons) Music (Folk) in 2018. In 2019 the University of Hertfordshire established an MA in Folklore.

audience beyond a core coterie of keen dancers this study enhances our knowledge of wider attitudes towards dancing, and more specifically, the place which 'folk' or 'traditional' dance occupies within contemporary English society.

My research findings augment British dance historiography by arguing for greater attention to be paid to this popular dancing genre. I also highlight some specific points of intersection between folk dance and other social genres, particularly old time (2:6:4) and square dance (2:3:4). The growth of interest in barn dances in the 1970s (2:4:4) was coincident with the wider casualisation of leisure, the decline of ballroom, and the rise of solo disco dance. An important arena for public engagement was the educational system. Folk dance continued to be popular in schools long after it had been replaced by modern educational dance as the genre of choice by physical educationalists (2:5:3). Dance histories have tended to focus on the rise (and subsequent fall) of Laban-inspired approaches to dance in education (for example: Carter 1998, Haynes 1987), often without acknowledging the extent to which country dancing remained popular in English schools into the 1980s. By highlighting its tenacity, I hope that the place of folk dance will be examined more sympathetically by future historians of dance pedagogy.

The findings in this thesis also contribute to the more specialist realm of English folk dance research, highlighting a number of important historical developments which augment the wider academic interest in the socially constructed nature of folk and tradition. Douglas Kennedy's theories about naturalness and vitalness were contextualised and the relationship with wider societal attitudes towards dance explored (2:3:3). Of particular importance was the re-making of social folk dance as a genre which is not demonstrated or performed but learnt in situ, therefore requiring little pre-requisite skill or knowledge. After Kennedy retired the biggest new influence came from outside the EFDSS in the guise of the neo-traditionalist

ceilidh movement of the 1970s. This thesis demonstrated that there is significant interplay between the keen and the tyro folk dance worlds and these close links problematise any neat division of social dance happenings into 'authentic' and 'less authentic' categorisations (1:2:2).

The ethnographic methodology utilised in this research has allowed for a detailed and multifaceted exploration of contemporary tyro dance events. This thesis proposed a conceptual and physical link between public tyro folk dances in Buckinghamshire and 'rurality', with many events being held in villages (or other rural locations), rather than towns (3:7:2:2). Indicating that these events appeal predominantly to the middle-classes, the genre attracted mostly white, middle-aged Anglo-British attendees, a high proportion of whom hold university degrees, and/or jobs in the professions (3:7:4). Attendees were usually local (travelling less than ten miles to get to an event) and had an ambiguous fondness for dance (in general), and folk music (in particular). Dances attracted individuals of all ages, however a significant number of events contained neither children, nor those aged over 65 years old. A wide range of organisations hosted barn dances, but they appeared to be especially popular amongst churches. Indeed, my findings illuminated a link between folk dances and the social activities of Christian groups, precipitating discussion regarding the extent to which English social folk dance is popularly conceptualised as being an asexual dance form (3:7:4).

Without aiming to be a critique of caller practice, this thesis has highlighted a number of contradictions which are likely to be of interest to the genre's practitioners. The importance of inter-peer teaching was raised as a particular area of disjuncture between prevailing teaching methods and the experiences of many attendees (3:8:3). Whilst this genre is often seen as being an inclusive dance form a number of areas of practice are unintentionally exclusive. For example: the genre's contextual associations with the (white) rural (3:10:4:2),

has the potential to exclude BAME individuals who often feel less at ease in the British countryside; emphasis on rhythmic phrasing arguably prevents attendees from completing the dance sequences at their own pace (3:8:2); limited strategies for encouraging partnering up can prevent access for individuals who attend without a dancing partner (3:9:4); and the gendered nature of dances can disenfranchise queer individuals.[2] The wide repertoire (2:6:1), and disconnect between melody and tune (3:8:2), means that repertoire familiarity is in short supply, even amongst comparatively experienced attendees. Most problematically, the structured sequenced nature of the dance, one of the reasons why it is considered to be accessible for the dance-shy, is also a factor which can prevent inclusion. Indeed, it is principally inclusion for the able-bodied but dance-shy individual, who is reassured by the structured sequence nature of the dancing. It is not necessarily inclusion of those individuals marginalised by society because of their ethnicity, age, gender, sexual orientation, or disability. Inclusion at the level of individual action and interpretation is fundamentally at odds with the genre as it is widely understood and appreciated by attendees.[3]

This thesis has suggested a number of reasons why this genre continues to appeal. In focusing on identity I expanded upon the extent to which this genre is considered to be English, and discussed the implications of this connection. The historical chapters of this thesis elucidated debates around the 'Englishness' of the repertoire for keen dancers throughout the twentieth century. The privileging of American material by the EFDSS could, ironically, be interpreted as Douglas Kennedy's way of attempting to create an English dance form, which had greater appeal than Sharp's Playford dances, and which was distinct from similar Scottish and Irish forms (2:6:3). Certainly, square dancing was promoted by Kennedy

[2] *Queer* is increasingly used as a self-referential term to denote a range of sexual and gendered orientations which differ from cis-gendered heterosexuality (Snyder 2019).
[3] This is in contrast to the approach found in community dance (Houston 2009).

in a way which emphasised the intertwined histories of England and North America. The 1970s saw a renewed interest in Englishness in social folk dance amongst the neo-traditionalist ceilidh dancers. This featured a reappraisal of available source material in both dance and music, and a turn away from the American model (2:4:2). In contrast to the debates over the Englishness of the genre which can be found amongst keen dancers, there is limited evidence of an explicit association between social folk dance and Englishness amongst the wider public. Celtic scholar Malcolm Chapman's suggestion that British folk forms are automatically perceived to be Celtic is pertinent here (1992:117), and there appears to be a wider pattern of non-identification between Englishness and social folk dance. Indeed, the use of the Gaelic word *ceilidh*, and the lingering after-image of the square dance boom which continues with the Wild West costumes seen at many dances, obfuscates any overt link with English heritage or tradition. This is reflected, perhaps, in the relative dearth of mainstream media portrayals of English social folk dance in contemporary, rather than historical dress (see 3:10:2). That there is little overt association with Englishness works well to aid the appeal of this dance form amongst the middle-class demographic which it appears to attract.

More influential than national association was the attraction of the physical manifestation of this form. Ceilidhs/barn dances are valued by participants in part because of the movement type on offer. Specifically, attendees valued structured, sequenced movement and synchronicity across dancing sets seemed to encouraged participants to conceptualise the genre as being an 'inclusive' dance form (3:9:4). The integration of teaching with the dance event is probably the reason for the success of this genre when compared to similar sequence dance styles. The importance of the caller was highlighted, with attendees struggling to conceive what a barn dance/ceilidh would look like without one (3:7:4:2). This in turn emphasised the unfamiliarity and lack of connection attendees felt to the repertoire, and the necessarily pedagogic nature of such events (2:8:1). Probably because of the tyro emphasis of

my ethnography, fun was a central and regularly articulated reason for engagement with the genre. Drawing upon social science research by Podilchak (1985, 1991) this thesis contributed to the argument that the sheer ubiquity of fun does not, in itself, constitute an acceptable reason for neglecting its consideration. In Chapter nine I explored how fun is linked by many participants not only to novelty and ineptitude, but also to the structured nature of the dances. Calling, phrasing and the balance of roles between couples in the set arguably enhances the sense of equal-ness (and thus fun-ness) amongst participants.

The value placed upon didactic, sequenced, synchronistic group movements contrasts with widespread contemporary ideas about the meaning and purpose of dance. Understudied, and undertheorized the choreographic form of this dance genre arguably adds to its neglect, and yet it presents a fascinating challenge to dominant British cultural narratives about the meaning and purpose of dance itself. Such narratives are perhaps most apparent in the debates around dance in education and the conceptualisation of dance as art. As poet and educational theorist Peter Abbs has argued, answers to the unanswerable question of what constitutes art have, during the twentieth century, largely coalesced around the modernist paradigm (Abbs 1987:10-17). This fundamentally rejects tradition and thus poses a seemingly insurmountable disjuncture between traditional, craft, or folk forms based upon pre-conceived ideas and technique, and true art, which must to follow this argument be by its very nature, be iconoclastic. Creativity based on tradition-spurning modernistic high art principles is thus valued over collective action and wisdom. When compared to this art ideal the joy and pleasure of participating in pre-directed group movement is undervalued, and the opportunity to research the appeal of movement synchronicity overlooked. Dance anthropologist Andrée Grau recently postulated the importance of synchronised rhythmic group movement as the missing link in human evolution (2015:239-240). Given the implications of such a theory, its importance deserves closer academic attention. The

possibility for widening participation in dance more generally, through teaching these dance forms, is also hobbled if pre-directed sequenced movement is automatically dismissed as unworthy.

This thesis is a diachronic and synchronic genre-focused investigation. Despite its narrowness of subject focus, its historical and ethnographic research combines to present a new interpretation for understanding dance in Britain, in particular the place of non-specialist dance events. Whilst previous studies of a number of similar social dance forms have often focused on the importance of participation to personal or national identity construction, this thesis has instead focused on the importance of fun, and the appeal of the movement type itself, offering an alternative paradigm for theorising participation, enjoyment, and sociality in and around dance events. In contemporary Britain, outside of improvisatory disco and clubbing, engagement with multifarious dance genres is often at the keen level. Barn dances/ceilidhs are unusual in being a second-choice genre for events such as weddings, charity fundraisers, and church socials events. Whilst these events, through their use of traditional/historical tunes can and do evoke feelings of heritage and community amongst attendees, a key draw of these dances appears to be the choreography. Attendees enjoy the structured, sequenced, relative unity of the dances, an aspect of movement to music which is often under-appreciated by those seeking to promote dance within non-specialist environments.

Appendices

A1:1 Writing Conventions

Specific dance and tune names are capitalised and italicised throughout. Dance figures are capitalised and use single quotes e.g. ‘Swing’.

Individuals interviewed for their knowledge of folk dance history or calling have been identified by their real name, unless they asked for anonymity. A full list of interviewees can be found in A2:5. In the text such interviews are identified by their full name (unless they requested anonymity) followed by I (for interview) and the date e.g. Ron Smedley I:3.7.17.

Individuals interviewed as dance attendees have all been anonymised and pseudonymous first names given. Short contextual biographies of event attendee interviewees can be found in A2:6. In the text dance attendee interviews are identified by a pseudonymous first name followed by I (for interview) and the date e.g. Doris I:31.7.18.

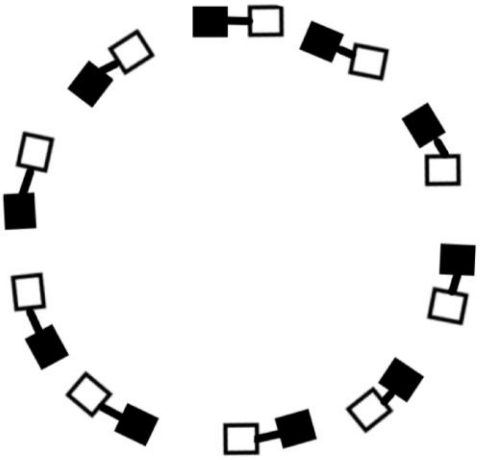
Information received via e-mail, phone call, or letter is identified within the text by the type of correspondence e.g. ‘e-mail’ or ‘letter’ with an accompanying date. A full list of personal communications can be found in the first section of the bibliography.

Appendix references are given via an abbreviation which refers to their location within the Appendices. A3:4 thus refers to Appendix 3, fourth item ‘Barn Dances by Month’.

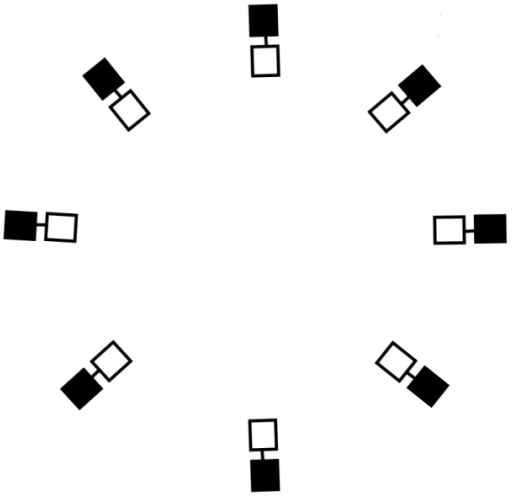
A1:2 Abbreviations

AKACB: Also Known As Ceilidh Band
BAME: Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic
BBX: Buckinghamshire Band X
BPM: Beats Per Minute
CCRPT: Central Council of Recreative Physical Training
CEMM: Chloe Elizabeth Middleton-Metcalfe
CDM/s: Community Dances Manual/s
CFC: Couple-facing-couple formation (see A1:3)
DE: Dance Example
DMPL: Duple Minor Progressive Longways
EFDS: English Folk Dance Society
EFDSS: English Folk Dance and Song Society
FN: Field Notes
I: Interview
LEA/s: Local Education Authority/Authorities
MC: Master of Ceremonies
ONS: Office for National Statistics
PTA: Parent Teacher Association
QR/s: Questionnaire Respondent/s

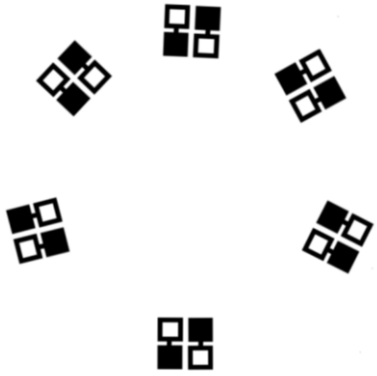
A1:3 Set Formations



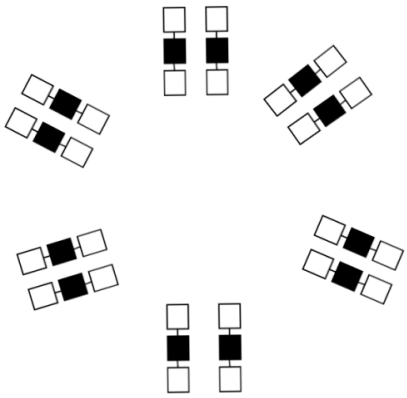
Single-ring
As used for *Circassian Circle* (A4:2/DE:2)



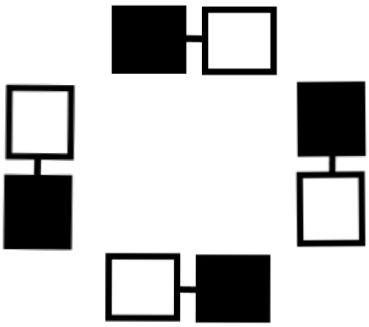
Double-ring
As used for *Heel and Toe Polka* (A4:2/DE:4)



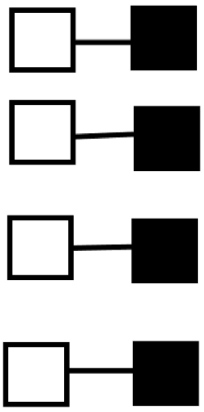
Couple-facing-couple (CFC)
Often now referred to as *Sicilian Circle*



Three-facing-three
As used for *Dashing White Sergeant*

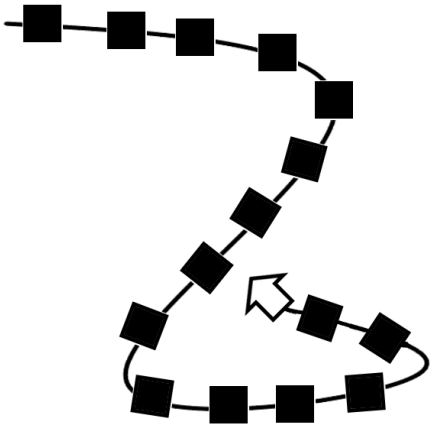


Square
As used for *She'll be Coming Round the Mountain* (A4:2/DE:6).



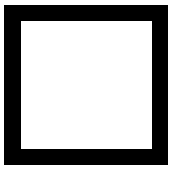
Longways formation
As used for *Strip the Willow* (A4:2/DE:7)

This diagram shows longways for four couples. More couples can be added.



Line
As used for *The Snake Dance* (A4:2/DE:8)

Key



Left hand dancer.
Often the 'male' role.
In three-facing-three the outside dancers.



Right hand dancer.
Often the 'female' role.
In three-facing-three the inside dancers.
In line formation, represents any dancer.

A1:4 Training Events

In addition to attending dance events I also attended a number of training events:

14.8.17: 'Caller: Entertainer or Teacher?' Led by Frances Richardson. The second callers workshop out of three offered at Broadstairs Folk Week.

21.1.18: The Stables Ceilidh Experience. The first workshop out of a ten-week Sunday morning course. Organised by The Stables venue, Wavendon, Milton Keynes.

10.3.18: 'Steps for Success: English Social Folk Dance Today.' English Folk Dance and Song Society. One Day Conference held at Cecil Sharp House, London.

30.4.18: Callers Workshop. Camping and Caravanning Club. Folk Dance and Song Group. Easter Meet at Uttoxeter Racecourse.

16.6.18: 'How to Teach Social Folk Dance'. English Folk Dance and Song Society. One Day Course held at Cecil Sharp House, London.

9.2.19: Callers' Development Day. English Folk Dance and Song Society. One Day Course held at Cecil Sharp House, London.

A1:5 Film Links

Film 1: Skip-step https://youtu.be/rHw7QQzFkuk
Film 2: Grapevine https://youtu.be/EI02ufAGRTA
Film 3: Rant stepping https://youtu.be/dcYAidiOcHw
Film 4: Step-hop or hornpipe https://youtu.be/PIeG-x95cEI

A1:6 Research Ethics

The research for this project was submitted for ethics consideration under the reference DAN 17/032 in the Department of Dance and was approved under the procedures of the University of Roehampton's Ethics Committee on the 26.5.2017

This appendix includes the following sample documents:

- Event Attendee Questionnaire (A2:1)
- Information Leaflet (A2:2)
- Interview Consent Forms – Optional Anonymity (A2:3)
- Interview Consent Forms – Anonymised (A2:4)

University of Roehampton London

Chloe Elizabeth Middleton-Metcalfe
Department of Dance, Froebel College, Roehampton University, London, SW15 5PJ. Middletc@roehampton.ac.uk 07500862568

An investigation into repertoires and identities within contemporary English social folk dance: Dance Participants' Questionnaire

If you would like a copy of this questionnaire in large type please just ask.

Thank you for agreeing to fill out this questionnaire. This is a private, personal survey and you do not have to share the contents with anyone. It should take about 5 minutes to complete.

☐ To complete this questionnaire you must be 18 or over, please tick to confirm that you are 18 or over

You do not have to answer all the questions. The questions will focus on yourself as a participant of the dance event. You do not have to have specialist knowledge or 'have an opinion' in order to participate.

This research is about contemporary English social folk dance. English social folk dance refers to dances at events in England such as ceilidhs, barn-dances, country and folk dances. I hope to publish my findings at conferences, in academic journals and also as a book.

This questionnaire is part of a wider research project which involves 10-20 oral history interviews, 20 interviews with well-known callers and event organisers, 10 interviews with callers from Buckinghamshire, questionnaires for dancers distributed at social folk dance events, interviews with approximately 250 dancers and archival research. The data is kept confidentially and securely and is used for research purposes only.

I agree to take part in this research, and am aware that I am free to withdraw at any point without giving a reason, although if I do so I understand that my data might still be used in a collated form. I understand that the information I provide will be treated in confidence by the investigator and that my identity will be protected in the publication of any findings, and that data will be collected and processed in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 and with the University's Data Protection Policy.

I understand that the information which I provide will be anonymised.

Name (please print)……

Signature ……

Date ……

If you have a concern about any aspect of your participation or any other queries please raise this with me or my Director of Studies.) However, if you would like to contact an independent party please contact the Head of Department.

Director of Studies, Professor Theresa Buckland, Department of Dance, Froebel College, Roehampton University, London, SW15 5PJ, Theresa.Buckland@roehampton.ac.uk +44 (0)20 8392 4482

Head of Department, Dr Ann David, Department of Dance, Froebel College, Roehampton University, London, SW15 5PJ A.David@roehampton.ac.uk +44 (0)20 8392 300

PLEASE TURN PAGE

1: How many miles did you travel to get to the dance this evening (approximately) *Please write in*

……

2: At this evening did you arrange to meet with: *Please tick all that apply*

- ☐ A partner/spouse
- ☐ Family
- ☐ Friend/s
- ☐ A date
- ☐ A club or group
- ☐ Neighbour/s
- ☐ No one

3: Out of the people here this evening, how many of them do you recognise? *Please select one*

- ☐ None
- ☐ 1-2
- ☐ 3-4
- ☐ 5-6
- ☐ 7-8
- ☐ 9-10
- ☐ 10+

4: From the list below which statements best reflect your reasons for coming to the event this evening. *Please tick all that apply*

- ☐ I enjoy all types of dancing
- ☐ I am interested/enjoy English folk dancing
- ☐ I have come to meet with family and/or friends
- ☐ I am here with a club/group or team which I belong to
- ☐ I have attended because the event is local to me
- ☐ I have come to support the charity
- ☐ I have come for curiosity
- ☐ For the exercise
- ☐ I have come out for a laugh
- ☐ …… *Please specify*

5: Over the course of your life have you been to a dance event like this before? (barn-dance, ceilidh, folk dance event) *Please select one option*

- ☐ No
- ☐ Yes - see below

If yes, **Which statement best reflects your experience of folk dance?** *Please select one option*

- ☐ I have been to one or two dances over the course of my life
- ☐ I have been to a few of these types of dances, certainly more than two, but not more than ten
- ☐ I have been to many of these sorts of dances and I would struggle to count them all up!

6. Do you consider this event to be...*Please tick all that apply*

- ☐ American
- ☐ American-British
- ☐ British
- ☐ Celtic
- ☐ Celtic-English
- ☐ English
- ☐ European
- ☐ Irish
- ☐ Scottish
- ☐ World
- ☐ …… *Please specify*

7: How would you describe your relationship to dancing? *Please select all that apply*

- ☐ I hate dancing and will avoid it at all costs
- ☐ I dance when I have to but I don't enjoy it
- ☐ Dancing is OK, I like doing it at social events
- ☐ I enjoy dancing at social events and I would like to start doing more dance
- ☐ I enjoy dancing and I dance regularly (at dance events or classes)
- ☐ I used to love to dance but now I am not able to dance that much
- ☐ ..... (*please specify*)

8: If you regularly dance *please list* **the types of dances which you participate in.** Examples of dance types include: Zumba, club/disco dance, folk dance, belly dancing, ballroom, tea dances, salsa etc.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

9: Please select which statement/s most accurately reflect your opinion about British folk music: *Please tick all that apply:*

- ☐ I strongly dislike British folk music
- ☐ British folk music is OK, but I wouldn't choose to listen to it
- ☐ I like British folk music, and will choose to listen to it
- ☐ I have learnt to play some British folk tunes/sing some folk songs
- ☐ British folk music is my favourite type of music to listen to

Space for optional comments:.....
.....
.....

10: Gender: *Please write in*.....

11: Age: *Please select one:*

- ☐ 18-24
- ☐ 25-34
- ☐ 35-44
- ☐ 45-54
- ☐ 55-64
- ☐ 65-74
- ☐ 75-84
- ☐ 85+

12: Which country were you born in? *Please write in*.....

13: How would you describe your ethnicity? (e.g Arab, Asian British, Black Caribbean, Black African, Black British, Chinese, Mixed Ethnicity, White British, White Traveller, White Irish, White French, White American, etc.) *Please write in*.....

14: What is the highest educational qualification you possess? *Please write in*
.....

15:What is your principal occupation? *If retired*, please use your former occupation *Please write in*
.....

PLEASE TURN PAGE

16: Would you like to be interviewed in the next week about your experience this evening?

- ☐ Yes – Please provide contact details in the space below (your details will only be used to contact you about being interviewed and will not be passed onto a third party)
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe - Please provide contact details in the space below

Optional contact details to arrange interviews or for research updates only:

E-mail: .....

Phone: .....

Any comments? .....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Thank you so much for completing this questionnaire. This is the first detailed study of current English social folk dance and your help is vital to the success of this project.

Please give your questionnaire to Chloe or put it in the postal box by the ticket table near the door. If you would like more time to complete this questionnaire you are welcome to take it with you and post it back. Please send it to:

Chloe Middleton Metcalfe
c/o Lisa James
Departmental Secretary
Department of Dance
Froebel College
Roehampton University
London
SW15 5PJ

END

A2:2 Information Leaflet

University of Roehampton London

Chloe Middleton-Metcalfe
Department of Dance
middletc@roehampton.ac.uk
07500862568

Hello

I am a post graduate student at Roehampton University and I am conducting research '*An investigation into repertoires and identities within contemporary English social folk dance*' for my PhD.

I will be undertaking research this evening. This will include making notes of the dance event, **filming**, taking **photographs**, asking participants to fill out **questionnaires** and recruiting some participants who might be happy to be **interviewed** within the next week or so about their experience with this dance. I am hoping to attend around 50 community based English social folk dances in Buckinghamshire during the duration of my research.

Please could you spare an hour in the next week to discuss your experiences of the dance this evening? You do not have to have 'an opinion' or the gift of the gab to do this. I am interested to hear from any participant (over 18) from the event. I would like to recruit between 5-10 people from this dance event. You could sign up with another family members or a small group of friends. The interviews would take place in a quiet, but preferably public space such as a library or meeting room. However I can work around your requirements. I hope to interview 250 individuals in total.

If you do not want to be filmed or photographed and/or you object to children under your guardianship being filmed or photographed please let me know as soon as possible.

The outputs from this research will be used in scholarly outputs publications conference papers, article journals and other published materials.

If you would like to know more about the project please feel free to talk to me, or you can contact me using the e-mail and phone number listed above.

A2:3Interview Consent Form – Optional Anonymity

Chloe Elizabeth Middleton-Metcalfe
Department of Dance, Froebel College, Roehampton University, London, SW15 5PJ. Middletc@roehampton.ac.uk 07500862568

An investigation into repertoires and identities within contemporary English social folk dance

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM – Optional anonymity

This research is about contemporary English social folk dance. English social folk dance refers to dances at events in England such as ceilidhs, barn-dances, country and folk dances. I hope to publish my findings at conferences, in academic journals and also as a book.

This interview is part of a wider research project which involves 10-20 oral history interviews, 20 interviews with well-known callers and event organisers, 10 interviews with callers from Buckinghamshire, questionnaires for dancers distributed at social folk dance events, interviews with approximately 250 dancers and archival research. The data is kept confidentially and securely and is used for research purposes only.

Interviews: The research will ask you questions about your involvement with folk dance and your responses will be treated confidentially UNLESS you would like to be publicly attributed. The interview should last no longer than one hour. The interviews will be recorded on an audio-voice recorder and will be transcribed. The interviews will take place in a quiet, preferably semi-public venue (e.g. library) which suits the interviewee.

Consent Statement:

I agree to take part in this research, and am aware that I am free to withdraw at any point without giving a reason, although if I do so I understand that my data might still be used in a collated form. I understand that the information I provide will be treated in confidence by the investigator and that my identity will be protected in the publication of any findings, and that data will be collected and processed in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 and with the University's Data Protection Policy.

Please select whether you would like to be named or not.

Please select either: ☐ I want my name and identity to be made public OR ☐ I want to be anonymous

N.B. You can change your mind regarding anonymity after the interview or at any point until the 31st of August 2019 by contacting the researcher using the details above.

Name (Please print)……

Signature ……Date ……

If you have a concern about any aspect of your participation or any other queries please raise this with me or my Director of Studies.) However, if you would like to contact an independent party please contact the Head of Department.

Director of Studies
Professor Theresa Buckland
Department of Dance
Froebel College
Roehampton University
London
SW15 5PJ
Theresa.Buckland@roehampton.ac.uk
+44 (0)20 8392 4482

Head of Department
Dr Ann David
Department of Dance
Froebel College
Roehampton University
London
SW15 5PJ
A.David@roehampton.ac.uk
+44 (0)20 8392 3000

A2:4 Interview Consent Forms – Anonymised

Chloe Elizabeth Middleton-Metcalfe
Department of Dance, Froebel College, Roehampton University, London, SW15 5PJ. Middletc@roehampton.ac.uk 07500862568

An investigation into repertoires and identities within contemporary English social folk dance

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM
Dance participants

This research is about contemporary English social folk dance. English social folk dance refers to dances at events in England such as ceilidhs, barn-dances, country and folk dances. I hope to publish my findings at conferences, in academic journals and also as a book.

This interview is part of a wider research project which involves 10-20 oral history interviews, 20 interviews with well-known callers and event organisers, 10 interviews with callers from Buckinghamshire, questionnaires for dancers distributed at social folk dance events, interviews with approximately 250 dancers and archival research. The data is kept confidentially and securely and is used for research purposes only.

Interviews: The research will ask you questions about your involvement with folk dance and your responses will be treated confidentially. The interview should last no longer than one hour. The interviews will be recorded on an audio-voice recorder and will be transcribed. The interviews will take place in a quiet, preferably semi-public venue (e.g. library) which suits the interviewee.

Consent Statement:

I agree to take part in this research, and am aware that I am free to withdraw at any point without giving a reason, although if I do so I understand that my data might still be used in a collated form. I understand that the information I provide will be treated in confidence by the investigator and that my identity will be protected in the publication of any findings, and that data will be collected and processed in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 and with the University's Data Protection Policy.

I understand that the information which I provide will be anonymised.

Name (please print) .....

Signature .....

Date .....

If you have a concern about any aspect of your participation or any other queries please raise this with me or my Director of Studies.) However, if you would like to contact an independent party please contact the Head of Department.

Director of Studies
Professor Theresa Buckland
Department of Dance
Froebel College
Roehampton University
London
SW15 5PJ
Theresa.Buckland@roehampton.ac.uk
+44 (0)20 8392 4482

Head of Department
Dr Ann David
Department of Dance
Froebel College
Roehampton University
London
SW15 5PJ
A.David@roehampton.ac.uk
+44 (0)20 8392 300

A2:5 List of Interviewees

Buckinghamshire Folk Dance Memories:

1. Beckworth, Elizabeth (23.1.18)
2. Benfield, Andy (4.10.17)
3. Boothman, Janet (5.2.18)
4. Browne, Dillon (17.10.17)
5. Carden-White, Andrena (28.11.17)
6. Conway Read, Deborah (18.12.17)
7. Egan, Pam (16.1.18)
8. Field, Jan (16.3.18)
9. Gates, Kathryn (Whittaker) (24.1.18)
10. Kilpin, Sue (26.11.17)
11. Maris, Derek (5.10.17)
12. McMurray, Tony (1.10.17)
13. Ricketts, Linda (28.4.18)
14. Sara, Chris (12.10.17)
15. Scott, Jane (22.10.17)

Callers - Buckinghamshire

1. Adams, Bob (31.8.17)
2. Anonymous female Buckinghamshire caller (19.2.2018)
3. Anonymous male Buckinghamshire caller (24.10.17)
4. CallersDirect, Alan (22.11.17) - e-mail
5. Gleave, Delia (19.2.2018)
6. Malleson, Sue (7.9.17)
7. Rooke, Tim (21.8.17)
8. Symon, Valerie (5.11.2017)
9. Zakis, Janis (4.12.2017)
10. Zakis, Jo (4.12.17)

Callers - National

1. Aitken, Ivan (2.11.17)
2. Anonymous Male London Caller (28.9.17)
3. Elliott, Rachel (18.4.18)
4. Goddard, Sean (14.9.17)- skype
5. Goodman, Barry (23.1.18)
6. Jones, Derek (16.1.18)
7. Musser, Helen (30.3.18) – skype

Oral Histories

1. Anonymous Buckinghamshire former special needs teacher (24.7.17)
2. Anonymous male musician (12.11.17) - e-mail
3. Barclay, Les (3.11.17)
4. Bignell, Richard (13.7.17)
5. Campbell Jewitt, Diana (5.12.17) alias Diana Jewitt
6. Clifton, Sheila (21.9.17)
7. Dimmer, Irene (2.8.17)
8. Evett, Don (1.8.17)
9. Fennessy, Marjory (30.8.17)
10. Foxworthy, Tony (23.11.17)
11. Hall, Brian (21.4.17)
12. Hall, Reg (13.10.17)
13. How, Jill (2.11.17)
14. How, John (2.11.17)
15. Hunt, Dave (10.10.18)
16. Kemp, Faith (19.9.17)
17. Kemp, John (19.9.17)
18. Marriott, Roger (17.7.17)
19. Miller, Hazel (18.12.17)
20. Moyles-Maton, Vera (28.7.17)
21. Porter, Garth (15.1.18)
22. Rippon, Hugh (11.7.17)
23. Smedley, Ron (3.7.2017) and (2.11.17)
24. Tynan, Ann (15.1.18)
25. Vaughan, Patricia Pauline (18.10.17)
26. Wilson-Jones, Mike (1.11.17)

A2:6 Anonymised Biographies of Interviewed Event Attendees

Camilla: MK international festival I: 20.8.18

In the late 1960s Camilla did country dancing and ballet at her all-girls school in Yorkshire. She recalls going to ceilidhs as a child because her mother was Scottish. There were ceilidhs at the weddings of her cousins. She was a primary school teacher with a music specialism, now retired she still plays piano. Camilla has lived in a village near Olney since 1995, for ten years this village held an annual St Andrews night with Scottish dancing. She had a ceilidh for her 60th birthday.

Doris: Age UK I:31.7.18

Born and raised in South America, Doris contrasts her experiences of English life to her experiences of South America. Her first experience with ceilidh or barn dance was in Madrid. Her daughter, who had gone to university in Warwick had joined the ceilidh society there and had convinced her mother to attended the ceilidh in Spain. Doris had also attended a ceilidh at a family wedding in Scotland which she had not enjoyed at all because it was not called. Back in England Doris had seen the ceilidh advertised and had brought along friends from her choir and a bereavement group associated with her church.

Edward and Julia Baker: MK international festival I:1.8.18

A retired mathematician Edward is also a passionate dancer and has taken ballet classes. He met his wife though morris dancing, which he discovered as a post-graduate student at university. He has since belonged to a number of different teams. Through involvement with morris he became aware of ceilidh dancing. When he and Julia first moved to Milton Keynes from the south coast they would attend the regular dances held in Woburn Sands.

Living in Leighton Buzzard Julia is a retired primary school teacher who is passionate about dance. Whilst doing her teacher training as a mature student in 1983 Julia learnt about modern educational dance. Julia was born with a muscular/skeletal problem with her feet and as a result she can find it difficult to balance. After getting interested in folk song she joined a female morris dancing team in her early twenties and got into ceilidh dancing through morris. She learnt to call dances and would also teach country dancing at school from time to time.

Elsie: Rotary Barn Dance I: 3.7.18

I caught up with Elsie again at the MK international festival dance after meeting her at a Rotary dance. In her early 50s, she works part time as an invigilator for school exams. She has attended a number of barn dances/ceilidhs including a 50th birthday party and a wedding anniversary. She recalls doing non-specific dance at school and also ballroom dancing when accompanying her father to events. Her husband does not like dancing and so her opportunities are now more limited.

Emily: Tingewick I: 21.3.18

Emily moved to Buckingham from London and works as a carer. She has a muscle problem in her legs and uses a walking aid. She used to attend social dance classes in Buckingham doing waltz, swing, and jive. She is in her early 40s with mixed ethnic heritage. I met her when she was at her first barn dance/ceilidh which she attended with friends.

Emma and Connie: MK international festival I:3.8.18

Mother and daughter currently living in Milton Keynes. Connie is a keen musician playing brass, ukulele and guitar. Emma and Connie are both very dance aware, Emma's sister is a professional choreographer. Emma estimates they have been to about 6 barn dances/ceilidhs over Connie's lifetime. When they lived in the Peak District they recalled going to a dance which was held as part of the Wakes celebrations. When they moved to Milton Keynes the local ecumenical church used to hold barn dances. They attended the previous bi-annual ceilidh at the International Festival.

Hannah: Stony Stratford I: 13.6.18

Born in Germany Hannah has lived in Milton Keynes for over ten years and is now in her mid-40s. She has been to barn dances/ceilidhs for weddings and has attended a local annual open-air barn dance for a number of years with her children. However, she did not dance at the last event because she has a back problem.

Jade: Tingewick I: 19.3.18

Lives in Buckingham and works as a nurse. She is in her late 30s and is passionate about dance. She is looking forward to finishing her qualifications so that she can spend more time dancing. At one point she was a semi-professional dancer being booked with a DJ to dance at childrens parties. She has danced 'a bit of everything' including salsa and ceroc but I met her at her first barn dance. She thought that it would be a bit like line dancing but concluded that it was very different.

Matt: MK international dance I: 31.7.18

Retired Matt was pressured by his wife into being interviewed by me. He recalls being taught Scottish dances at school. He has attended and danced at quite a few barn dances/ceilidhs for different events, a recent dance being for the employees of the building society he used to work for. He used to be a more confident dancer. He has recently had a knee operation and has been increasingly reluctant to dance as he has got older. He sat out the ceilidh where I was researching.

Michael: Tingewick I: 19.4.18

In his early 50s Michael works in London planning new housing developments. I met him when he was visiting his parents who had recently moved to a village in Buckinghamshire. They were using the dance event as an opportunity to meet more of their neighbours. Michael avoids most forms of dancing and had not intended to participate that evening. However, he did dance with his mum. She was a more confident dancer and goes to the line dancing classes which are held in the village hall. When asked about similar dancing events he recalled a line dancing festival he had seen on holiday in France.

Odette and Lucy: Age UK I: 13.7.18

Mother and Daughter. Odette lives in Milton Keynes but Lucy has left home to study music and maths at a Welsh university. Odette works for a local charity, she was brought up in Cornwall and remembers village dances from her younger days, these were often to recorded music. In contrast Lucy's first ceilidh was at a course she attended for traditional music in Ireland and she also attended a Burns Night in Cardiff.

Ollie: MK international festival I: 2.8.18

In his mid-20s Ollie is currently taking his MA in philosophy. I met him at his second ceilidh, the first was in Scotland and was part of his girlfriend's graduation party. After visiting Bucharest and seeing men dancing in a Salsa club Ollie decided to take up tango lessons.

Patsy: MK international festival I: 31.7.18

Patsy grew up in Catford, London. She went to ballet classes as a young girl and later went to discos. Although she does not remember doing folk/country dancing at school she tells me her sons, who went to school in Milton Keynes had square dancing classes. She believes that her first barn dance/ceilidh was probably at a church event when she was in her early teens. She is passionate about ceilidhs/barn dances and had a ceilidh for her 50th birthday. She is sad there are not more dances in Milton Keynes, but recalled some held by local churches for their harvest festival a couple of years ago.

Rebecca: Age UK I: 10.7.18

In her late teens Rebecca is a university student in Warwick. I met her at a ceilidh when she was home for the holidays. She first became introduced to ceilidh dancing at ATE (Active Training and Education) day holiday camp for 8-16 year olds. When she joined university, they had a ceilidh club and she started to attend.

Sophie: Age UK I: 9.7.18

Sophie was born in Scotland, but moved to England when she was quite young. She works as a teacher and music co-ordinator in a Milton Keynes primary school. Sophie never did formal dance training, apart from a brief period of ballet when she was very young, but considers herself to be a competent dancer. She recalls big family parties when they lived in Scotland with her parents and grandparents doing ceilidh or ceilidh-type dances. Her parents used to do northern soul dancing, and her mum also used to do Salsa and taught Sophie some moves in the kitchen. When she went to university, she attended a ceilidh which was her first one as an adult.

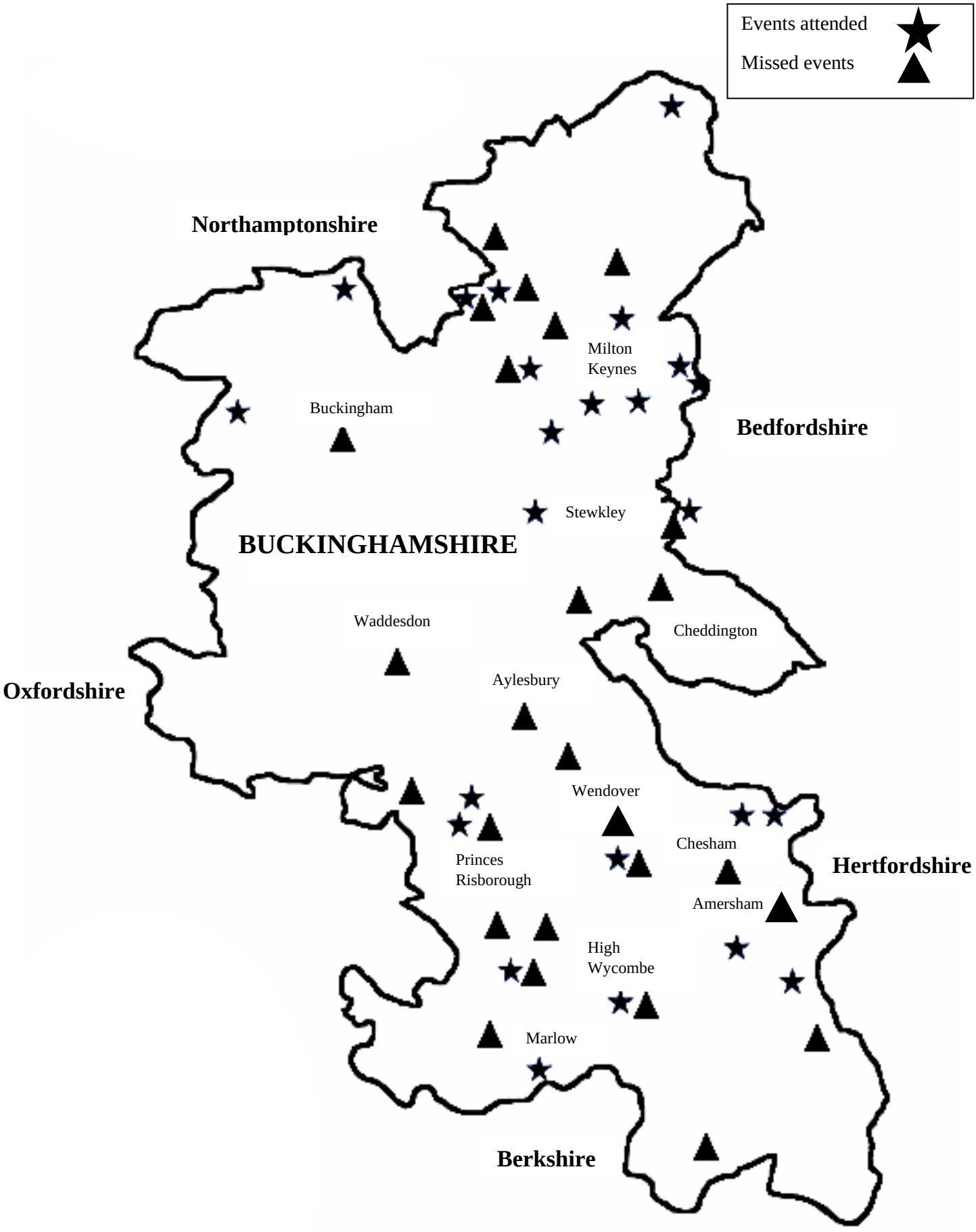
Tabitha: Stony Stratford I:11.6.18

Born in the mid-1960s Tabitha remembers doing country dancing to a radio programme in primary school, where they had to pair up with boys. She recalls really enjoying the dances, particularly *The Gay Gordons* and *Strip the Willow* and as teenagers she and her sister used to be the odd ones out who would do these old dances at parties. She used to sing for an occasions band in the 1980s, recalling that the annual Hunt Ball would request the sequence dances *The Gay Gordons* and the *Dashing White Sergeant* when no other event would. She did not dance at the barn dance at which I met her, she was conscious of her weight and the open daylight of the event.

A2:7 Video and Audio Recording Chart

Date	Film	Audio	Questionnaires	Notes	CEMM Calling?
8.7.17	Y		Y		Y
22.7.17	Y		Y	Y	
29.7.17	Y		Y		Y
5.8.17	Y		Y	Y	
16.9.17	Y		Y	Y	
23.9.17		Y	Y	Y	
30.9.17	Y		Y	Y	
7.10.17	Y		Y	Y	
21.10.17				Y	
22.10.17		Y	Y	Y	
11.11.17	Y		Y	Y	
11.1.18	Y		Y		Y
13.1.18	Y		Y	Y	
4.2.18		Y		Y	
17.2.18	Y		Y	Y	
24.2.18a		Y		Y	
24.2.18b	Y		Y	Y	
10.3.18	Y		Y	Y	
17.3.18	Y		Y	Y	
18.3.18	Y		Y	Y	
27.4.18	Y		Y	Y	
2.6.18	Y		Y	Y	
8.6.18				Y	
19.6.18				Y	
23.6.18				Y	
5.7.18	Y		Y	Y	
29.7.18	Y		Y		Y
5.8.18				Y	
8.9.18	Y			Y	
29.9.18	Y				Y

A3:1 Buckinghamshire Event Map



A3:2 Attended Events

Date	Place	Organiser	Entrance	Food	Event Title
8.7.17	Old Farm Park, Milton Keynes	Milton Keynes Roots School	Ticketed £5	LR	Ceilidh and Barn Dance
22.7.17 Annual est.1986	Lillingstone Lovell	An informal village committee	Ticketed £15	CPF	Barn Dance and Hog Roast
29.7.17	Stony Stratford, Milton Keynes	York House Community Centre	Free	£HPF	Family Barn Dance
5.8.17 Annual est.1982	Monks Risborough	Rotary	Ticketed £15	HPF	Charity Barn Dance and BBQ Supper
16.9.17	Hounslow Hall Estate	Project Dirt (Offline Festival)	Admittance with festival ticket (£100+)	NF	Ceilidh
23.9.17	Stewkley	Cricket Club	Ticketed £15	HPF	Barn Dance
30.9.17	Marlow	Marlow Round Table	Ticketed £20	HPF	Barn Dance
7.10.17 Annual est.2016	Bellingdon	Woman's Village Committee 'Bellingdon Belles'	Ticketed £15	HPF	Barn Dance
21.10.17 annual event est. 2011/2012	Sands	Liaisons (an over 50s singles club)	Ticketed £8	BAPTS	Daphne's Barn Dance
22.10.17 twice annually est. 2008	Amersham	Chiltern Folk Association	Ticketed £5	BAPTS	Family Tea Dance
11.11.17 annual est.2016	Lavendon	Rotary + Village Hall Committee	Ticketed £11	BYOF	Family Barn Dance
11.1.18	Stony Stratford, Milton Keynes	Women's Institute	Private	BAPTS	Ceilidh

Date	Place	Organiser	Entrance	Food	Event Title
13.1.18 annual event est.?	Lavendon	Camping and Caravanning Club: Home Counties Folk Group Division	Ticketed £8	CPF	Winter Dance and Ploughman's Supper
4.2.18	High Wycombe	Church (RC)	Ticketed £8	BAPTS	Family Barn Dance
17.2.18	Stony Stratford, Milton Keynes	Private individual: 70th birthday party	Private	HPF	The organiser described it as a ceilidh
24.2.18	Princes Risborough	U3A	Ticketed £8	CPF	Jane Austen Tea Dance
24.2.18	Great Missenden	Church (CofE)	Ticketed £10	HPF	Barn Dance
10.3.18	Tingewick	Village Hall Committee	Ticketed £10	£HPF	Barn Dance
17.3.18 annual est. 2004	Linslade	Ouzel Valley Ranters (the band). For OxJam	Donation	LR	Oxjam Barn Dance
18.3.18 Every other year est. 2009	Wavendon Milton Keynes	The Stables Music Venue	Ticketed £7	NF	Ceilidh Experience Concert and Dance
27.4.18 annual est.2013/4	Shenley Church End, Milton Keynes	Rotary	Ticketed £13.50. £12.50 if booked early	CPF	Barn Dance
2.6.18 Annual est.1998	Stony Stratford, Milton Keynes	Stony Live! Committee	Free	NF	Family Barn Dance
8.6.18	Bletchley, Milton Keynes	A primary school (RC)	Private	CPF	Barn Dance
19.6.18	Woburn Sands, Milton Keynes	Girl Guides - Trefoil Guild	Private	N/D	Barn Dance

Date	Place	Organiser	Entrance	Food	Event Title
23.6.18 Every other year est. 2016[?]	Farm nr. Chalfont St Giles	Rennie Hospice	Ticketed £20	HPF	Beaconsfield Barn Dance
5.7.18	Shenley Church End, Milton Keynes	Age UK	Ticketed £5 (+65p booking fee)	BYOF	Ceilidh
29.7.18 Every Other Year est. 2016	Campbell Park, Milton Keynes	The Stables Music (Milton Keynes International Festival)	Ticketed (£14+booking fee) or Free with Festival Ticket	NF	Ceilidh Liberation Front
5.8.18 annual est. [1970]	Wavendon, Milton Keynes	National Youth Music Camps	Private	NF	Barndanceceilidh or ceilidhbarndance
8.9.18 annual est. 2013	Ashley Green	Church (CofE)	Ticketed £15	LR	Barn Dance
29.9.18	Wolverton, Milton Keynes	Wolverton Urban Farm and Food Bank	Donation	HPF	Family Barn Dance

Note

Ticket price is given for a single non-concessionary adult.

Food Key

NF	No food provided
HPF	A hot plate of food typically a hog roast, BBQ, or chilli. Often with pudding to follow
£HPF	Hot plate of food available to purchase
CPF	A cold plate of food, typically a ‘ploughman's’
LR	Light refreshment: cake, biscuits, crisps, and similar
BAPTS	Bring a plate to share at a communal sharing table
BYOF	Bring your own food, to share as you choose, normally with those at your table

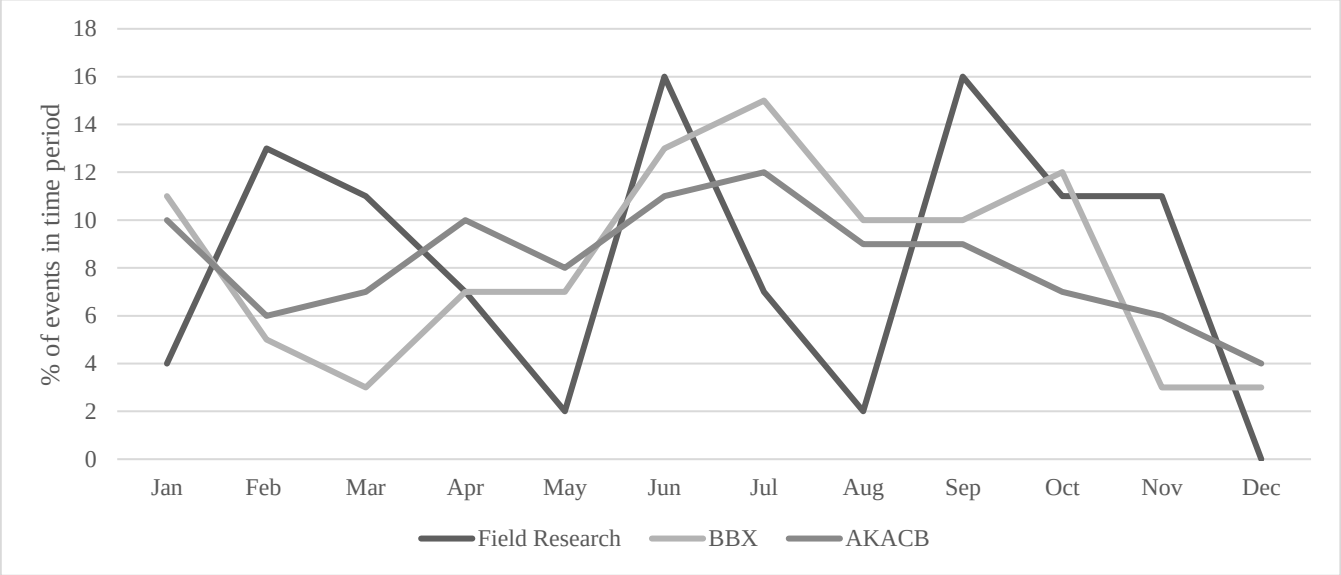
A3:3 Missed Events

1st of July 2017 – 21st of December 2018

Date	Place	Organiser or Cause	Entrance	Event title
1/07/2017	Farnham Common Village Hall	Farnhams and Hedgerley Community Church	N/D	Barn Dance
29/07/2017	Great Missenden	Lighthouse. Christian Children's Camp	N/D	Barn Dance
29/07/2017	Hughenden Village Hall	Wyspas (performing arts society)	£12.50	Barn Dance [with Tickled Pink Ceilidh Band]
29/07/2017	Leighton-Linslade	Canal Festival	Free	Ceilidh
23/09/2017	Severalles Farm, Ilmer	Village Event	£15	Barn Dance
16/09/2017	Loudwater	St Peter's Loudwater and the Loudwater Forum	£10	Barn Dance
16/09/2017	Shenley Village, Milton Keynes	Retirement Complex event	N/D	Barn Dance
16/09/2017	Mentmore Village Green	St Mary's Church, Mentmore	£22.50	Barn Dance
07/10/2017	High Wycombe	Chiltern Music Academy - Instrument Fund	£10	Barn Dance
28&29.10.17	Waddesdon Manor	Event: Halloween party including a barn dance.	As part of wider event	Barn Dance and Ceilidh Show
16/11/2017 CANCELLED	Cruck Barn, Milton Keynes	MacIntyre charity fundraiser	£15	MacIntyre Barn Dance
18/11/2017	Newport Pagnell, Milton Keynes	Bridge Builder (Christian group)	£12	Barn Dance
25/11/2017 CANCELLED	Wolverton, Milton Keynes	Wolverton Top Club (Working Man's Club)	N/D	N/D
20/1/2018	Wendover	St Mary's Church	£15	Burns Night Barn Dance OR Burns Night
24.2.2018	Great Missenden	Great Missenden Parish Church - St Peter & St Paul. To support refugees	£10	Barn Dance
24/2/2018	Aylesbury	Charity	£10	Ceilidh
Date	**Place**	**Organiser or Cause**	**Entrance**	**Event title**

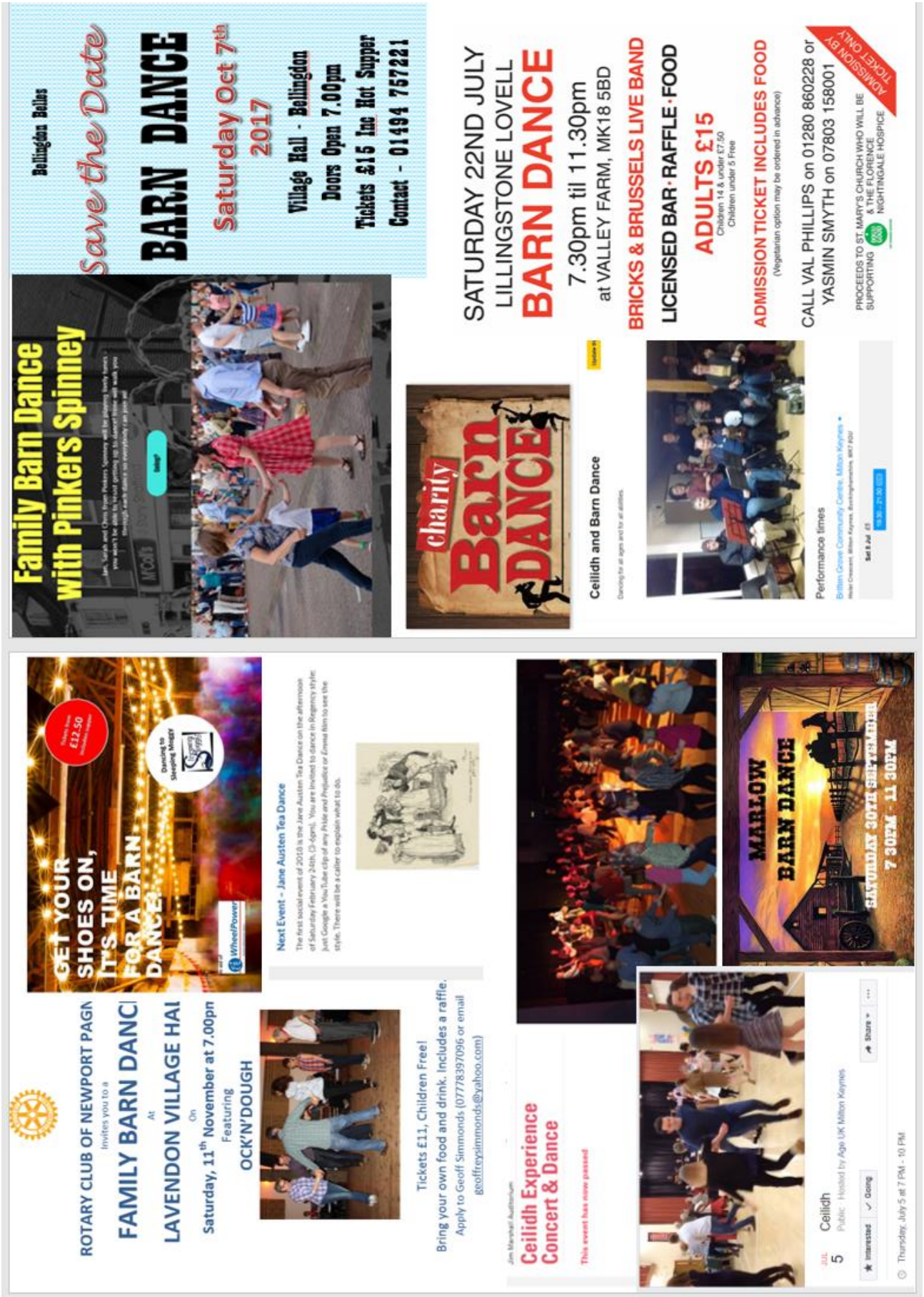
10.3.18	Chalfont St Peter	Charity: Guide Dogs	£15	Barn Dance
24.3.2018	Weston Turville Wells	Charity: Weston Turville Wells for Tanzania.	N/D	Barn Dance
21/4/2018	Ley Hill, Chesham	King's Church (Indep.)	N/D	Barn Dance
6.5.2018 CANCELLED	Wingrave	Swing Dance MK	£18 or £24 including afternoon swing dance	The Swingrave Barn Dance.
9.6.18.	Stony Stratford, Milton Keynes	Part of the Stony Live! Festival	£5	Hoe Down
16.6.2018	Princes Risborough	Princes Risborough Evening W.I. for the Princes Centre	£10	Charity Ceilidh
16/6/18	Princes Risborough	WI – charity event	£10	Ceilidh
1.7.18 CANCELLED	Missenden Abbey	Missenden Walled Garden charity	£10	Ceilidh
15.9.2018	High Rews Farm near Marlow	Marlow Refugee Action and Mission Burundi 2019 with Great Lakes Outreach.	£18	Barn Dance
6.10.2018	Naphill	St Michael and All Angels	N/D	Harvest Barn Dance
13.10.2018	Buckingham Parish Church (CofE)	Church event	£9	Barn Dance
13.10.2018	Chesham	Chesham Musical Theatre Company	£20	Barn Dance and Tinies Awards Night
24.11.2018	High Wycombe	St James's Church (CofE)	£15	Ceilidh/Barn Dance

A3:4 Barn Dances by Month



BBX: Buckinghamshire Band X. Paper copy of booking information given to CEMM.
AKACB: Also Known As Ceilidh Band. Information from: http://www.also-known-as.org.uk/availability.html (Accessed April 2019)

A3:5 Images: Examples of Online Advertising

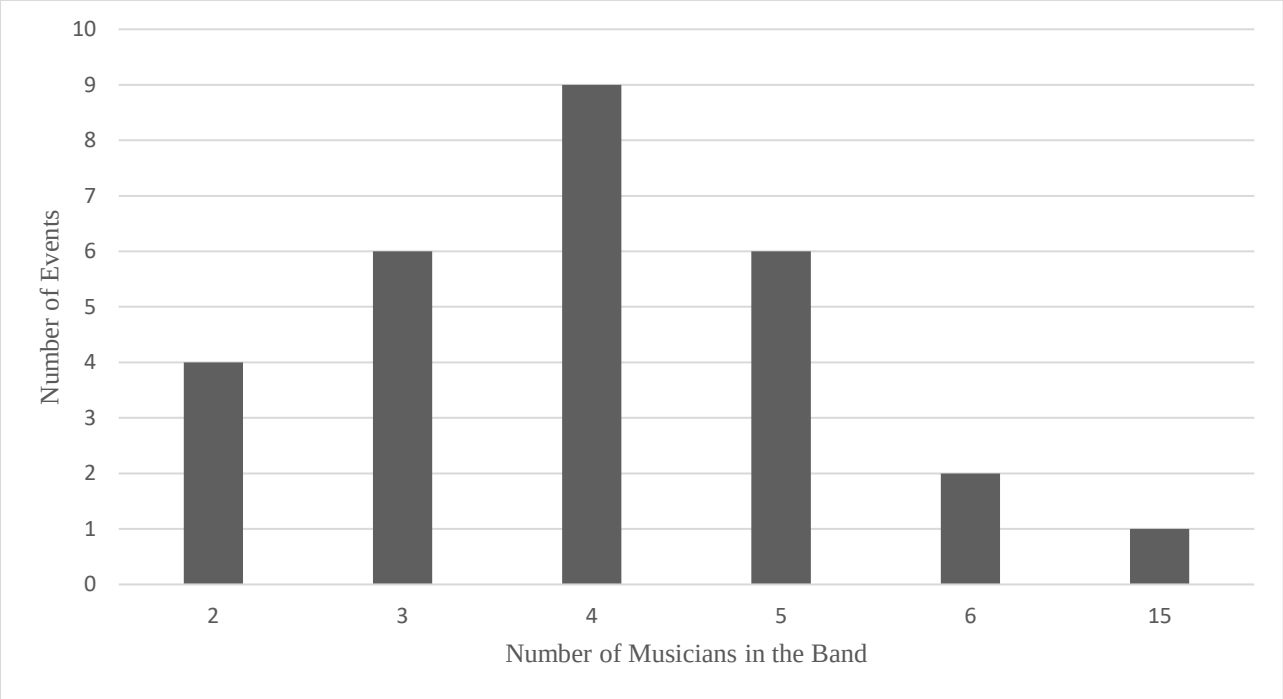


A3:6 Images: Examples of Physical Advertising



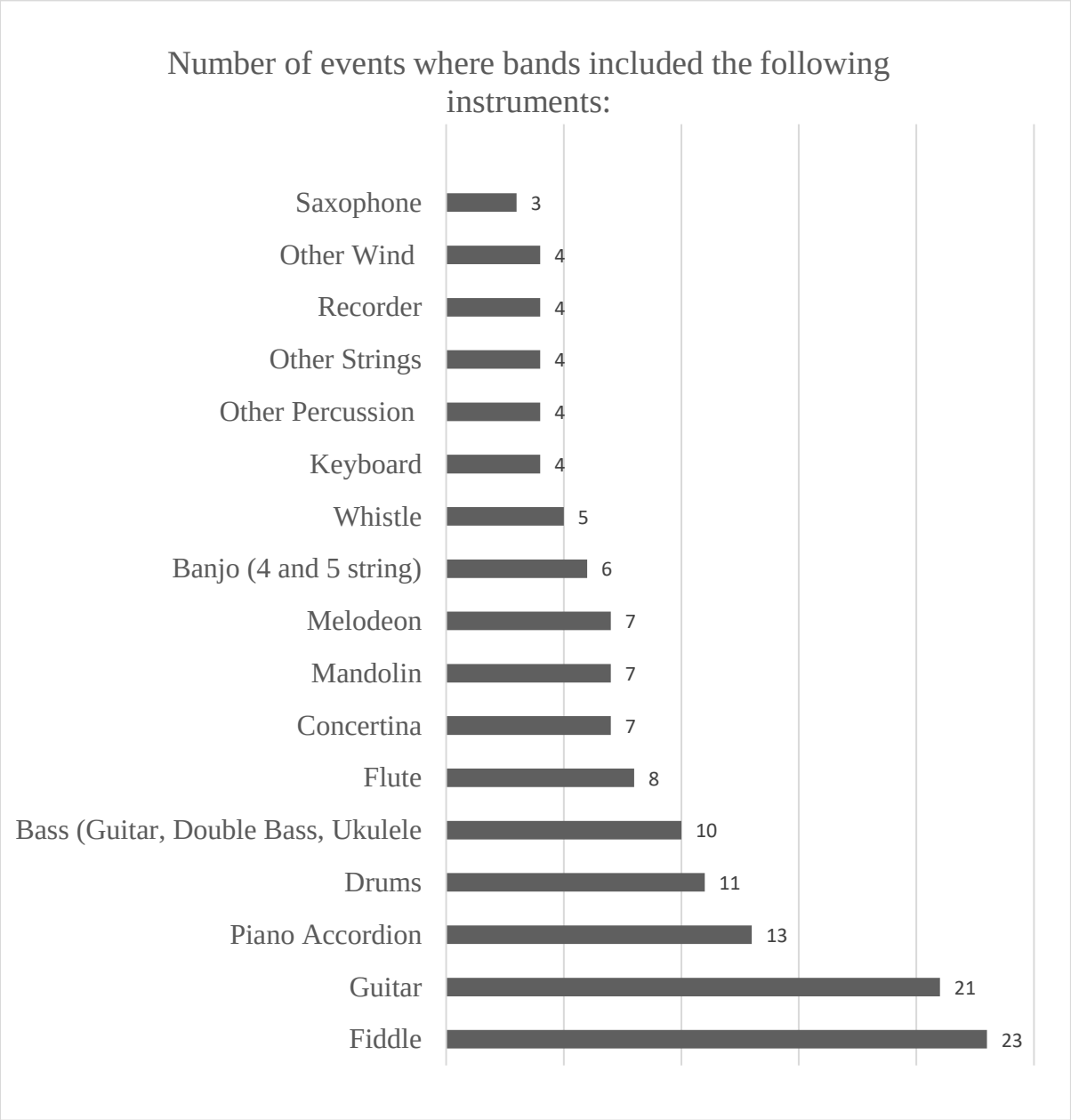


A3:7 Number of Musicians in the Band



NB: The five different bands in the Ceilidh Experience showcase (three with six members and two with five members) have been excluded from this chart, as the numbers in the band were dictated by the organisers of the workshops.

A3:8 Instruments



Notes

Other wind includes: clarinet, bagpipes, harmonica
Drums includes: drum kit, bodhran, tambourine, cajon, single drum, electronic drum
Other percussion includes: bones, bells, spoons
Other strings includes: banjar, dobro, bouzouki, harp

This chart does include Ceilidh Experience participants. It also includes data from three events where my own band Innocent Hare was playing and I believe the popularity of the concertina noted here is not representative of the field more generally.

A3:9 Decorations, Layouts and Venues 22.7.2017





23.9.2017



CEMM



24.2.2018









30.9.2017


#YEE HAW


HAIG
CLUB


PRICE LIST
Prosecco £15
White wine £15
Red wine £15
Rebellion IPA £3.50
Rebellion Lager £3.50
Cider £3.50
Gin in a Tin (with ice and a slice!) £3.50
Soft Drinks - Selection £2
Jagerbombs (It may help with the dancing...) £3



24.2.2018





7.10.2017


RAFFLE
Tickets £1 a strip
PRIZES
Hamper of Local Produce
(except Prosecco and chocolate – no vineyards or cocoa plantations in Bellingdon yet!)
Two bottles of Prosecco
(to bring sparkle to the Autumn)
A bowl of cyclamen.
(for some Seasonal colour)


Cheatham
Metcalfe


EXIT

17.3.2018







18.3.2018



2.6.2018








Pinkers Spinney
Talk to us now about your next event or Phone 07940 852110

5.7.2018



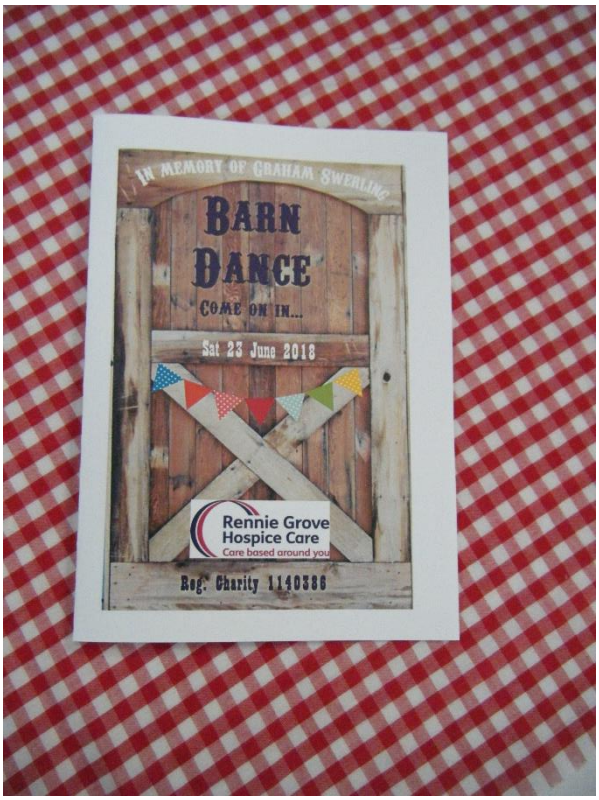


23.6.2018


Rennie Grove
Hospice Care
Care based around you
01442 890222
renniegrove.or






IN MEMORY OF GRAHAM SWERLING
BARN DANCE
COME ON IN...
Sat 23 June 2018
Rennie Grove
Hospice Care
Care based around you
Reg. Charity 1140388



29.9.2018





16.9.2017




CONNECT
IGNITE
OFFLINE
PLAY
LEARN
FESTIVAL
FERGUS ARKLEY
MARK GORDON
WHAT HAPPENS WHEN YOU PUT BUSINESS IN COMMUNITY HANDS
£1 BN/YEAR PASSES THROUGH COMMUNITY BIZ
LIBRARIES
POWER TO CHANGE
OWNED & RUN BY COMMUNITY
PUBS!
OYSTERS!
• RESEARCH
• NETWORKING
• FUNDING
• PEER SUPPORT



A4:1 Most Popular Dances

Dance Name	Set Formation	Callers/21	Dances/30
Circassian Circle	Single-ring	16	25
Strip the Willow/Drops of Brandy	Longways	10	13
Cumberland Square Eight	Square	9	10
Bridge of Athlone	Longways	8	8
Snowball	Longways	7	10
Dashing White Sergeant	Three-facing-three	7	9
Lucky Seven	Single-ring	7	9
The Snake Dance/Farandole	Line	4	7
Coming Round the mountain	Square	4	5
Flying Scotsman	Longways	4	4
Virginia Reel/ Sir Roger De Coverley	Longways	4	4
Heel and Toe/Patacake Polka	Double-ring	3	4
OXO reel	Longways	3	4
Blaydon Races	Single-ring	3	4
Clopton Bridge	Longways	3	3
The Gay Gordons	Couple	3	3
Holmfirth Square	Square	3	3
I Wanna be Near You	Square	3	3
Muffin Man	Double-ring	3	3
Ninepins/ Monkey in the Middle	Square (normally)	3	3
Norfolk Long Dance	Longways	3	3
Ping	Longways	2	4
Barn Dance	Couple	2	3
Rebecca's Roundabout	Three -facing-three	2	3
Boston Tea Party	Longways	2	2
Buttered Peas	CFC	2	2
Military Two Step	Couple	2	2
Nottingham Swing	Longways	2	2
Oi Dance	Double-ring	2	2
Witches Reel	Longways	2	2
Goathland Square Eight	Square	2	2

A4:2 Dance Examples

DE:1 Bridge of Athlone

Dance: Bridge of Athlone **Date:** 22/10/18 **Place:** Amersham
Event Type: A family dance, one of two held annually by the Chiltern Folk Association (formally Buckinghamshire EFDSS District).
Music: Unknown Tune **Time Signature**: $\frac{4}{4}$ **BPM:** 114
Duration of dance: 4.18
Formation: Five couple longways sets: Couples stand facing each other, men on the left hand side women on the right. There are ten people, or five couples to each set. Top couple are nearest to the band.
Figures: **(bars of music)**

1) **Lines:** The dancers hold hands along their lines (not with their partner). The lines go forward to meet and back. They drop hands and cross over with their partner. Repeat. (8)
2) **Gallop:** The top couple takes two hands with their partner and gallops down the middle of the set and back up to place. Most other dancers clap. (4)
3) **Single Cast:** The top couple separates and leads back down their own line on the outside, to the bottom of the set. The rest of their line follows. (4)
4) **Arches:** At the bottom of the set the top couple makes an arch and the other dancers go under the arch and back up the set. In new positions (one position up from initial places) all the other dancers (not the top couple) make arches, forming a tunnel. The caller directs: 'if there is a he and she the lady goes up the middle and the man comes up the outside… and then swap over the man goes down the tunnel and the lady goes down the outside'. The top couple are now at the bottom of the set. (6-8)
5) **Swing**: The caller makes it clear that there might or might not be time for a swing, which should only be done, they direct, if there is spare music. (0-2)

At the end of the dance people bow or curtsey to their partners, some women bow and some curtsey, most men bow. This is done without a verbal prompt.
N.B: Taken from an audio recording and notes, there is limited detail on holds and stepping.

DE:2 Circassian Circle

Dance: Circassian Circle **Date**: 17.2.2018 **Place:** Stony Stratford
Event Type: 70th birthday party held in a local community centre.
Music: Lanigan's Ball/Irish Washerwoman **Time Signature**: $\frac{6}{8}$ **BPM**: 113
Duration of dance: 3.52
Formation: Single-ring. Couples (or groups of three), stand shoulder to shoulder in one large circle around the room.
Stepping Most participants execute the dance using a walking step with a gentle spring.

Figures **(bars of music)**

1) Standing next to their partner/s, most male/female couples have the men on the left and the women on the right. Everyone joins hands in a large circle and moves into the middle and back out again, twice. (8)

2) All the women then enter the circle, clapping on the fourth beat and whooping, they then move back to place. The men do the same. If two women are dancing together they might both enter the circle on the women's turn, or one might enter on the man's turn. (8)

3) Partners and threes swing. A diversity of embraces are employed. One couple grips each others arms in a gentle hug, a second couple link right arms at the elbow. A third couple use a 'ceilidh swing' that is they have their right arms around each others' waist, (between their partner's side and elbow), their left hands joined in front of their bodies. In a fourth couple one of the pair crosses their arms, joining right arm to right arm left to left, elbows bent, torsos close. (8)

4) Promenade. Couples (and trios) link arms together and move anti-clockwise around the room. (8)
Many couples use a shoulder promenade hold. That is the man's right arm on the woman's right shoulder their left arms clasped near the centre of the man's chest. Other couples have both arms crossed in front of their bodies left arm to left arm, right arm to right. (8)

DE:3 Cumberland Square Eight

Dance: Cumberland Square Eight **Date:** 22/7/17 **Place:** Lillingstone Lovell
Event: Annual village barn dance, held in a barn.
Music: My Love is But a Lassie Yet/Atholl Highlanders **Time Signature**: $\frac{4}{4}$ & $\frac{6}{8}$ **BPM**: 114/118
Duration of dance: 3.30
Formation: Square sets for four couples. *Head* couples are the couple facing the band and the couple with their backs to the band. The other two couples are *side* couples.

Figures **(bars of music)**
1) Gallop: Head couples cross places 'galloping' across the set to the opposite couples place and then turning around to return. Most couples use a closed waltz hold (referred to as a ballroom hold) with the pointed end extended away from their torsos. This is copied by the side couples. Many couples either do a small jog or else a step-close. (16)
2) Stars: Head couples join their right hands into the middle of the circle and walk forward for 4 bars, at which point they turn and put their left hand into the star. Side couples do the same. (16)
3) **Basket**: Head couples move into the centre of the circle and put their arms around each other, they then turn left. Many participates use a side-close step. Side couples do the same. (16)
4) **Circle**: All join hands and circle left, some participants use a side-close step, others have their right leg crossing in front of their left. (8)
5) **Promenade:** Most participants use a front crossed arm promenade (as in DE:2). Many take one step per beat with a bouncy undulation. (8)

DE:4 Heel and Toe Polka alias Patacake Polka

Dance: Heel and Toe Polka **Date:** 2/6/2018 **Place:** Stony Stratford
Event Type: Free family-orientated barn dance in the town square part of a local festival.
Music: Cripple Creek **Time Signature**: $\frac{4}{4}$ **BPM:** 106
Duration of dance: 6.35

Formation: Double-ring. Two concentric circles, one partner in the middle of the circle facing out and one partner in the outer circle facing in. This dance has a high number of child participants.

Figures **(bars of music)**

1) Participants hold both hands with their partners. The side of their bodies are turned into the middle of the circle. With their inner foot they place first the heel then the toe on the floor, one per beat of music. Repeat. They then take four steps into the middle of the circle moving sideways. (4)
2) The dancers then repeat figure 1, this time going out of the circle. The caller instructs that couples hold hands with both arms outstretched (image one), as the dance progresses many dancers adopt a closed waltz hold, others hold their partners arms at a roughly 90 degree angle from their torso. (4)
3) **Clapping:** In pairs participants use the following sequence as directed by the caller, one clap per beat; right hand (x3), left hand (x3), own knees (x3) both hands to partner (x3). (4)
4) **Swing:** Most use a right elbow linked arm swing. With varying degrees of neatness, they change partners by breaking off the swing and partnering with the dancer moving towards them. (4)



Outstretched arm hold taught for the Heel and Toe Polka.
Film still from fieldwork. Author's collection.

DE:5 Lucky Seven

Dance: Lucky Seven **Date:** 27/4/2018 **Place:** Milton Keynes
Event Type: A evening dance held by Milton Keynes Rotary in a large community hall/sports centre.
Music: Fiery Clockface /Unknown **Time Signature**: $\frac{6}{8}$ **BPM**: 122
Duration of dance: 5.09
Formation: Single-ring. Standing in couples, the dance starts with most men on the left and the woman on the right (there are nine all women couples).

Figures **(bars of music)***

1) All the participants join hands and circle left. When circling left most take one step per beat crossing their right foot over their left. They dance in a large circle with arms outstretched. Most male-female partners stand with the woman on the right. (4)

2) Still holding hands the dancers enter the circle. They then move back out to the perimeter of the room raising their hands and thus reducing the space between them. They repeat figure two. (4)

3) **Grand Chain**:** The dancers turn to face their partners and extend their right hands towards them, pulling them past (1). The dancers then extend their left hands toward the person coming towards them (2). They repeat this alternating right and left hands until they reach person number seven. You can hear the dancers counting the numbers. Most walk the grand chain freely, not timing their steps to the music. (6)

4) **Swing:** Swing the new person. Most swing using a cross hand hold. A number pause waiting for the call or the music phrase after reaching their partner to commence the swing. (2)

Last time only: The caller announces to find your original partner and give them a swing.
* This is an ideal version as presented by the caller. In reality figures one and four were often extended. In these instances, the caller repeated instructions to find someone and swing them and delayed the next phrase until most dancers were paired up.
**Figure three regularly went wrong with individuals turning around in the grand chain. Dancers would often cross the space to find individual to partner with.

DE:6 Coming Round the Mountain

Dance: Coming Round the Mountain **Date:** 17.3.18 **Place:** Linslade
Event Type: Fundraiser for Oxfam. Afternoon family-orientated event held in a church hall.
Music: Coming Round the Mountain **Time Signature**: $\frac{4}{4}$ **BPM**: 120
Duration of dance: 3.50
Formation: Square. Couple number 1 with their backs to the band, the couple to their right are number 2, the couple facing the band number 3, and the last couple number 4.

Figures **(bars of music)**

1) **Promenade:** Lead couple/s (1 then 2, 3, 4. Then 1&3, 2&4. Then all) promenade around the set holding hands. The other dancers make a 'mountain' in the middle, hands outstretched skywards and standing in a clump. When promenading most participants use a skip two three and a front crossed promenade hold (see DE:2). (4)
2) **Stars:** Leading couple does a right hand star with their opposite couple, their hands joined in a pile in the middle. (4)
3) **Do-si-do**: Everyone does a back to back with their partner walking forwards, sideways to the right and back into place. They repeat this with their left shoulders. Most participants walk one step to the beat and do this movement with their arms crossed in front of them. This fits the line of the song "I will if you will so will I" and participants shout "yee-ha!" in response. (4)
4) **Turn:** Most couples link right arms to turn, using a skip step. (4)

DE:7 Strip the Willow alias Drops of Brandy

Formation: Longways. Some version stipulate how many couples.

Dotted lines indicate different instances of the dance by the same caller

BPM: Beats Per Minute
Wm = Woman/Women
DD: Dance Duration
Dance titles indicated in **bold**
CSTW: Continuous Strip the Willow
M = Man/Men
STW = Strip the Willow Figure
Tune names (where identified) in *italics*

Strip the Willow (STW): 'first couple turning each other with right arm and contrary partners with left arm, working down the set' (Clark and Evans 1964:15).
Continuous Strip the Willow (CSTW): Top couples STW to the bottom of the set. After they have gone down the set four or so couples the next top couple STW

Source	Time Signature and Tune	Figure 1	Figure 2	Figure 3	Figure 4
*Burchenal (*1913:8-9) **Strip the Willow**	$\frac{9}{8}$ *Drops of Brandy*	Half STW. Wm strip M's line to the top	Half STW. M strip Wm's line to the bottom	Top couple STW to the bottom of the set	None
CDM3 (1954:5) **Drops of Brandy**	$\frac{4}{4}$ *Ka-foo-zalum*	Half STW. Wm strip M's line to the top	Half STW. M strip Wm's line to the bottom	Top couple STW to the bottom of the set	None
Strip the Willow 22.7.17 DD: 6.22	$\frac{6}{8}$ *Stool of Repentance* BPM:122	Top M and bottom Wm swing	Top Wm and bottom M swing	Top couple STW to the bottom of the set	All swing
Strip the Willow 8.6.18	$\frac{4}{4}$ *Rattling Bog* No BPM	Top couple gallop down the set	At the bottom top couple cross over and cast up	Top couple STW to the bottom of the set	All swing
Strip the Willow 11.11.17	$\frac{4}{4}$ Latvian tunes BPM: 119 deliberate tempo increase to 154	Top M and bottom Wm swing	Top Wm and bottom M swing	Top couple STW to the bottom of the set	The top couple arch over the Wm's and the M's line to the bottom of the set

published versions

versions collected during field research

Strip the Willow 4.2.18 DD: 4.53	$\frac{4}{4}$ *Nae Luck About the House* BPM: 73	Top couple down the set	At the bottom cross over and cast up	Top Wm leads the M's line around the Wm's line. Then the top M leads the Wm's line around the M's line	The top couple STW down to the bottom of the set
24.2.18 **Drops of Brandy** DD: 8.12	$\frac{9}{8}$ *Fox Hunter's Jig/A Fig for a Kiss* BPM: 124	Half STW. M strip Wm's line to the bottom	Half STW. Wm strip Men's line to the top	Top couple STW to the bottom of the set	
Strip the Willow 29.7.17 DD: 3.16	$\frac{4}{4}$ *Soldier's Joy* BPM: 96	CSTW	CSTW	CSTW	CSTW
11.1.18 DD: 4.12	$\frac{6}{8}$ *Sweets of May* BPM:117	CSTW	CSTW	CSTW	CSTW
29.9.18 DD: 3.42	$\frac{4}{4}$ *Navvy on the Line* BPM:68	CSTW	CSTW	CSTW	CSTW
Strip the Willow 5.8.17 DD: 7.09	$\frac{9}{8}$ *Foxhunters* BPM:128	CSTW	CSTW	CSTW	CSTW
10.3.18 DD: 6.53	$\frac{6}{8}$ *Hot Punch* BPM:119	CSTW	CSTW	CSTW	CSTW
Strip the Willow 16.9.17 DD: 7.28	$\frac{6}{8}$ into $\frac{9}{8}$ into $\frac{4}{4}$ *Butterfly/Cooley's* BPM:125	CSTW	CSTW	CSTW	CSTW
Orcadian Strip the Willow 27.4.18 DD: 5.49	$\frac{6}{8}$ *Moll in the Wad/Bello Horizonte* BPM:126	CSTW	CSTW	CSTW	CSTW
Strip the Willow 29.7.18 DD: 6.01	$\frac{9}{8}$ *The Butterfly/Kid on the Mountain* BPM: 131	CSTW	CSTW	CSTW	CSTW

versions collected during field research

DE:8 The Snake Dance

Dance: The Snake Dance (this dance was not identified or given a name by the caller)
Date: 16/9/2017 **Place:** Hounslow Hall Estate **Time Signature**: $\frac{6}{8}$
Music: Cliffs of Moher/Drummond Castle **BPM:** from 120 to 124
Duration of dance: 3.07
Formation: Line. A long line not subdivided into partners. People hold hands which are relaxed by their sides in a resting position.
Figures: These coincide roughly with the change in phrase of the music but not exactly. The caller is amongst the dancers and is leading the patterns. The dance is in a tent around a central pole.

1) The caller leads the line left winding into itself in a clockwise direction around the central pole.
2) The caller then turns right, leading the line back in on itself, after uncurling from the pole the line circles right around the space with all the dancers facing out.
3) The caller then leads the dancers around the room, around seats, tables, and watchers.
4) Leading back into the central space the caller makes a two handed arch with the dancer next to him. The other dancers come through the arch and then also make arches. The caller then leads through the arches, the other following.
5) When all the dancers are through the tunnel made of arches the caller circles left again, this time the dancers are facing out rather than in to the circle.
6) Still leading left the caller proceeds to wind the chain of dancers around the pole in the middle of the tent before calling an end to the dance.

At first most of the participants are walking, but at the end many are using a single skip step (with a low knee rise) one step per beat. This is the step the caller, who is leading the dance is using.

DE:9 The Snowball

Dance: The Snowball **Date:** 7/10/2017 **Place:** Bellingdon
Event Type: A fundraising village event organised by a local group of women.
Music: Dingle Regatta/Sweets of May **Time Signature**: $\frac{6}{8}$ **BPM:** 113
Duration of dance: 8.15

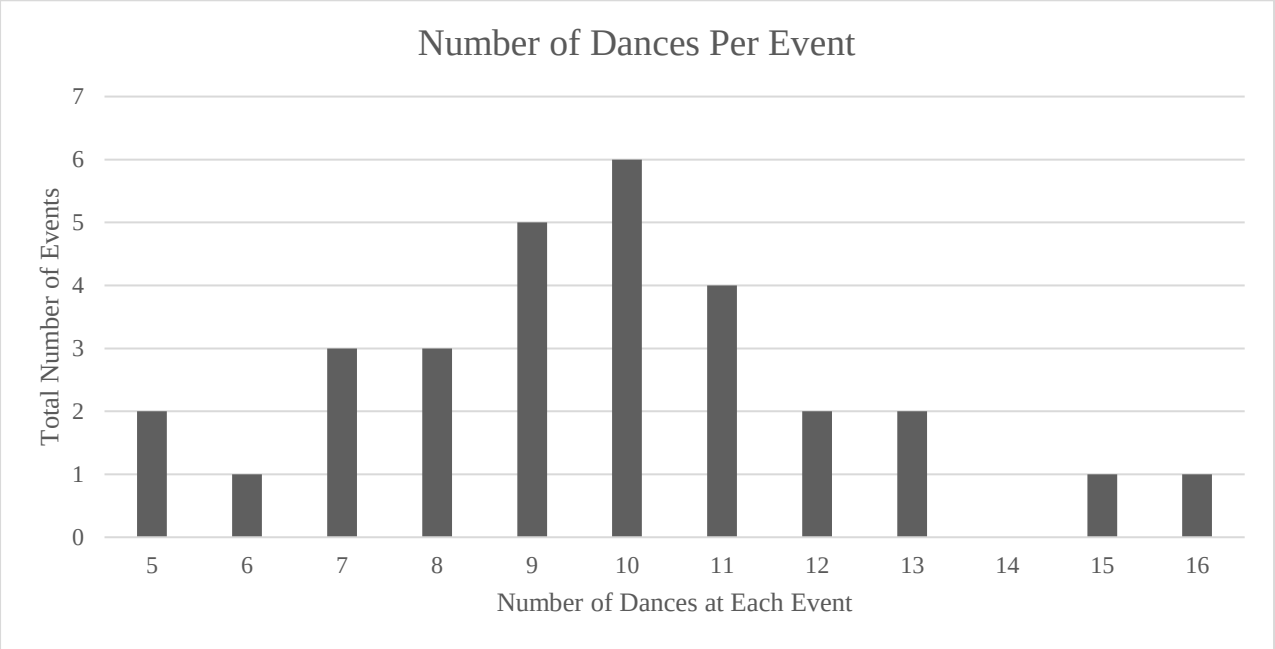
Formation: Longways set for five couples.

Figures **(bars of music)**

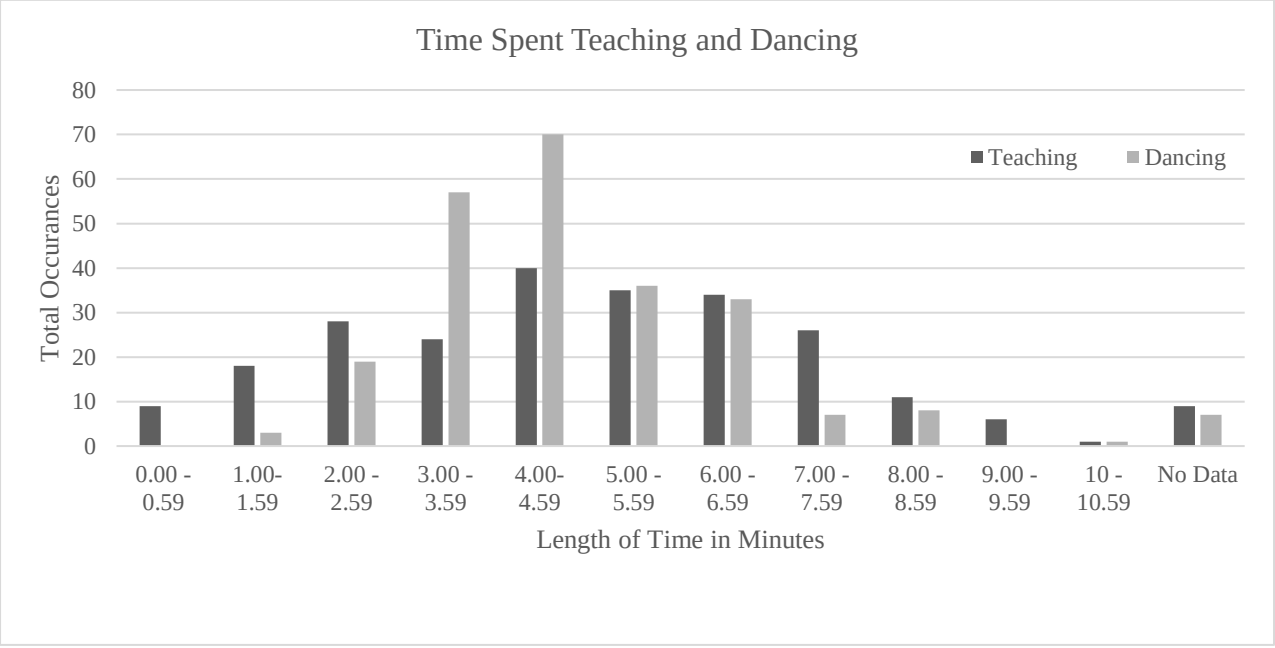
1) Top couple turn each other with the right arm and then with the left. Most couples link bent elbows and walk one step per beat. (4)
2) Top two couples right hand star then left hand star. Hands are joined in one central clump. (4)
3) Top three couples circle left and then circle right. Some dancers use a side-close step, others cross their right foot in front of their left, some skip. (4)
4) Top four couples forward and back. Two couples kiss each other briefly on the lips. Dancers take one step per beat. (4)
5) Everybody do-si-do, passing right shoulders (see Coming Round the Mountain). Dancers take one step per beat. Most do not cross their arms, but one or two do. (4)
6) Fifth couple gallop up to the top of the set holding both of their partner's hands uncrossed (side-close step). Other dancers clap. (4)
7) At the top of the set cast out and return back to their place at the bottom of the set. Simultaneously the top couple gallop down to the bottom of the set, many use a side-close step. Other dancers clap. (4)

Final: Instead of figure 7 the caller asks everyone to swing their partner and then asks them to honour their partners. Many but not all participants bow to their partners.

A4:3 Average Number of Dances Per Event



A4:4 Time Spent Teaching and Dancing



A4:5 Circassian Circle Music Selection

Bands recorded more than once

Band	**Date**	**Tune Name**	**Metre**	**BPM**
MKRS	8.7.17	Cock of the North	Jig	127
	8.6.18	Lord of the Dance	Common	No Data
	19.6.18	Lord of the Dance	Common	No Data
IH	29.7.17	Timour the Tarter	Common	108
	11.1.18	My Wife is a Wanton Wee Thing	Jig	114
	29.9.18	Sweets of May	Jig	129
CLF	16.9.17	Rakes of Kildare	Jig	121
		Larry O'Gaff [or similar]	Jig	125
	29.7.18	Cliffs of Moher	Jig	126
		Jump at the Sun	Jig	126
BB	7.10.17	Brighton Camp	Common	110
		Irish Washerwoman	Jig	117
	23.6.18	Brighton Camp	Common	105
		Irish Washerwoman	Jig	114
PS	2.6.18	Lanigan's Ball	Jig	117
		Irish Washerwoman	Jig	117
	17.2.18	Lanigan's Ball	Jig	113
		Irish Washerwoman	Jig	113
TP	4.2.18	Good Humour	Common	109
		Irish Washerwoman	Jig	121
	22.10.17	Good Humour	Common	111
		Irish Washerwoman	Jig	125

Abbreviations

MKRS: Milton Keynes Roots School
IH: Innocent Hare
CLF: Ceilidh Liberation Front
BB: Broad Band
PS: Pinkers Spinney
TP: Toucan Play

Bands Recorded Once

Date	Tune Name	Metre	BPM
5.8.17*	Marching through Georgia	Common	113
	My Old Man Said Follow the Van	Common	113
	BBC Jig	Jig	117
23.9.17	Weasel's Revenge	Common	116
	Puffin Island	Common	116
30.9.17	Rakes of Mallow	Common	109
	Good Humour	Common	109
	Irish Washerwoman	Jig	126
11.11.17	Uncle Bernard's Polka	Common	105
	Rochdale Coconut Dance	Common	105
24.2.18	Old Joe Clark	Common	123
10.3.2018	McPhail's Welcome to Hell	Jig	130
18.3.18	Irish Washerwoman	Jig	121
27.4.18	Jamie Allen	Common	115
	Rakes of Mallow	Common	115
5.7.18	Jamie Allen	Common	93
8.9.18	The Jaywalker	Jig	122

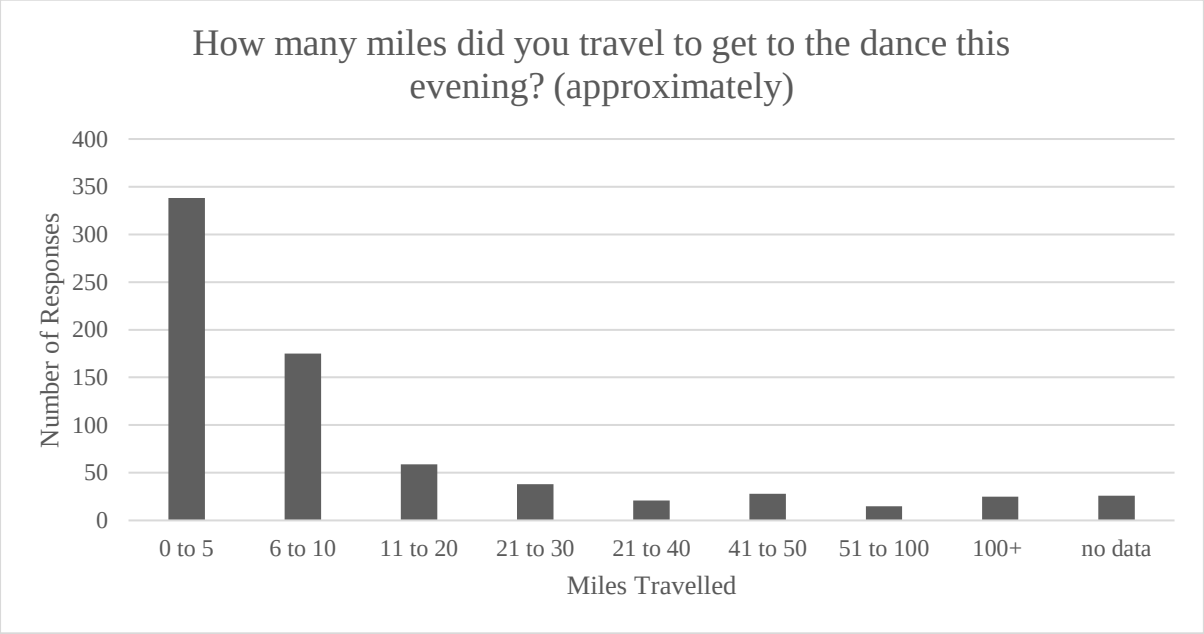
*Alternates between all three tunes.

A5:1 Response Rate

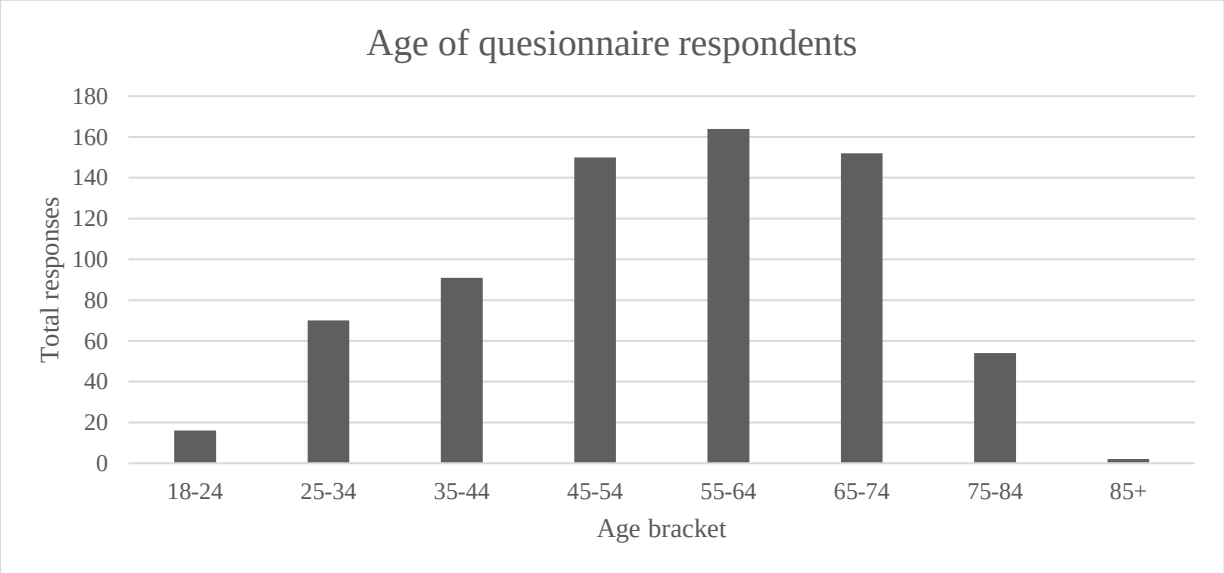
Number of attendees and % of questionnaire respondents.

Date	Maximum Number of Attendees	Number of Completed Questionnaires	Response Rate
8.7.17	21	11	52%
22.7.17	130	17	13%
29.7.17	N/A	6	N/A
5.8.17	141	20	14%
16.9.17	135 (present at the festival)	23	17%
23.9.17	57	39	68%
30.9.17	75	31	41%
7.10.17	44	22	50%
21.10.17	55	0	N/A
22.10.17	35	30	86%
11.11.17	57	35	61%
11.1.18	N/A	29	N/A
13.1.18	68	45	66%
4.2.18	58	0	N/A
17.2.18	84	48	57%
24.2.18	40	0	N/A
24.2.18	32	32	100%
10.3.18	55	49	89%
17.3.18	21	19	90%
18.3.18	163	68	41%
27.4.18	89	51	57%
2.6.18	168	65	39%
8.6.18	350	0	N/A
19.6.18	46	0	N/A
23.6.18	162	0	N/A
5.7.18	52	32	62%
29.7.18	174	52	30%
5.8.18	N/A	0	N/A
8.9.18	30	0	N/A
29.9.18	N/A	0	N/A
Additional Responses (not dated)		2	N/A

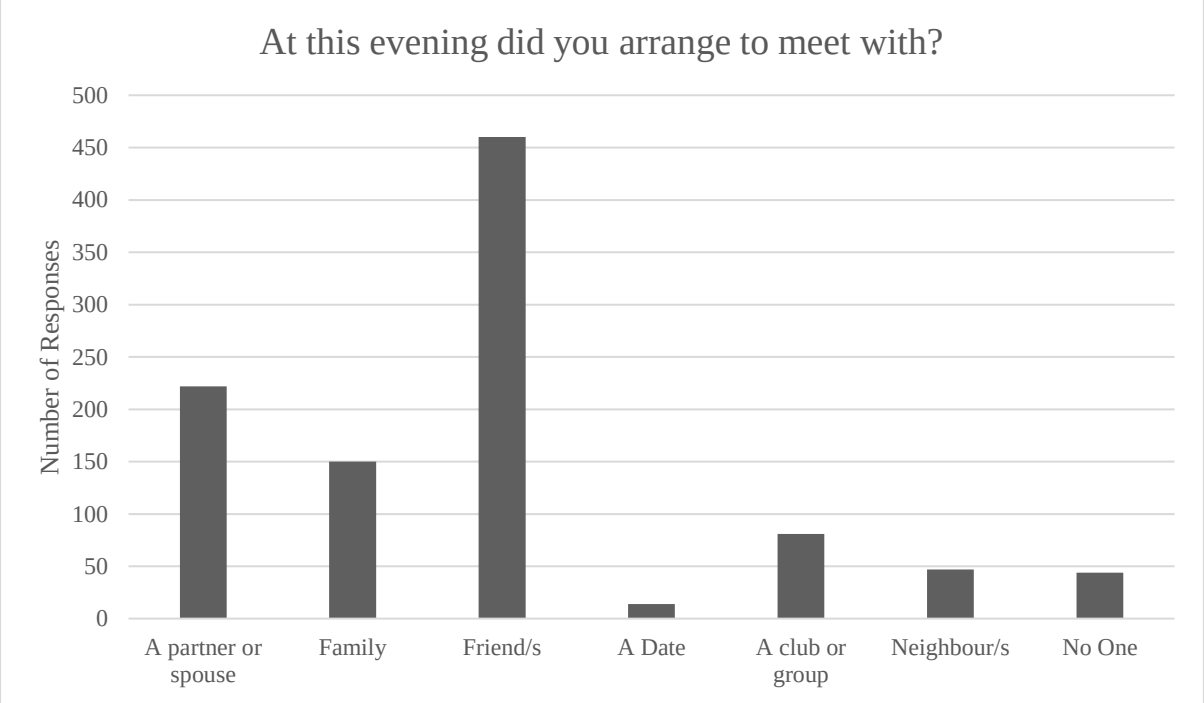
A5:2 Miles Travelled



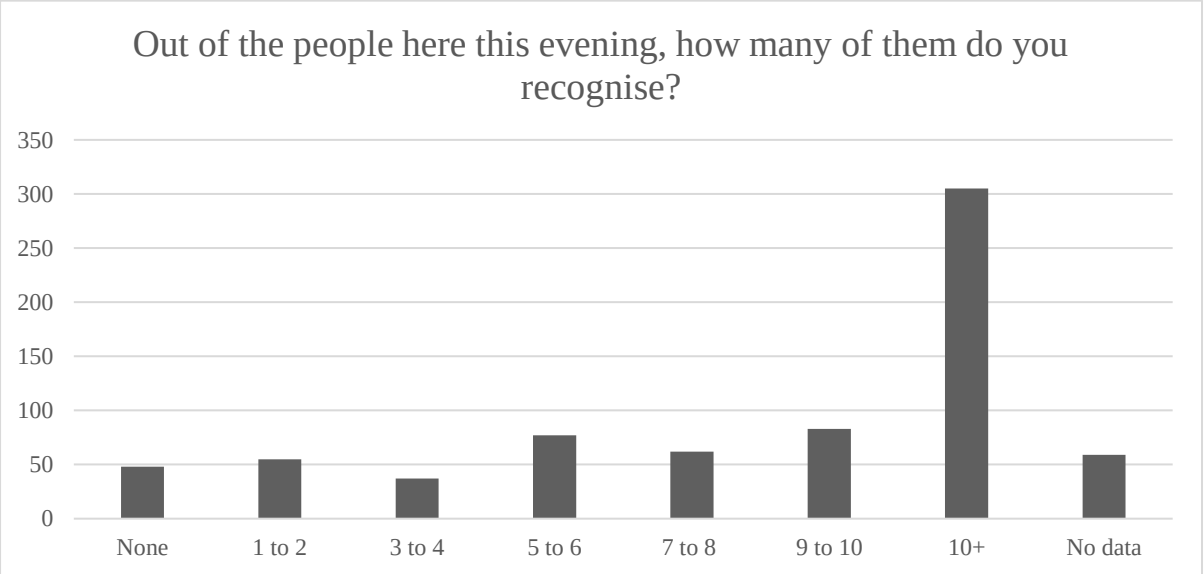
A5:3 Age



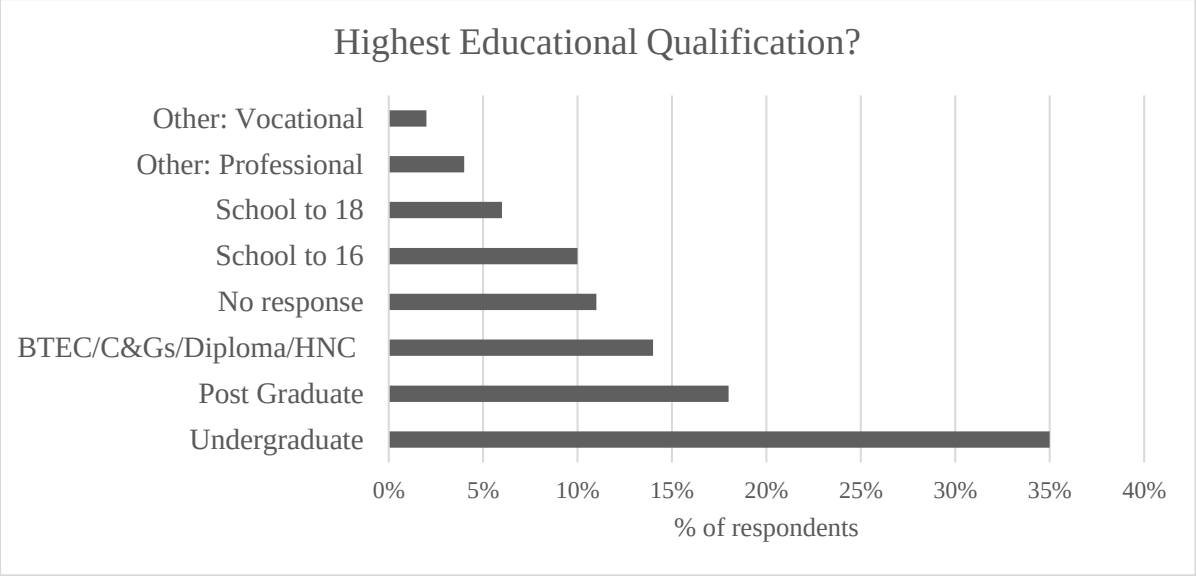
A5:4 Who Did Attendees Arrange to Meet With?



A5:5 How Many People Did they Recognise?



A5:6 Educational Qualifications



Notes:

1) Multiple qualifications given by the same respondent were only recorded once.
2) Categories included the following qualifications (continued on the next three pages).

Other Vocational

Electrotechnical level 3
Engineering Qual.
Mechanical Eng. Technicians Part II
Library Assist. Qual.
Secretarial
Upholstery Machinist
Nursery Nurse NNED
FEMA
GPD
IAB Level 3
RSA English secretarial training

Other Professional

A.C.B.
ACCA
Accountant
ACIB
AHIMI [AMIMI?]
ALA
Association of Accounting Technicians
Chartered Engineer
Cima
CIPD
CLE
Diplomat
FCA
FCA
FcMA
LRIC
Med.
MIET Eng.
Molecular Biologist
MSCSP
Professional
Professional ACCA
Psychology Certificate
RIBA
Royal Society of the Arts English
Solicitor's Finals
Vet Med

BTEC/C&Gs/Diploma/HNC

Ad.Van Dip. SEN
Adv. Diploma
Art, Diploma
BTEC
BTEC HND
C&G full tech
City and Guilds
City&Guilds, NVQ
college
Dip in Ind. Management
Diploma
EE prt 3 degree equiv + DMS
H.N.C. Mechanical Engineering
Higher National cert. Electrical and electric eng
HNC mech eng
HND
HNDC
L2 Diploma
L3 Diploma
NHD
Nurse Registration Nursing
Nursing Dip.
NVQ
NVQ3
PGCE
Registered Nurse
RSAT diploma
SRN SCM [Nursing]
State registered nurse and therapeutic counsellor
Teacher Training
Teachers Cert
Teaching Diploma
Tertiary level language diploma

Post Graduate

Doctor of Medicine, Postgrad
Doctorate
Dphil
Fellow ins. Biomedical science
Fellowship of Institute of Medical Science
Lecturer

M Phil
MA
Master
Masters and Q.C.
MBA
MSC
Msc and Diploma social research
MSC MBA FCA
PhD
PhD, RIC
Post Grad Dip
Post grad research
Post Graduate
Post-Grad Degree
post-graduate Diploma

Undergraduate
1st Class Honours
B ed. With Hons
B eng.
B. Soc Sci Jt. Hons
B.A. (hons)
B.Ed (hons)
B.Ed degree
B.Eng
B/Ed hon degree
BA
BA/hons
BA/RSCN/SRN/HV ETC.
Bachelor
Bdc
B'Ed
BENG
BEng
B-Phil
Bs
BSc
Bsc degree
BSC Econ
Bsc Eng. (hons)
BSc Hons
BSC hons & ACMA
BSc Maths
BSC PGCE
Bsc(hons)
Bsc. PGCE
BscHons
Degree
Degree (Batchelor)
Degree (Eng. Lit)
Degree (hons)
Degree and Accounting
Qualifications
Degree BA
Degree BA hons
Degree Ben
Degree- Bsc
Degree Engineering 2-1
Degree equiv
Degree level -teacher
Degree(hons)
Degree, post grad qualifications
Degree/Chartered
Degree
First Degree
Grad.
Honours Degree
Honours Degree
Hons Degree
Nursing Degree
OT Degree
Oxford
Undergrad BA War Studies
Undergraduate
Uni
Uni Degree
University
University
University Degree
University Degree BA

School Education 18
A level higher maths
A Levels
A levels (well not just yet results day soon!)
A levels, Marketing diploma
A levels/prof qual.
AS biology
As law
Scottish Highers

School Education 16
0-levels
7 GCSE
Certificate

Cert. Ed
Cert. Diploma
CGCSE/GNVQ
CSE
GCE
GCE and university of life
GCE 'O'
GCE/O-level
GCSE
GCSE and Vocational Qual
GCSE O-level
GSE
History O
O Levels
O/A levels, Diploma/NNEB
O/L
OL&RSA

A5:7 Occupation

Responses have been altered to standard spelling, some replies have also been abbreviated but I have not changed the use of terminology. Many replies are ambiguous and I have categorised them to the best of my ability.

Where multiple occupations were given I have retained these pairings using a slash to separate them e.g. Project Manager/Electrical Engineer. Multiple occupations have been put in both categories and thus double counted, unless the jobs have been allocated to the same category.

Retirees: Retired respondents were asked to supply their former occupation. Instead of doing this a number of respondents put 'retired'. These responses have not been individually listed here. See A4:3 for comparison.

Unknown: A number of QRs left this section blank or put in other responses not connected to employment.

61	Teachers
54	Managers (General)
51	Clerk/Admin
38	Manual Trades
37	Unknown/No response
35	Information Technology and Computing
30	Nurses and Midwives
29	Engineers and Architects
27	CEOs, MDs and similar
27	Office (other)
27	Other
24	The Arts
22	Housewife/Mother
22	Finance and Insurance
19	Retail/Sales
18	Student and Unemployed
18	College and University Lecturers
17	Medical, skilled (other)
17	Civil Service
16	Accountants

15	Consultants and Researchers
14	Science
13	Social Workers and Similar
12	Retired
12	Carers
11	Teaching Assistant
10	Marketing
9	Legal Profession
8	Medical (other)
8	Doctors, Dentists, and Vets
6	Media
6	Libraries
5	Pre-School
5	Surveyors
4	Counselling
4	Self-Employed
4	Agriculture
4	Book Keeper
3	Religion
1	Armed Forces
743	**TOTAL**

Teachers

Director Maths Education (Primary)
Deputy Head Teacher – retired
Drama Teacher
Head Teacher
Headteacher - retired x2
History Teacher
Maths Teacher Secondary
Primary School Teacher
Primary School Teacher
Primary School Teacher
Retired Teacher x5
School Teacher x2
School Teacher (Primary)
School Teacher (Retired)
Subject leader for art
Teacher x33
Teacher – retired x3
Teacher until 1970
Teacher, Retired
Teacher/Housewife
Teaching

Managers

Charity Manager
Charity Shop Manager
Contract Manager
Customer Experience Manager
Education - head of support services
Education Officer
Educational Manager
Facilities Manager
Further Education Manager - Now Retired
General Manager -Large Bus Company
Hotel Department Manager
Inspection Manager
Management
Manager x4
Manager - Advice Service
Manager (retired)
Manager (Volunteers)
Manager in Voluntary Sector
Managerial
Managing People
Materials Manager
Midday Supervisor
NHS Management
Nursery Officer (welfare)
Office Manager
Office Manager NHS
Office Manager/Business Researcher
Operations Manager x3
Practice Manager
Procurement Manager
Production Manager x2
Programme Manager, Social Enterprise
Project Co-ordinator/Manager
Project Manager x5
Project Manager/Electrical Engineer x2
Public Manager (charity)
Scientific Manager
Senior Manager Hospitality
Senior Post Office Manager
Senior Manager- Royal Mail
Service Manager/Engineer
Special Education Management
Team Leader in Restaurant

Clerks and Administrators

Accounts Clerk x2
Accounts/Admin
Admin x4
Admin - Retired
Admin (predominantly) now retired
Admin Office
Admin, Retired
Admin/Office - retired
Administrator x6
Administrator - part time
Administrator - sales
Bank Clerk, Office Clerk
Bilingual Secretary (retired)
Business Support Admin
Clerical
Clerical Assistant

Clerk
Hospital Administrator
Hospital Ward Clerk
Office Worker
Office/secretarial - Retired
PA x3
PA to director of charity for people with learning disabilities
Parish Council Clark
Reception Doctor's Surgery
School Administrator
School receptionist/Mother
Secretarial/Admin
Secretarial/PA
Secretary x4
Secretary - Retired
Secretary (retired)
Self Employed Clerk
Store Clerk
Uni Admin
University Administrator
University Administrator/manager

Manual Trades

Archaeologist/ Mother
Blacksmith
Body Piercer
Carpenter
Carpenter-Cabinet Maker
Catering/Seamstress/Retail
Coach Driver (retired)
Cook
Delivery Driver
Dog Walker
Electrical Engineer x2
Electrical Engineer/Project Manager
Electrician x2
Electronic Technician
Florist x2
Gardener x3
Gardener/Housewife
General Builder
Hairdresser x2
Horse Riding
Landscaping
Master Technician
Mechanic
Printer
Ranger
Roofer
Seamstress/Catering/Retail
Telecommunications Engineer
Training to be a Chef/ Catering Assistant
Transmission Electrical Engineer
Transport Logistics
Warehouse

IT and Computing

Computer Analyst
Computer Consultant x2
Computer Programmer
Computer Software x2
Computer System Analysis x2
Computer System Designer
Computing
IT x6
IT Analyst
IT Consultant x5
IT Engineer
IT for a Bank
IT Manager x4
IT Project Manager
IT Support
IT/Housewife
Software
Software Consultant x2
Software Engineer

Nurses and Midwives

Carer - dental nurse
Clinical Nurse Specialist
Ex-midwife/Care Worker/Caller
Health Visitor x3
Mental Health Nurse - Retired

Midwife x2
NHS Nurse
Nurse x8
Nurse – registered x5
Nurse – Retired x2
Nurse Educator
Nurse Practitioner
Nurse/Midwife
Nursing x2

Engineers and Architects

Architect x2
Architect (User experience)
Broadcast Engineer - retired
Chartered Engineer
Chemical Engineer
Civil Engineer x5
Civil Engineer - retired
Electronics Engineer
Engineer x10
Engineer - Retired
Mechanical Engineer
Piping Engineering Designer
Senior Principle Engineer - Aircraft
Senior Production Engineer
Solution Architect

CEOs, MDs and Similar

Ass. Director Public Health
CEO -???? Co.
CEO Major PLC Construction Company
CEO of charity
CEO of small local charity
Charity CEO
Charity Leader
Chief Executive
Company Director x4
Company Director/Owner
Director x4
Director - NHS
Director - own company
Director - retired
Director of Charity (retired) Interpersonal Skills Tutor (P/T for Charity)
Director of Charity Overseas Development/Charity Trustee
Executive Manager - Corporate Affairs
Hr Manager
Managing Director of Family Firm
MD
Principle of a College

Other

Air Hostess
Alchemist and Raven Whisperer
BSL communicator in School
Business
Camelot prize payout officer paid prizes
Charity Worker
Community Activist
Cycling Instructor/ song workshop facilitator
Education x2
Environment Officer
Fire Fighter
Formula One
Manufacturers agent in ladies factory
NHS
Personal development, elite level sport
Police Officer
Produce Compliance
Proof Reader
Publisher
Quality Control
Technical Author
Tourist Guide
Town Planner
Transcriber
Veterinary standards assessor
Will Writer/College Lecturer

Office (Other)

HR BP
Account Manager
Account Manager/Advertising

Accounts Assistant
Admin Manager
Advertising
Advertising / Account Manager
Business Analyst
Business Analyst HR
Business Development Manager
Community Development
Community Fundraiser
Community Organiser
Data Analyst x2
Events Co-Ordinator
Fundraising Manager
HR Consultant
Leadership and Team Coach
Payroll Officer
PR Director
Project Officer
Public Relations Manager
Recruitment
Resources Co-ordinator
Sourcing professional
Staff communications

The Arts

[Artist] Life Artist: Dance Renegade
Artist x2
Arts Professional
Caller/care-worker/midwife
Conductor
Dance, and dance teacher
Designer x2
Electronics designer - retired
Film maker
Graphic Designer x3
Illustrator x2
Music Teacher
Musician x2
Performer
Producer
Song Workshop Facilitator/Cycling Instructor
TV Director
Youtuber/Optical Assistant

Housewife/Mother

[Mother]children/Library/Homeless
Mother/Book keeper
Mother/ Archaeologist/
Domestic Engineer [wife/mother]
Mother
Mother and p/t school receptionist
Mum x3
Home Person
Homemaker
Housewife x7
Housewife (awful term)
Housewife/IT
Housewife/Gardener
Housewife/Retired

Finance and Insurance (excluding accountants and book keepers)

Bank Manager x2
Bank of England Employee
Bank Official
Bank Staff
Banker x3
Banking &Building
CSD assistant
Debt Advisor
Finance
Finance Director
Finance Manager in Education
Financial Adviser
Financial Adviser (IFA)
Financial Controller
Insurance Broker
Insurance Manager
Loss Adjustor
Private Equity Manager
School Bursar

Retail/Sales

Bicycle Salesperson
Customer Service Assistant x2
Customer Services
retail
Retail x3
Retail Assistant
Retail/Seamstress/Catering
Sales
Sales Assistant x2
Sales Assistant/Student x2
Sales Co-Ordinator
Sales Director
Shop Assistant (part time)
Technical Sales

Students and Unemployed

Gap year
Graduate
Post-Graduate
Semi-Retired/Unemployed
Student x9
Student - part time
Student/Sales Assistant x2
Student/Unemployed
Unemployed

College and University Lecturers

Academic
College Lecturer/will writer
College Teacher
Lecturer x3
Professor x3
Professor/ scientist
Senior Lecturer
University Professor
University Lecturer x3
University Lecturer - Retired
University Research Manager
University Teacher - Former

Medical Skilled (Other)

Occupational Therapist x2
Optometrist x2
Podiatrist
Pharmacist x2
Pharmacist - Retired
Pharmacy technician in hospital Pharmacy
Phlebotomist
Physiotherapist x2
Podiatrist
Psychotherapist
Psychologist x2
Respiratory technician

Civil Service

Advisor to Governing Bodies
Civil Servant x5
Civil Servant - Retired x2
Civil Servant – Heritage x2
Civil Servant (Scientific)
Government Advisor/Ornithologist
Local Govt. Officer x2
Public Servant
Senior Manager in Gov. Agency
Senior Principle, Civil Servant - Retired

Accountants

Accountant x12
Accountant (part qualified) now retired
Chartered Accountant x2
Management Accountant

Consultants and Researchers

Biotechnology Consultant
Business Researcher/Office Manager
Construction Consultant
Consultant x3
Consultant, food safety legality
Customer Service Consultant
Education Consultant

Independent Consultant
Management Consultant/ Chartered Psychologist
Researcher x3
Sustainability Consultant

Science

Biomedical scientist (retired)
Chemist, Analytical
Clinical Psychology
Clinical Research
Clinical Scientist
Clinical Trail Administrator
Ecologist (retired)
Industrial Chemist
Lab Technician
Ornithologist/Government Advisor
Research Scientist
Scientist x2
Scientist/professor

Social Workers and Similar

Childcare Inspector/Register
Children's Worker
Community Support Worker
Homeless/Library/[Mother]
Social Work x2
Social work manager - retired
Social Worker x5
Social Worker/Child Care

Carers

Care Assistant
Care of the elderly
care worker/ex-midwife/caller
Caregiver
Carer
Carer for autistic son
Disability Support Officer
Heath Care Assist. Bedford Hospital. Teaching Folk Dancing to adults
Special Needs Care Assistant
Special Needs School
Support worker x2

Teaching Assistant

Classroom Assistant
TA (teaching Assistant)
TA, Primary School
Teaching Assistant x8

Marketing

IBM Marketing
Marketing x3
Marketing Manager x3
Networking marketing professional
Product manager, Marketing
Sales and Marketing

Medical (Other)

Art therapy
Assistant Psychologist - Mental Health
Dietitian
Health Advisor
Optical Assistant/ YouTuber
Osteopath
Therapist x2

Legal Professions

Barrister (Q.C.)
legal Secretary
Legal Secretary - Retired
Mags. Court Officer

Notary Public, Lawyer
Solicitor x4

Doctors, Dentists and Vets

Dentist
Dental Surgeon
Doctor x2
GP x2
Vet x2

Pre-School

Child Care
Child Care/Social Work
Childcare
Nursey Assistant
Pre-school assistant

Media

Broadcast editor
Journalist x3
Journalist, freelance
Magazine Editor

Libraries

Librarian x4
Library Assistant
Library/Homeless/Children [Mother]

Pre-School

Child Care
Child Care/Social Work
Childcare
Nursey Assistant
Pre-school assistant

Surveyors

Builders Surveyor
Chartered Surveyor x2
Surveyor
Surveyor - Retired

Counsellors

Counsellor
Bereavement Counsellor
Mediator
Facilitator

Self-Employed

Own Business
Self Employed x2
Shop Proprietor

Agriculture

Agriculture
Farm Worker
Farmer x2

Book Keepers

Book-Keeper x2
Book-Keeper - Retired
Book-keeper/Mother

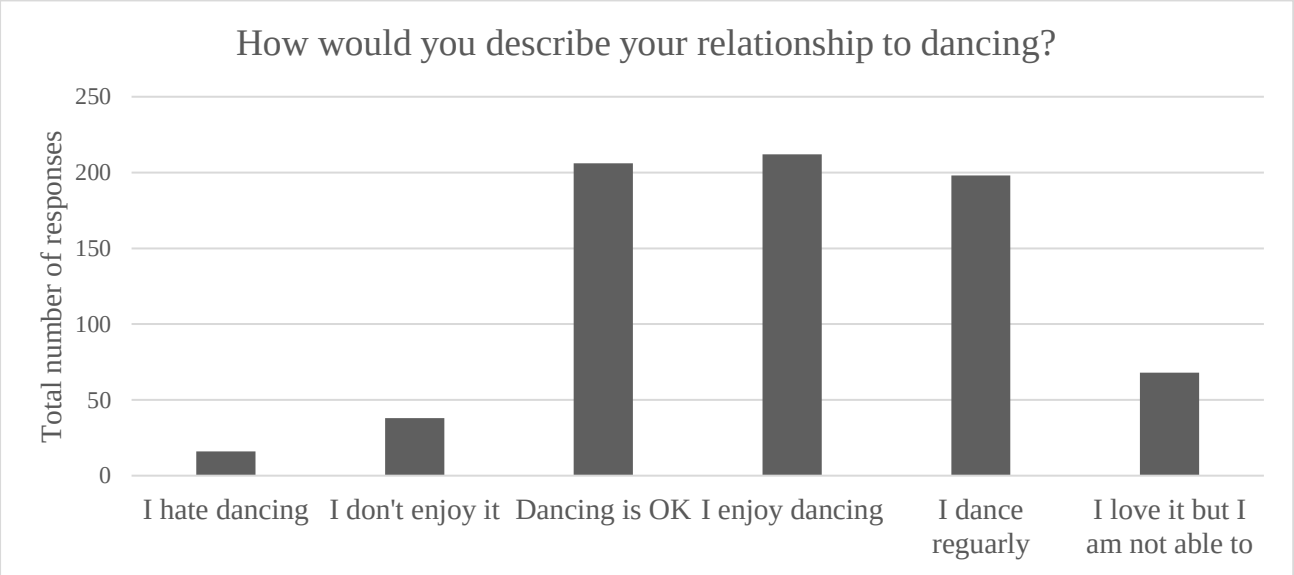
Religion

Clergyman x2
Minister of Church

Armed Forces

Army - Retired

A5:8 Relationship with Dancing (multiple answers allowed)

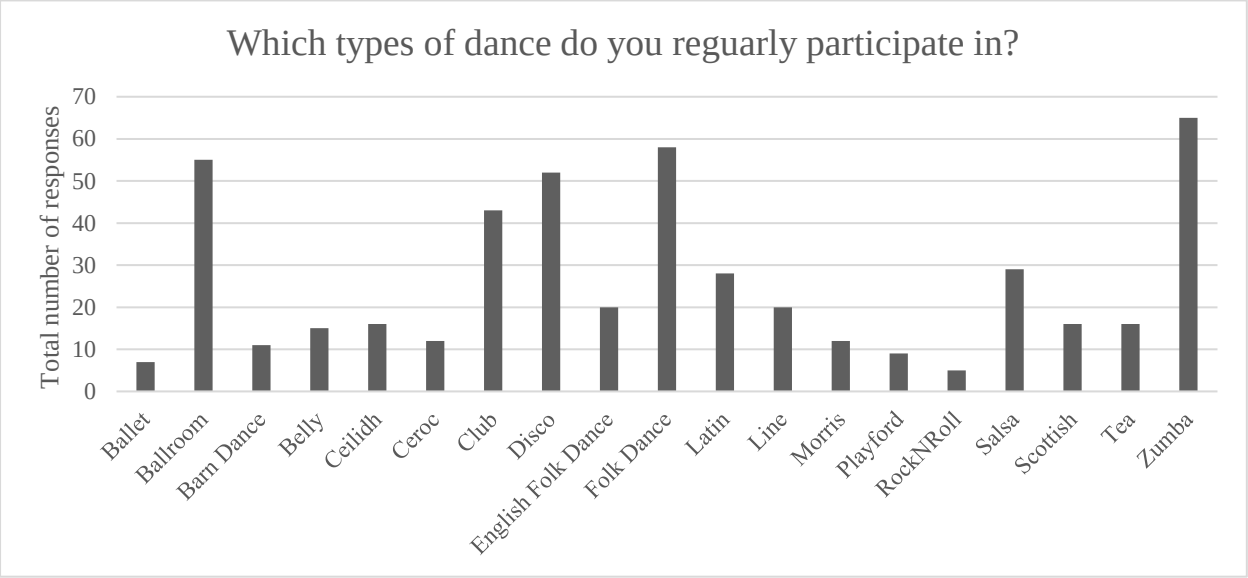


Additional comments:

I enjoy dancing in groups, but want to boost my confidence
When Drinking/Drunk
I like dancing at Social events
I like Jive Dancing
I love Dancing
I love dancing, I don't do classes
I love Dancing
Spontaneous and Passionate
I find it hard but enjoy it when I feel comfortable
Disco Baby
Enjoy all "folk"
I just can't stop dancing
1, Unless Drinking Alcohol
I dance and call several times a week
I dance as much as I can
I teach Ballroom and Latin American
U3A country/folk dance
6 Bad Knees
5,6 Bad Knees
6,7, I enjoy playing dance music
I enjoy Folk Dancing
4,6 I have Rheumatoid arthritis which curtails my dancing
I am uncomfortable with dancing
Danced when I was younger but too self conscious now

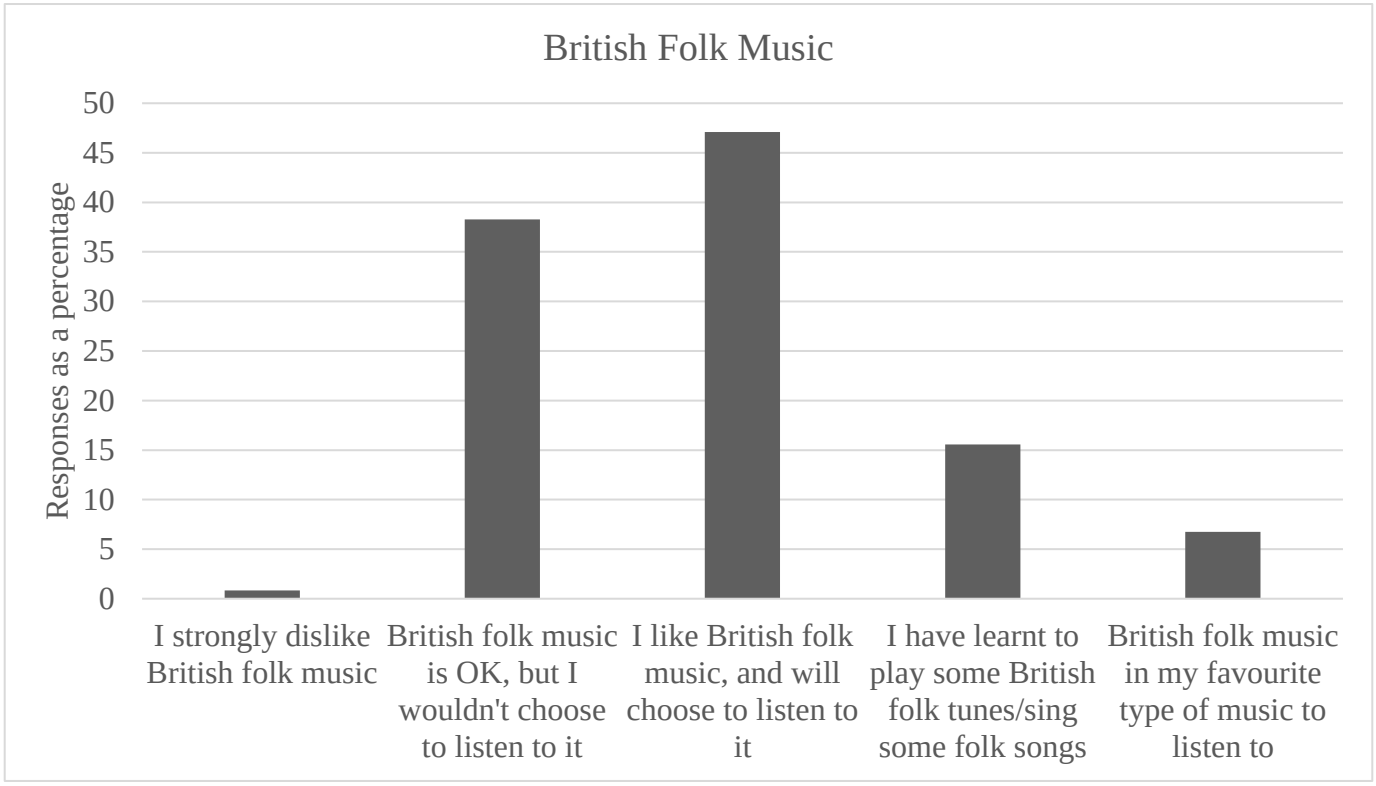
I enjoy dancing but need a drink
5, brought up on Irish ceilidh
I enjoy the music
Do my best to make calling a happy experience for…
Dad Dancing
I would like to start doing more'
After a few drinks
I love it but I'm useless
I am useless at dancing but enjoy the fun
No beer 1, lots of beer 3
I only really like folk dancing
Enjoy Dancing Socially
I like to dance but have no co-ordination
I enjoy dancing and do now and again
I dance at home or when I drink
2 I like to dance when drunk
I dance at home
Country Dancing and Barn Dancing is part of Scottish Culture
Professional Dancer
Avoid dancing but OK tonight
When drunk
I enjoy dancing but don't do classes

A5:9 Types of Dancing

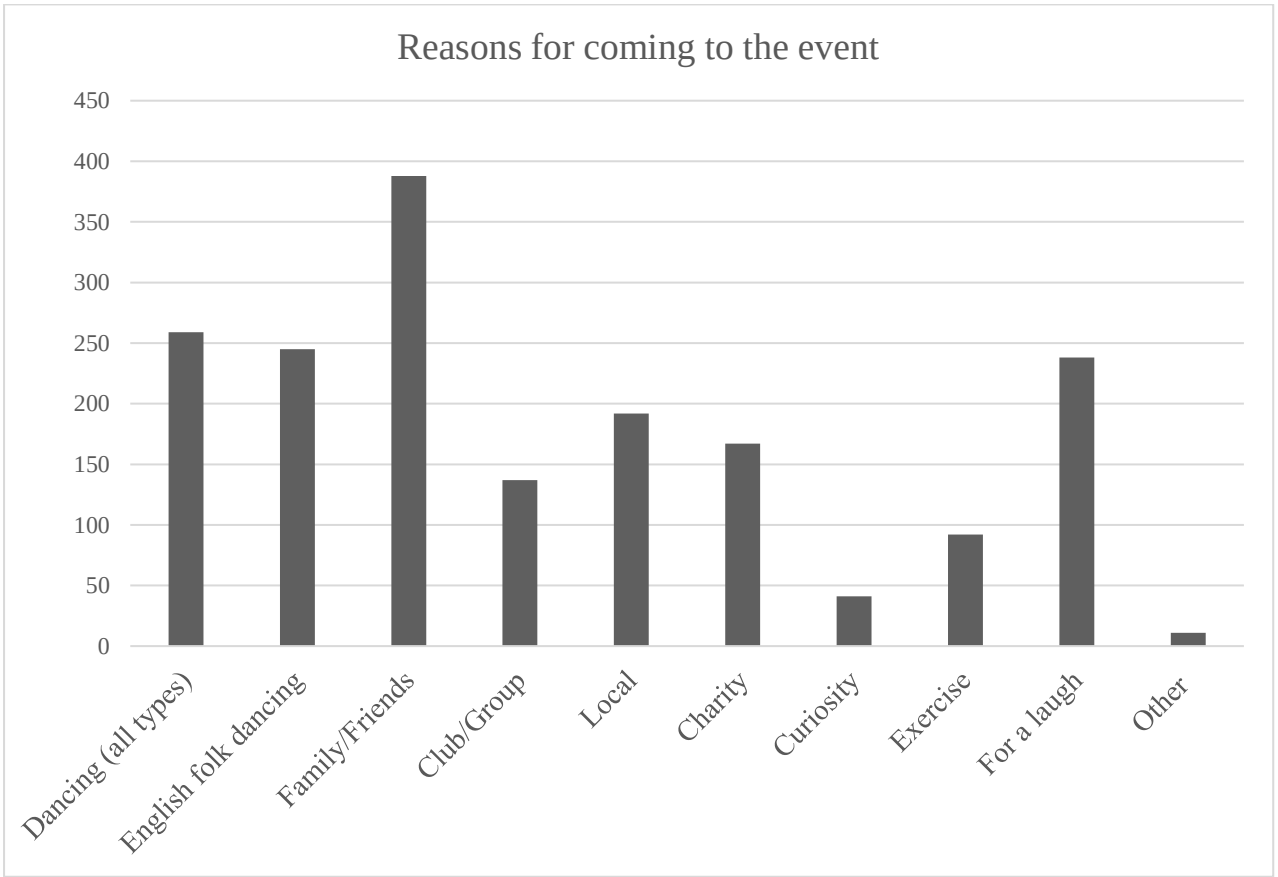


Notes: Genres which had less than five inclusions have been omitted. A number of people noted informal occasions for dance involving social occasions, parties and dancing in the home. Others noted health problems which prevent them from dancing more frequently.

A5:10 British Folk Music (Multiple answers were allowed)



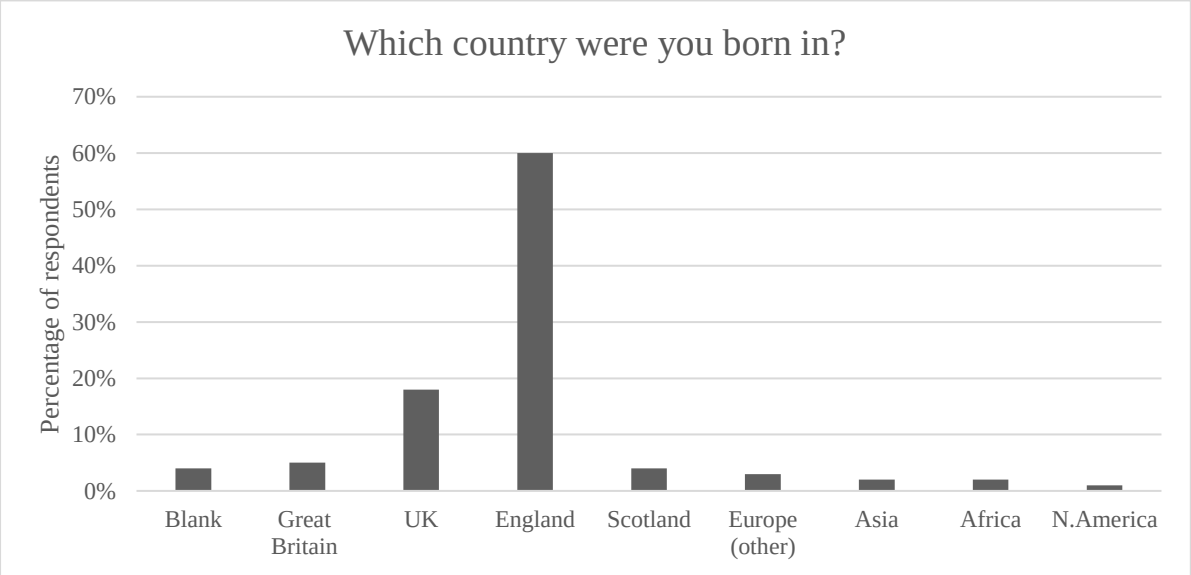
A5:11 Reasons for Coming to the Event (Multiple answers were recorded twice)



Other comments:

1 I am interested in SCOTTISH folk dancing
1,2 International folk dancing
1,2 THE CALLER
1,2, Band
1,2,3 My girlfriend was calling
1,2,3,4,5, Enjoy mixing and dancing with other people
1,2,3,4,5,6,9, To celebrate being a volunteer
1,2,3,4,5,9 I helped organise it
1,2,3,5,6 support the EVENT
1,2,3,6 To play in the band
1,2,3,6,8 calling
1,2,3,9 For fun!
1,2,4,8 WI event
1,2,5 80th birthday, contacts wanted a band and caller for Scottish dancing.
1,2,5,6,9 The Band
1,2,7,8,9 To do something relating to my culture (Irish)
1,2,9 Folk Musician (to be)
1,2,9 To keep Warm
1,3 'Enjoy MOST types of dancing' "But normally attend ceilidhs for the fun and exercise"
1,3 Party
1,3,4,5,9, a night away from the children!
1,3,5, Community Event
1,4,7,9 @Offline Festival, try something new
1,5,6,8,9 Because it makes me feel good, happy/energised
1,8,9, Part of Festival
10 Local Interest
10 to play in the band
10 Tricked into it
2 Door steward
2, Friend's 70th Birthday Party
2, Paid
2,10 I play in the band
2,3,4, I enjoy dancing with other people
2,3,5 Help &Organise
2,3,5,10 To support local assoc. initiative to interest children and young people
2,3,8 I have come to mix with some nice girls
2,4 Caller
2,4,6, The Band
2,5,6, 10 [Support the cricket Club]
2,6 I play in a band
3 70th birthday party of an old friend
3 Birthday Party
3, 70th Birthday
3, Friends playing in the band
3,5 I was invited to the party
3,5, As a finale to the festival
3,5,7,9 Booze
3,5,7,9 To support a friend in a band
3,5,7,9,10 Alcohol
3,5,9 Love a good barn dance
3,5,9,10 Support local community
3,7 'Live Music'
4 I am watching one of the bands perform. I perform with the big fiddle band before the start of the event
4 If Volunteer
5 Free if Volunteer
5 I am one of the musicians
6 Just Good Time
6 Representing Charity
7, Free if Volunteer
8,9, To keep warm
9 band needed a musician
9 Birthday
9.10 friend in a band
A Party
Accompany Daughter
As a finale to the festival
Committee
Family Event
Here with my Stepson
I am mother of Violinist
I have come to support a friend
I have come to support my husband he is one of the bands
My Husband is in the band and no.3
Playing in one of the bands
Support band member
The Music
To call
To celebrate a Birthday
To Celebrate St Patrick's Day
To play in a band x2
To support a friend in the band
To support our neighbour in the band
Volunteering
Wife arranged it
Working
Wrap Party for the IF festival

A5:12 Country Born In



	Total Responses	% of respondents
Africa	12	2%
Asia	13	2%
Australasia	2	0%
Blank	32	4%
Channel Islands	2	0%
England	432	60%
Europe (other)	22	3%
Great Britain	35	5%
Ireland	3	0%
N. America	6	1%
N. Ireland	6	1%
S. America	1	0%
Scotland	28	4%
UK	130	18%
Wales	2	0%

Additional Notes:

Great Britain includes: British, Great British, Britain (England), Great Britain -English, White British

England includes: England (+ Irish Mother), England/UK, Essex - UK, England (or should that be Yorkshire), London, Hampshire, Northampton, UK - England, Wiltshire

Scotland Includes: UK – Scotland

Europe includes: Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Malta, Netherlands, Slovakia, Spain, and Switzerland, Cyprus.

Asia includes: Kazakhstan, Bahrain, Hong Kong, China, India, Japan, Kazakhstan, Pakistan, Singapore, Sri Lanka

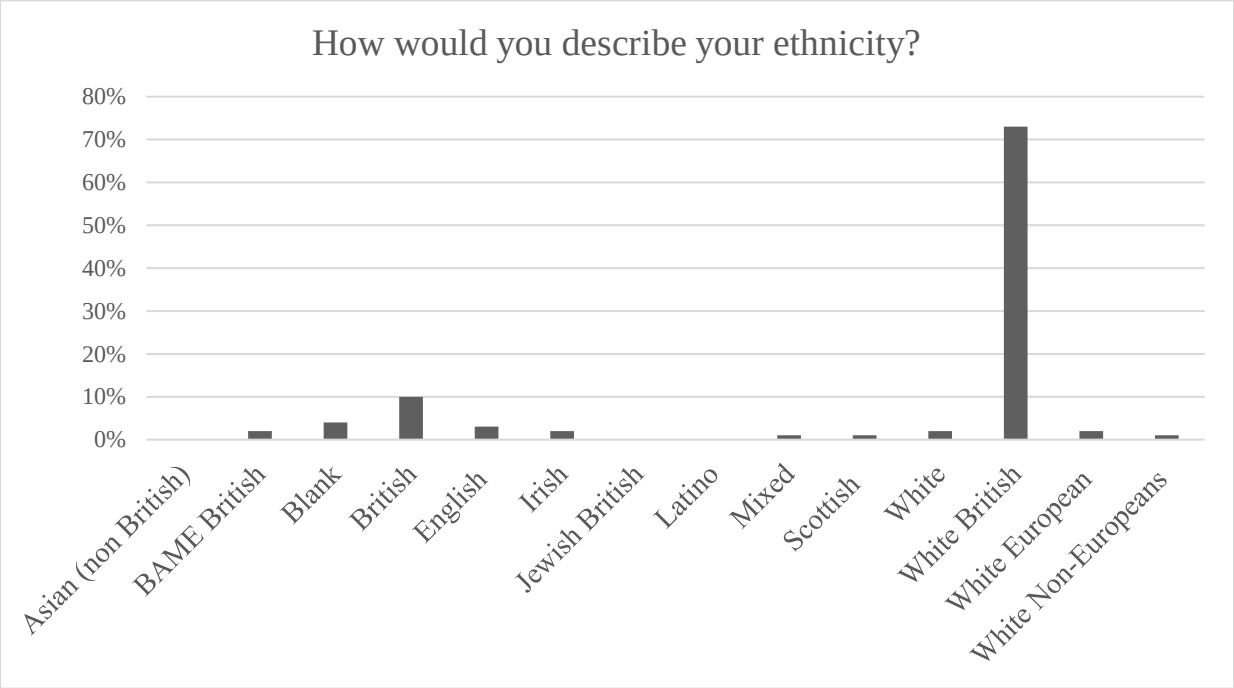
Australasia includes: Australia, New Zealand

Africa includes**:** Brazil, Kenya, Nigeria, S. Africa, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe

N. America includes**:** Canada, Jamaica, USA

S. America includes**:** Peru

A5:13 Ethnicity



	Number of Responses	% of responses
Asian (non-British)	2	0%
BAME British	13	2%
Blank	29	4%
British	75	10%
English	20	3%
Irish	12	2%
Jewish British	1	0%
Latino	3	0%
Mixed	4	1%
Scottish	4	1%
White	13	2%
White British	531	73%
White European	18	2%
White Non-Europeans	6	1%

Note; Dual ethnicity has been double counted e.g. Anglo-Irish has been counted as both Irish and British.

Asian (not British) includes:

- Asian
- Chinese

BAME British includes:

- Black British
- Asian British
- Anglo-Caribbean
- Arab British

British includes:

- UK

English (White) – includes:

- English (White British)
- Chilterns or White England
- White and English/White English
- Anglo-Saxon

Irish includes:

- Irish
- White Irish

Latino includes:

- Mixed white-Latino
- White Latino

Scottish includes;

- Teuchter (NE Scottish)
- White Scottish

White includes:

- Caucasian White
- Caucasian/White Traveller
- White other

White British includes:

- White British (Half Irish)
- White British, White American
- White British/Irish
- White British/Yorkshire

White European includes:

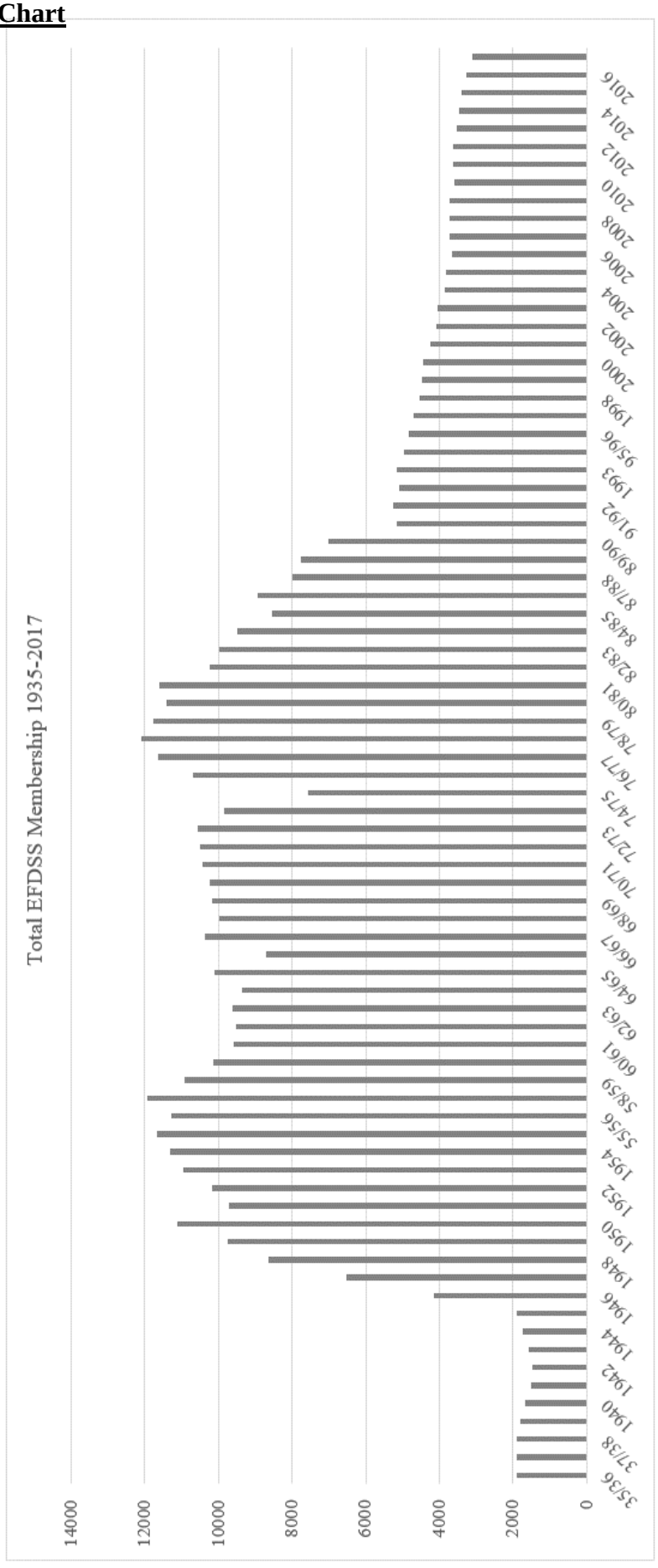
- White Cypriot
- White Dutch
- White European
- White Italian
- White Portuguese
- White Spanish
- White German
- Spanish
- Hungarian
- European

White Non-European includes:

- White African
- White Australian
- White Asian
- White American

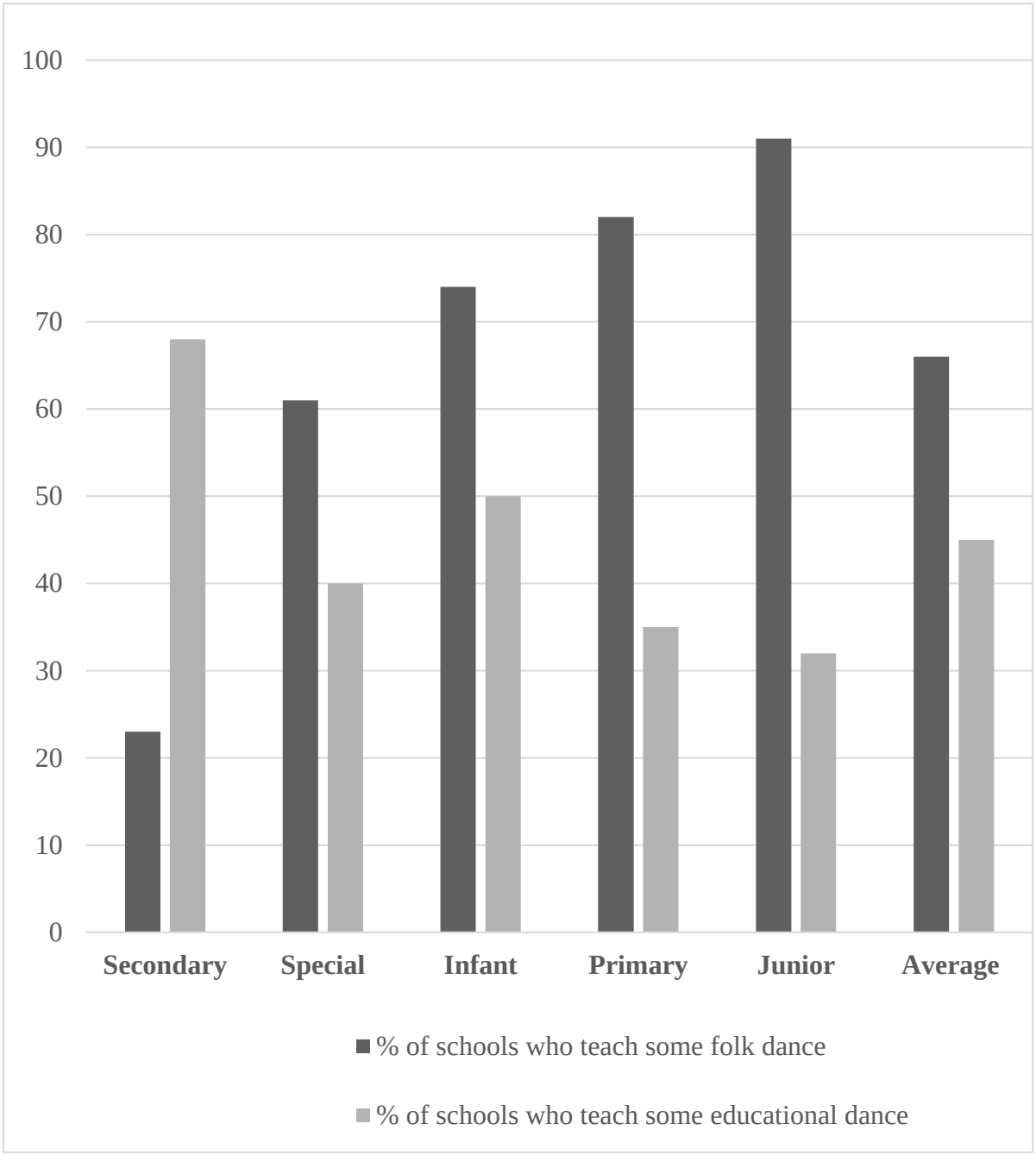
A6:1 EFDSS Membership Chart

Sources: EFDSS Annual Reports and correspondence with the membership secretary Jane Gregory (e-mail 10.5.18).



A6:2 Folk Dance in Schools

Source: Badrick 1986:62-63.



Bibliography

Personal Communication

Anonymous Band Leader. e-mail 14.10.2015

BALLANTYNE, Patricia. e-mail 1.12.18

BUCKLAND, Theresa. e-mail 31.1.20

BUTLER, Barbara. e-mail 8.2.18

Census Customer Services. e-mail 7.11.16

DASHWOOD, Janet. e-mail 29.3.18

ELLIOTT, Rachel. e-mail 18.2.20

FENNESSY, Marjorie. phone 26.8.18

GODDARD, Sean. e-mail 9.9.18; 30.1.19

GREGORY, Jane. e-mail 10.5.18

HALL, Reg. e-mail 30.11.19

HARDING, Hazel. Phone 21.6.18

HOUSTON, Sara. e-mail 13.5.19

HUNT, Dave. e-mail 7.11.19

LAWSON, Elizabeth. e-mail 8.4.18

MALLESON, Sue. Facebook 31.1.19; e-mail 2.2.19

METCALFE, Andrew. e-mail 20.11.18

MILLER, Hazel. e-mail 28.3.18

POTTS, Gordon. Facebook Messenger 4.11.19

ROWLEY, Steve. Facebook 2.8.18; e-mail 21.5.19

SCHOFIELD, Derek. e-mail 15.11.18

SMEDLEY, Ron. e-mail 1.6.18; 8.7.18

SNOW, Paul. e-mail 29.3.18

WRIGHT, Geoff. e-mail 15.8.2018

All Other References

A Few Words of Advice to my Flock (1841) 2nd. ed. London: Whittaker. Available at: GoogleBooks (Accessed: 12.12.2019).

A.H.F. (1952) Square Dancing on Television. *Dancing Times.* September (504) p.753.

ABBS, Peter. (1987) Towards a Coherent Arts Aesthetic. In: ABBS, Peter (ed.) *Living Powers: The Arts in Education.* Lewes, East Sussex: Falmer Press. pp.9-66.

ABRA, Allison. (2009) *On with the Dance: Nation, Culture, and Popular Dancing in Britain, 1918-1945.* PhD Thesis. University of Michigan. Available from: https://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/bitstream/handle/2027.42/63821/aabra_1.pdf (Accessed: 11.9.18).

ABRA, Allison. (2017) *Dancing in the English Style: Consumption, Americanisation and National Identity in Britain 1918-1950.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

ADAMS, John. (2011) The English Country Music Movement as Viewed from the Top of the Pennines. *English Dance and Song.* 73(3) pp.14-15.

ADAMS, Tony E., HOLMAN JONES, Stacey, and ELLIS, Carolyn. (2015) *Autoethnography.* Oxford: Oxford University.

ADSHEAD, Janet. (1981) *The Study of Dance*. London: Dance Books.

AGYEMAN, Julian., and SPOONER, Rachel. (1997) Ethnicity and the Rural Environment. In: CLOKE, Paul. and LITTLE, Jo. (eds.) *Contested Countryside Cultures.* London: Routledge. pp. 179-217.

ALBISETTI, James. (1993) The Feminization of Teaching in the Nineteenth Century: A Comparative Perspective. *History of Education.* 23(3) pp.253-263.

ALDIS, A.J. (1959) Letters. *English Dance and Song.* 23(1) p.28.

ALEXANDER, Ken. (1993) Letters. *English Dance and Song.* 55(1) p.21.

ALFEROV, Sergey. (2013) Scottish Dancing and Patterns of Gender Identity. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/305504589 (Accessed: 22.8.19).

ALFORD, Violet. (1932) The Farandole. *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society.* 1(1) pp.18-33.

ALFORD, Violet. (1971) A Jubilee Symposium: Foreign Relations. *Folk Music Journal.* 2(2) pp.79-101.

ALFORD, Violet, and GALLOP, Rodney. (1935) *The Traditional Dance.* London: Methuen.

AMANS, Diane. (2008) *An Introduction to Community Dance.* (2nd ed. 2017). London: Palgrave MacMillan.

AMIT, Vered. (ed.) (2000) *Constructing the Field: Ethnographic Fieldwork in the Contemporary World.* London: Routledge.

AMIT, Vered., and RAPPORT, Nigel. (2002) *The Trouble with Community: Anthropological Reflections on Movement, Identity and Collectively.* London: Pluto Press.

ANDERSON, Ian. (1987) Doom Day at DEAFASS: Fear and Loathing at Cecil Sharp House. *FRoots.* 8(7) pp.13- 15.

Any Man's Kingdom [film] (1956) Directed by Tony Thompson. British Transport Films. Released on DVD by Northern Heritage, 2007.

ARTHUR, Dave. (1984) Thunder and Lightning! It's Bob Rundle! *English Dance and Song.* 46(2) pp.14-15.

ARTHUR, David. (2000). Never Mind the Rhyming Slang- Flowers and Frolics are Back. *English Dance and Song.* 62(2) p.29.

Arts Council England (2016) *Dance Education, a Guide for Governors and Trustees.* Available at: https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/document/dance-education-guide-governors-and-trustees (Accessed:16.4.18)

Arts Council. (1993) *Dance in Schools*. London: Arts Council of Great Britain.

ATKINSON, Paul. (2001) Introduction. In: ATKINSON, Paul., COFFEY, Amanda., DELAMONT, Sara., LOFLAND, John., and LOFLAND, Lyn. (eds.) *Handbook of Ethnography.* London: SAGE. pp.1-11.

ATKINSON, Paul., COFFEY, Amanda., DELAMONT, Sara., LOFLAND, John., and LOFLAND, Lyn. (eds.) (2001) *Handbook of Ethnography.* London: SAGE.

AULL DAVIES, Charlotte. (1998 [2008]) *Reflexive Ethnography: A Guide to Researching Selves and Others.* (2nd ed.) London and New York: Routledge.

Aylesbury Council (2017) *The Licensing Act 2003 – The Table of Fees.* Available at: www.aylesburyvaledc.oc.uk (Accessed 16.4.2019).

BADRICK, Kate. (1986) *Folk Dancing and the School Curriculum: A Study of the Undervaluation of Part of the English Cultural Heritage in the Education System.* Study Report for the teaching fellowship scheme of the Essex Institute of Higher Education. Available at: The Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London.

BADRICK, Kate. (1999) Once More, with Gusto. *English Dance and Song.* 61(2) p.6.

BAILEY, Laura. (2019) Feminism in Morris. *FedExtra.* Summer/Autumn. pp.6-7.

BAKKA, Egil. (1999) Or Shortly they would be Lost Forever: Documenting for Revival and Research. In BUCKLAND, Theresa. (ed.) *Dance in the Field: Theory, Methods and Issues in Dance Ethnography*. Basingstoke: MacMillan. pp.71-81.

BAKKA, Egil. (2001) The Polka Before and After the Polka. *Yearbook for Traditional Music.* 33. pp.37-47.

BAKKA, Egil, and KAROBLIS, Gediminas. (2010) Writing "A Dance": Epistemology for Dance Research. *Yearbook for Traditional Music*. 42. pp.167-193.

BALLANTYNE, Patricia H. (2016) *Regulation and Reaction: The Development of Scottish Traditional Dance with Particular Reference to Aberdeenshire, from 1805 to the Present Day*. PhD Thesis. University of Aberdeen. Available at: https://ethos.bl.uK (Accessed:16.4.18).

BANKS, Marcus. (1992) Which Films are the Ethnographic Films? In: CRAWFORD, Ian., and Turton, David. (eds.) *Film as Ethnography.* Manchester: Manchester University Press. pp.116-131.

Banshee Ceilidh Band [2019] *Venues*. Available at: http://www.banshee.org.uk/home.htm (Accessed: 5.4.2019).

BARCLAY, Les., and JONES, Ian. (2015) *Community Dances Manual: A Classic Collection of English and American Social Folk Dances and Tunes.* Revised Edition. London: English Folk Dance and Song Society.

BARLOW, Jeremy. (2012) *A Dance Through Time: Images of Western Social Dancing from the Middle Ages to Modern Times.* Oxford: Bodleian Library.

BARRACLOUGH, Michael A. (2010) *The Problem with Labels*. Extract from talk by Michael Barraclough at the 2010 Sidmouth Folk Festival. Available at: www.michaelbarraclough.com (Accessed: 9.2.17).

BBC Breakfast (2017) [Television Programme] Bushell Do-si-does Barn Dance Fitness! UK: BBC One. Broadcast: 30.3.2017 Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/get-inspired/39437177 (Accessed: 31.5.18).

BBC Referendum (Online) EU Results: Local Results. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/politics/eu_referendum/results/local/m (Accessed: 22.11.2019).

BEALLE, John. (2005) *Old-Time Music and Dance: Community and Folk Revival.* Bloomington: Quarry Books.

BEARMAN, Florence. (2006) Knees up at Cecil Sharp House. *English Dance and Song*. 68(3) pp.24-25.

BECKER, Howard. (1951) The Professional Dance Musician and His Audience. *American Journal of Sociology.* 57(2) pp.136-144.

BEECH, Matt. (2011) The Left and Englishness. In: AUGHEY, Arthur. and BERBERICH, Christine. (eds.) *These Englands: A Conversation on National Identity.* Manchester and New York: Manchester University. pp.137-154.

BEESON, Ron. (1983) Infinite Variety. *English Dance and Song.* 45(3) p.26.

BELL, Adrian. (1932) *The Cherry Tree.* (re-printed 1952) London: The Country Book Club.

BELL, Michael. (1957) *Community Dances Manual 5*. London: English Folk Dance and Song Society.

BELL, Michael. (1958a) Lucky Seven. *English Dance and Song.* XXII (4) p.134.

BELL, Michael. (1958b) The English Folk Dance and Song Society: Some Notes by Players and M.C's. Revised October 1962. English Folk Dance and Song Archives. London: Cecil Sharp House.

BELL, Michael. (1972) *Primitivism.* London: Methuen and Co Ltd.

BELLOS, Alex. (1997) Stetsons off For Line Dance Skirmish. *The Guardian* pp. unknown. Copy held at the Imperial Society for Teachers of Dancing library, London.

BEN-AMOS, Dan. (1971) Towards a Definition of Folklore in Context. *The Journal of American Folklore.* 84(331) pp.3-15.

BENNELL, John. (1994) There's Nowt so Queer as Folk (Dancers). *English Dance and Song.* 56(2) p.14.

BENNETT, Mike. (2017) Gold Badge Awards for Folk Dance Stalwarts. *English Dance and Song.* 79(2) p.33.

BEVINGTON, S.M. et.al. (1939) *Leisure Pursuits Outside the Family Circle.* National Institute of Industrial Psychology.

BIRKS, Melanie, and MILLS, Jane. (2011) *Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide.* London: SAGE.

BLOOMFIELD, Anne. (1986) An Investigation into the Relationship between Philosophical Principle and Artistic Practice with Reference to the Role of Dance in Education. PhD thesis. University of Hull. Available at: https://ethos.bl.uk (Accessed: 23.1.20)

BLOOMFIELD, Anne. (2001) The Quickening of the National Spirit: Cecil Sharp and the Pioneers of the Folk-Dance Revival in English State Schools (1900-26). *History of Education* 30:1. pp.59-75.

BLUM, Odette. (1986) The Value of Recording Dance. In: *Dance: The Study of Dance and the Place of Dance in Society.* Proceedings of the VIII Commonwealth and International Conference on Sport, Physical Education, Dance, Recreation and Health. Glasgow 18-23 July 1986. London: Commonwealth and International Conference on Sport, Physical Education, Dance, Recreation and Health. pp.37-44.

Board of Education (1933) *Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools*. Board of Education. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office.

BOHLMAN, Philip V. (1988) *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University.

BOHLMAN, Philip V. (2002) *World Music: A Very Short Introduction.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

BOURNE, Sandie Mae. (2017) *Black British Ballet: Race, Representation and Aesthetics.* PhD Thesis. University of Roehampton. Available at: https://ethos.bl.uK (Accessed: 4.12.19).

BOYES, Georgina. (1986) New Directions – Old Destinations: A Consideration of the Role of the Tradition-Bearer in Folksong Research. In: RUSSELL, Ian. (ed.) S*inger, Song and Scholar.* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press. pp. 9-17.

BOYES, Georgina. (1993) *The Imagined Village, Culture, Ideology and the English Folk Revival.* (2nd ed.) (2010) Leeds: No Masters Co-Operative.

BOYES, Georgina. (2010) Potencies of the Earth: Ralph Gardiner and the English Folk Dance Revival. In: JEFFERIES, Matthews., and TYLDESLEY, Mike. (eds.) *Rolf Gardiner: Folk, Nature and Culture in Interwar Britain*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate pp.65-94.

BRADTKE, Elaine. (1997) *Molly Dancing and the Seven Champions Postmodernism and the Re-Invention of Tradition.* PhD Thesis. University of Maryland. Available from the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London.

BRADY, Chris. (1982) Fake Dances!! *English Dance and Song.* 44(3) p.19.

BRAGG, Billy. (2006) *Progressive Patriot: A Search for Belonging.* London: Transworld.

BRAINARD, Ingrid. (1998) Court and Social Dance Before 1800. In: COHEN, Selma Jeanne. (ed.) *International Encyclopaedia of Dance.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available at: https://www.oxfordreference.com (Accessed: 8.2.17).

BRANDES, Stanley. (1990) The Sardana: Catalan Dance and Catalan National Identity. *The Journal of American Folklore.* 103(407) pp.24-41.

BRANDON, Hazel. (1963) Letters. *English Dance and Song.* 26(1) p.16.

BRATTON, J.S. (1990) Dancing a Hornpipe in Fetters. *Folk Music Journal.* 6(1) pp.65-82.

BREARLEY, D.P. (1969) The Society and the Social "Folk Dance". *English Dance and Song.* 31(3) p.87.

BREMER, John. (1948) Gravesend. *English Dance and Song.* XII(3) p.38.

BRENNAN, Helen. (1999) *The Story of Irish Dance.* Dingle: Brandon.

BRENNAN, Mary Alice (1999) Every Little Movement Has a Meaning all its Own. In: *Researching Dance: Evolving Models of Enquiry.* HORTON FRALEIGH, Sandra., and HANSTEIN, Penelope (eds.) London: Dance Books pp.283-308.

BRENT-DYER, Elinor M. (1930) *Jean of Storms.* Compiled edition (1996). London: Bettany Press.

BREWER, John D. (2000) *Ethnography.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Britain's Fascist Thread (2021) [Radio Programme]. Produced by Martin Williams. UK: BBC Radio Four. Episode One Broadcast: 19.2.21; Episode Two: 26.2.21; Episode Three:3.21. 30 mins each.

British Folk Dancers (1929) [Film] Fox newsreel footage available through University of South Carolina newsfilm library. MVTN 4-219. Recorded on 10.11.1929. 7 minutes. Available as '1929 Morris Dancing in New York State - part 1 of 2' at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CuqhEix8lGY&fbclid=IwAR0mtzulKJ0SjUwHZnXs3FL7xyDiyqFfBOI7oA4vsaV03wQaRsb--2CMa6k (Accessed: 14.8.19).

British Pathé (1951) *Old Time Dancing*. Film. ID:2569.21. Available at: https://www.britishpathe.com/video/old-time-dancing-1 (Accessed 1.4.18).

BROCKEN, Michael. (2003) *The British Folk Revival 1944-2002.* Aldershot: Ashgate.

BROWN, Carroll. (2007) The Carolina Shaggers: Dance as Serious Leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research*. 39(4) pp. 623-647.

BROWN, Cresby. [2019] If You Have Been To A Barn Dance. Available at: www.webfeet.org (Accessed: 11.6.19).

BRYANT, Christopher G.A. (2003) These Englands, or Where Does Devolution Leave the English? *Nations and Nationalism*. 9(3) pp.393-412.

Buckinghamshire Partnership (2009) *Buckinghamshire Profile of Rural, Market Town and Urban Areas*. Available at: http://www.buckinghamshirepartnership.gov.uk (Accessed: 27.6.19).

BUCKLAND, Theresa. (1982) English Folk Dance Scholarship: A Review. In: BUCKLAND, Theresa. (ed.) *Traditional Dance: Volume One.* Proceedings of the Traditional Dance Conference held at Crewe and Alsager College of Higher Education 28.3.1981. pp.3-18.

BUCKLAND, Theresa. (1983) Definitions of Folk Dance: Some Explorations. *Folk Music Journal*. 4(4) pp. 315-332.

BUCKLAND, Theresa. (1986) Traditional Dance: English Ceremonial and Social Forms. In: ADSHEAD-LANSDALE, Janet., and LAYSON, June. (eds.) *Dance History: A Methodology for Study.* London: Dance Books pp.162-175.

BUCKLAND, Theresa. (1991) Institutions and Ideology in the Dissemination of Morris Dances in the Northwest of England. *The Yearbook for Traditional Music.* 23(1) pp.53-67.

BUCKLAND, Theresa. (1994) Traditional Dance: English Ceremonial and Social Forms. In: ADSHEAD-LANSDALE, Janet., and LAYSON, June. (eds.) *Dance History: An Introduction.* London: Routledge. pp. 45-58.

BUCKLAND, Theresa. (1998) English Traditional Dance. In: COHEN, Selma Jeanne. (ed.) *International Encyclopaedia of Dance.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available at: https://www.oxfordreference.com (Accessed: 8.2.17).

BUCKLAND, Theresa. (1999a) All Dances Are Ethnic, but Some Are More Ethnic Than Others: Some Observations on Dance Studies and Anthropology. *Dance Research.* 17(1) pp.3-21.

BUCKLAND, Theresa. (1999b) *Dance in the Field: Theory, Methods and Issues in Dance Ethnography*. Basingstoke: MacMillan.

BUCKLAND, Theresa. (2001) Dance, Authenticity and Cultural Memory: The Politics of Embodiment. *Yearbook for Traditional Music.* 33. pp.1-16.

BUCKLAND, Theresa. (2001/2002) "Th'Owd Pagan Dance": Ritual, Enchantment, and an Enduring Intellectual Paradigm. *Journal for the Anthropological Study of Human Movement* 11(4) and 12(1), pp. 415-452.

BUCKLAND, Theresa. (2006a) (ed.) *Dancing from Past to Present: Nation, Culture, Identities.* Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press.

BUCKLAND, Theresa. (2006b) Being Traditional: Authentic Selves and Others in Researching Late-Twentieth Century Northwest English Morris-Dancing. In: BUCKLAND, Theresa. (ed.) *Dancing from Past to Present: Nation, Culture, Identities.* Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press. pp. 199-227.

BUCKLAND, Theresa. (2006c) Dance, History and Ethnography. In: BUCKLAND, Theresa. (ed.) *Dancing from Past to Present: Nation, Culture, Identities.* Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin. pp. 3-24.

BUCKLAND, Theresa Jill. (2010) Shifting Perspectives on Dance Ethnography. In: CARTER, Alexandra., and O'SHEA, Janet. (eds) *The Routledge Dance Studies Reader.* (2nd edition). London and New York: Routledge. pp.335-343.

BUCKLAND, Theresa Jill. (2011) *Society Dancing: Fashionable Bodies in England, 1870-1920.* Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

BUCKLAND, Theresa Jill. (2013) Dancing Out of Time: The Forgotten Boston of Edwardian England. In: DODDS, Sherril., and COOK, Susan C. (eds.) *Bodies of Sound: Studies Across Popular Music and Dance.* Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate. pp.55-72.

BUCKLAND, Theresa Jill. (2014) Dance and Evolutionary thought in Late Victorian Discourse. In: LIGHTMAN, Bernard., and ZON, Bennett (eds.) *Evolution and Victorian Culture.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.173-195.

BUCKLAND, Theresa Jill. (2018a) How the Waltz was Won: Transmutations and the Acquisition of Style in Early English Modern Ballroom Dancing. Part One: Waltzing Under Attack. *Dance Research*. 36(1) pp.1-32.

BUCKLAND, Theresa Jill. (2018b) Liberating Tradition: Gender Politics in Late Twentieth Century English Revivalist Morris Dancing. In: STAVĚLOVÁ, D. and BUCKLAND, T.J. (eds.) *Folklore Revival Movements in Europe Post 1950. Shifting Contexts and Perspectives.* Prague: Institute of Ethnology: Academy of Sciences. pp.311-331.

BURCHENAL, Elizabeth (1929) *Rince na hÉireann: National Dances of Ireland.* New York: G. Schirmer.

BURCHENAL, Elizabeth. (1913) *Dances of the People: A Second Volume of Folk Dances and Singing Games containing Twenty-Seven Folk Dances of England, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, Sweden, Germany and Switzerland.* New York: G. Schirmer.

BURGESS, William., and BUCKLER, Richard. (1969) Folk Dance Lighting. *English Dance and Song,* 31(1) p.27.

BURKE, Catherine. (2018) Feet, Footwork, Footwear, and "Being Alive" in the Modern School. *Paedagogica Historica*. 54(1-2) pp. 32-47.

BURT, Ramsey. (1995) *The Male Dancer: Bodies, Spectacle, Sexualities.* (2nd ed. 2007) Abingdon: Routledge.

Callerlab (2019) *Callerlab*. Available at: http://www.callerlab.org/ (Accessed: 2.2.2019)

CAMRA (online) *CAMRA: Our History.* Available at: https://camra.org.uk/about/about-us/our-history/ (Accessed 7.2.20).

CANNADINE, David. (1983) The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarch and the 'Invention of Tradition' C.1820-1977. In: HOBSBAWM, Eric., and RANGER, Terence. (eds) *The Invention of Tradition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.101-164.

CANNADINE, David. (1989) *The Pleasures of the Past.* Fontana Press.

CARLIN, Richard. (1995) Yuppies Invaded My Tradition at Midnight: A Sociological Study of a Contemporary American Contra Dance. In: SPALDING, Susan Eike., and WOODSIDE, Jane Harris. (eds.) *Communities in Motion: Dance Community and Tradition in America's Southeast and Beyond.* Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. pp.221-235.

CARTER, Alexandra. (1998) Introduction. In: CARTER, Alexandra (ed.) *The Routledge Dance Studies Reader.* Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge pp.1-18.

CARTER-GORDON, Jeremy. (2019) Rapper Dance Adjudication: Aesthetics, Discourse, and Decision Making. In: DODDS, Sherril. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Dance and Competition.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. e-book. Available at: www.oxfordhandbooks.com (Accessed 5.4.219).

CATER, Colin. (1982) Review for the Barn Dance Guide. *English Dance and Song.* 44(1) pp. 27-28.

CATTON WILSON, Natalya. (2016) Knees Up Turns 40. *English Dance and Song.* 78(2) p.15.

CERVULLE, Maxime. (2017) Looking into the Light: Whiteness, Racism and Regimes of representation. Introductory Essay. In: DYER, Richard. *White.* 20th Anniversary Edition. London: Routledge. pp.xiii-xxxii

CHADBUND, Pete. (1981) *A First Set for as Many as Will: Country Dances in Traditional Style.* Pete Chadbund.

CHANG, Heewan. (2008) *Autoethnography as Method.* Walnut Creek, C.A.: Left Coast Press.

CHAPMAN, Malcolm. (1992) *The Celts: The Construction of a Myth.* UK: Palgrave MacMillan.

CHARMAZ, Kathy. (2014) *Constructing Grounded Theory.* (2nd ed.) London: SAGE.

CHELLEW, Norah. (1947) Correspondence. *English Dance and Song*, XI(1) p.12.

CHILTON, Charles. (1953) *The "Riders of the Range" Square Dance Manual.* London: Hutchinson.

CLARK, Sibyl. (1953) From the Midlands: Children's Country Dance Party Broadcast. *English Dance and Song.* XVIII(2) pp.44-46.

CLARK, Sibyl. (1956) *English Folk Dancing for Schools: A Book of Advice for Teachers with Instructions and Tunes for 14 Dances.* (re-printed 1979). London: English Folk Dance and Song Society.

CLARK, Sibyl. (1969) Dancing and the Primary School. *English Dance and Song.* 31(1) p.29.

CLARK, Sibyl. (1972) Folk Dance: And the World at Large in the Midlands. *English Dance and Song.* XXXIV (1) p.7

CLARK, Sibyl, and EVANS, Mary. (1964) *Swing Partners.* London: Novello for the English Folk Dance and Song Society.

CLEGG, Richard. (2017) *Graduates in the UK Labour Market*. Office for National Statistics. (24.11.2017) Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/releases/graduatesintheuklabourmarket2017 (Accessed: 10.5.19).

CLOKE, Paul. (2006) Rurality and Racialised Others: Out of Place in the Countryside. In: CLOKE, Paul., MARSDEN, Terry., and MOONEY, Patrick. (eds.) *The Handbook of Rural Studies.* London: Sage. pp.379-387. e-book. Available at: https://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/home (Accessed: 16.10.2019).

CLOONAN, Martin. (2007) *Popular Music and the State in the UK: Culture, Trade or Industry?* Aldershot: Ashgate.

CLOSSIN, Jimmy, and HERTZOG, Carl. (1951) *The American Cowboy Square Dance Book.* London: Bradford and Dicken.

COHEN, Antony. (1985) *The Symbolic Construction of Community.* London: Routledge.

COHEN, Ronald D., and DONALDSON, Rachel Clare. (2014) *Roots of the Revival: American and British Folk Music in the 1950s.* Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

COHEN-STRATYNER, Barbara. (2001) Social Dance: Contexts and Definitions. *Dance Research Journal.* 33(2) pp.121-124.

COLEMAN, Simon., and VON HELLERMAN, Pauline. (eds.) (2011) *Multi-Sited Ethnography: Problems and Possibilities in the Translocation of Research Methods.* Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge.

COLLINS, Peter., and GALLINAT, Anselma. (eds.) (2010) *The Ethnographic Self as Resource: Writing Memory and Experience into Ethnography.* Available at: https://www.dawsonera.com/abstract/9781845458287 (Accessed: 29.6.17).

COLLS, Robert., and DODD, Phillip. (1987) *Englishness Politics and Culture 1880-1920.* London: Croome Helm.

COLLS, Robert, and PALMER HEATHMAN, Katie. (2017) Music of Englishness: National Identity and the First Folk Revival. In: *Handbook of Musical Identities.* MACDONALD, Raymond., HARGREAVES, David J., and MIELL, Dorothy. (eds.) Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp.756-767.

Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English (1982) 7th ed. London: Guild Publishing.

CONDOR, Susan. (2011a) Sense and Sensibility: The Conversational Etiquette of English National Self-Identification. In: AUGHEY, Arthur., and BERBERICH, Christine. (eds.) *These Englands: A Conversation on National Identity.* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press. pp.29-55.

CONDOR, Susan. (2011b) Rebranding Britain? Ideological Dilemmas in Political Appeals to "British Multiculturalism". In: BARRETT, M., FLOOD, C., and EADE, J. (eds.) *Nationalism, Ethnicity, Citizenship: Multidisciplinary Perspectives.* Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars. pp.101-134.

COOK, Tom. (1969) The Society and the Social "Folk Dance". *English Dance and Song.* 31(2) p.70.

COOK, Tom. (1988) Cecil Sharp and Mary Neal. Recollections by Douglas Kennedy, As Communicated to Tom Cook. *English Dance and Song*. 50(1) p.5.

COOKE, Judith. (1945) Children and Folk Dancing. *English Dance and Song.* IX(5) p.46.

COOPER, Alan. (1954) Square Dancers are Changing Their Steps. *Let's Square Dance.* 1(11) pp.5-6.

CORBETT, David. (2013) *Those were the Days: With Harry Davidson and His Orchestra.* Bishops Castle, Shropshire: YouCaxton.

COWAN, Jane K. (1990) *Dance and the Body Politic in Northern Greece.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

CRABBE, M.T. (1948) The Ling Physical Education Association. *Health Education Journal* 7(1) p34.

CRAIG, Maxine Leeds. (2014) *Sorry I Don't Dance: Why Men Refuse to Move.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

CRAWFORD, Ian., and Turton, David. (eds). (1992) *Film as Ethnography.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

CRAWFORD, Jack. (2009) Gold Badge: John Heydon citation by Jack Crawford. *English Dance and Song.* 71(2) p.22.

CROUCH, Wendy. (1997a) The Training Programme Lives! *English Dance and Song.* 59(1) p.23.

CROUCH, Wendy. (1997b) The Training Programme Develops? *English Dance and Song.* 59(2) p.8.

CROUCH, Wendy. (1998) What is Gusto? *English Dance and Song.* 60(4) p.29.

CULLINANE, John. (1994) *Aspects of the History of Irish Dancing: In Ireland, England New Zealand, North America and Australia.* Dublin: John Cullinane.

CULLINANE, John. (1998) *Aspects of the History of Irish Céilí Dancing 1897-1997.* Cork: John Cullinane.

CURTICE, John. (2011) Is the English Lion Ready to Roar? In: AUGHEY, Arthur., and BERBERICH, Christine. (eds.) *These Englands: A Conversation on National Identity.* Manchester and New York: Manchester University. pp. 58-61.

DANKWORTH, Linda E., and DAVID, Ann R. (eds.) (2014) *Dance Ethnography and Global Perspectives: Identity, Embodiment, and Culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

DASHWOOD, Janet. (1989) Folk Education in Primary Schools. *English Dance and Song.* 51(3) p.6.

DASHWOOD, Peter., and DASHWOOD, Janet. (1994) *"They Haven't Got Me Yet! A Life History of Peter Dashwood.* Rotherham: Janet Dashwood.

Data.Gov.uk (2016) *Ceremonial County Boundaries of England.* Available at: https://data.gov.uk/dataset/ceremonial-county-boundaries-of-england (Accessed:10.9.2017).

DAVENPORT, Gavin. (2003) Editorial. *English Dance and Song.* 65(3) p.3.

DAVEY, Merv., DAVEY, Alison., and DAVEY, Jowdy. (2009) *Scoot Dances, Troyls, Furrys and Tea Treats*. London: Francis Boutle.

DAVEY, Mervyn Rex. (2011) "*As is the Manner and the Custom" Folk Tradition and Identity in Cornwall*. PhD Thesis. University of Exeter. Available at: https://ethos.bl.uK (Accessed: 6.3.17).

DAVIES, Bob. (1996) Obituary: Martin Jolley 1909-1996. *English Dance and Song.* 58(2) p.28.

DAVINDA, Dena. (ed.) (2011) *Fields in Motion: Ethnography in the Worlds of Dance.* Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University.

DAWSON, L.O. (1955) Postbag: Playford. *English Dance and Song.* XX(2) p.70.

De FRETTES, Marcus. (2019) A Word from the Chairman. *Folk Camps Newsletter.* Spring 2019. pp.2-3. Available at: http://www.folkcamps.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Extent-Spring-2019.pdf (Accessed: 7.10.2019).

De GUARDIOLA, Susan. (2008) *Three Chairs: A Genre of Civil War Era Dance Games?* Available at: *www.kickery.com* (Accessed: 2.5.19).

DE GUARDIOLA, Susan. (2010) *A 1920s Medley Paul Jones*. Available at: https://www.kickery.com/ (Accessed: 22.11.18).

DE GUARDIOLA, Susan. (2014a) *The Castles' Paul Jones*. Available at: https://www.kickery.com/ (Accessed: 22.11.18).

DE GUARDIOLA, Susan. (2014b) *What's with this Paul Jones Thing Anyway?* Available at: https://www.kickery.com/ (Accessed: 22.11.18).

DE LEEUW, Edith D., HOX, Joop J., and DILMAN, Don A. (2008) The Cornerstones of Survey Research. In: DE LEEUW, Edith, D. HOX, Joop J., and DILMAN, Don A. (eds.) *International Handbook of Survey Methodology.* Abingdon: Taylor and Francis. pp.1-17.

De VALOIS, Ninette. (1937) *Invitation to the Ballet.* (1947 re-print) London: John Lane.

De VALOIS, Ninette. (1960) Folk Dance and Royal Ballet. *English Dance and Song.* 24(2). pp. 39-40. Re-printed from *The Dancing Times* May 1960.

DENCH, Keith. (2012) Letters. *English Dance and Song.* 74(1) p.26.

Department of Education (1995) *Key Stages One and Two of the National Curriculum.* London: Department for Education.

Department of Education (1999) *Physical Education: The National Curriculum for England. Key Stages 1-4.* London: Department of Education and Employment and Qualifications and Curriculum Authority.

Department of Education and Science (1972) *Movement: Physical Education in the Primary Years.* London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

DIXON GOTTSCHILD, Brenda. (2003) *The Black Dancing Body.* New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

DODDS, Sherril. (2010) Slamdancing with the Boundaries of Theory and Practice: The Legitimisation of Popular Dance. In: CARTER, Alexandra. and O'SHEA, Janet. (eds.) *The Routledge Dance Studies Reader.* (2nd ed.) London: Routledge. pp.344-253.

DODDS, Sherril. (2011) *Dancing on the Canon: Embodiments of Value in Popular Dance.* Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

DODWORTH, Allen. (1900) *Dancing and its Relations to Education and Social Life with a New Method of Instruction, Including a Complete Guide to the Cotillion (German) with*

250 Figures. New York: Harper & Brothers. Available at: https://www.loc.gov/item/00002075/ (Accessed 23.1.20).

DOMMETT, Roy. (1979) The Kitchen Lancers: Five Figures for the Lancers from Roy Dommett. *English Dance and Song.* 41(3) p.7.

DOMMETT, Roy. (1982) Meeting Country Dances. *English Dance and Song.* 44(2) p.11.

DOMMETT, Roy. [1975] Social Dances of Southern Counties. *Roy Dommett's Morris Notes.* Volume 5: Other Morris. Available at: www.cdss.org (Accessed: 22.11.18).

DOUGLAS, Leta M. (1931) *Six Dances of the Yorkshire Dales.* Giggleswick: L.M. Douglas.

DOWELL, John. (1984) Bad Gig Guide. *English Dance and Song.* 46(2) p.26.

DOWLING, Maura. (2008) Reflexivity. In: GIVEN, Lisa M. (ed.) *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods.* Available at: https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412963909.n377 (Accessed:5.2.20).

DUN, Barclay. (1818) *Translation of Nine of the Most Fashionable Quadrilles.* Available at: https://www.loc.gov/item/42048498/ (Accessed: 24.2.18).

DUNDES, Alan. (1969) The Devolutionary Premise in Folklore Theory. Re-printed in: BROMMER, Simon (ed.) *The Meaning of Folklore: The Analytical Essays of Alan Dundes.* (Utah State University Press, 2007), 164-177.

DUNIN, Elsie Ivancich., and KAEPPLER, Adrienne Lois. (eds.) (2007) *Dance Structures: Perspectives on the Analysis of Human Movement.* Budapest: Akademíai Kiado.

DYER, Richard. (1997) *White.* London: Routledge.

ED&S (1945a) Saturday Square Dances. *English Dance and Song.* IX(3) p.21.

ED&S (1945b) Something We Want More Of. *English Dance and Song.* IX(4) p.37

ED&S (1946) Folk Dance Festival, Stratford Upon Avon. *English Dance and Song.* X(5) p.56.

ED&S (1949a) "The Star" Merrie England Ball and Old Time Dance. *English Dance and Song.* XIII(2) p.17.

ED&S (1949b) Visit of Princess Margaret. *English Dance and Song.* XIII (5) p.69.

ED&S (1950) Festival Ball. *English Dance and Song.* XV(3) p.85.

ED&S (1951) Easter Holiday Course. *English Dance and Song.* XV(4) p.117.

ED&S (1952a) New Public Events at Cecil Sharp House. *English Dance and Song.* XVI(4) p.108.

ED&S (1952b) Everybody Swing: Square Dances at the Lyceum, Strand. *English Dance and Song.* XVI(5) p.159.

ED&S (1952c) Walk with Your Lady. *English Dance and Song* XVI (4) p.119.

ED&S (1953) Mony Musk. *English Dance and Song.* XVIII(1) p.25.

ED&S (1955) New Correspondence Clubs. *English Dance and Song.* XX(1) p.37.

ED&S (1961) Jubilee Dance Competition. *English Dance and Song.* 25(1) p.11.

ED&S (1971) The Next Five Years: The Society in the Seventies. *English Dance and Song.* 33(1) p.39.

ED&S (1972) ED&S Dance Contest. *English Dance and Song.* 34(2) p.66.

ED&S (1992) Dance Conference April 6th. *English Dance and Song.* 54(1) p.6.

EDWARDS, Jeanette. (2000) *Born and Bred: Idioms of Kindship and New Reproductive Technologies in England.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

EFDS News (1923a) Three New Dance Compositions. *English Folk Dance Society News.* (6) pp.156-158.

EFDS News (1923b) On Composing Dances. *English Folk Dance Society News.* (6) pp.158-160.

EFDS News (1924) Press Notices of Mr. Kennedy's Ballet. *EFDS News.* (7) pp. 193-194.

EFDS News (1925) Baggots. *English Folk Dance and Song News.* 10. p.337.

EFDSS (1947) *Community Dance Manual.* London: English Folk Dance and Song Society.

EFDSS (1948) The Policy of the Executive Committee. Regarding AGM 6.12.1947. *English Dance and Song.* XII (3) pp.24-43.

EFDSS (1993) Training Programme. English Folk Dance and Song Society circular, distributed with *English Dance and Song* 55(1) p.2.

EFDSS (1998) *Strategic Plan 1998-2001.* Distributed with *English Dance and Song* 60(2). London: English Folk Dance and Song Society.

EFDSS (2000) Membership Survey. *English Folk Dance and Song Society Newsletter.* Autumn 2000.

EFDSS (2018a) Job Application for Trainee Folk Dance Tutor (English Country Dancing). Copy in author's possession.

EFDSS (2018b) English Folk Dance and Song Society (The) Annual Report and Financial Statement for the Year Ended 31 March 2018. Available at: https://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=305999&subid=0 (Accessed 21.1.2020).

EFDSS [1947] *The Call Sheet: For a Party Programme of Social Country Dances.* London: English Folk Dance and Song Society. Copy in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library. GR10(31).

EFDSS News (1970) The First National Training Conference. Supplement to *English Dance and Song.* Unpaginated.

EKIN, Betty. (1943) Community Dancing. *English Dance and Song.* 7(4) p.52.

EKIN, Betty. (1946) Letters. *English Dance and Song.* X(8) p.108.

ELLIOT, Rob. (2017) *The Fool and His Dances: Tales of Dark Morris from the Wild Welsh Border.* Rob Elliot.

ELLIS, Carolyn., and BOCHER, Arthur P. (2000) Autoethnography, Personal Narrative, Reflexivity. In: DENZIN, Norman K., and LINCOLN, Yvonna S. (eds.) *Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research.* (2nd. ed.) London: Sage

EMERSON, Robert M., SHAW, Linda L., and FRETZ, Rachel I. (1995) *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes.* London, Chicago: University of Chicago.

EMLER, Nicholas (2011) What Does it Take to be a Political Actor in a Multicultural Society? In: BARRETT, M., FLOOD, C., and EADE, J. (eds.) *Nationalism, Ethnicity, Citizenship: Multidisciplinary Perspectives.* Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars. pp.135-162.

ENGLISH, Joan. [2012] Interview by Eileen Gamble. Benfleet Community Archive. Available at: www.benfleethistory.org.uk/content/people/sports_and_leisure/leisure-activities/the_circassian_circle_folk_dance_club (Accessed: 8.2.18).

EVANS, H. Justin. (1974) *Service to Sport: The Story of the CCPR-1935-1972*. London: Pelham Books and The Sports Council.

EVANS, John., and PENNEY, Dawn. (1995) Physical Education, Restoration and the Politics of Sport. *Curriculum Studies.* 3(2). pp.183-196.

FAIRBAIRN, Hazel. (1994) Changing Contexts for Traditional Dance Music in Ireland: The Rise of Group Performance Practice. *Folk Music Journal.* 6(5) pp.566-599.

FARNELL, Brenda M. (1994) Ethno-Graphics and the Moving Body. *Man.* 29(4) pp.929-974.

FEATHERSTONE, Simon. (2009) *Englishness: Twentieth-Century Popular Culture and the Forming of English Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University.

FEINTUCH, Bert. (1981a) Longing for Community. *Western Folklore.* 60(2/3) pp.149-161.

FEINTUCH, Bert. (1981b) Dancing to the Music: Domestic Square Dances and Community in Southcentral Kentucky (1880-1940). *Journal of the Folklore Institute.* 18(1) pp.49-68.

FENSHAM, Rachel., and CARTER, Alexandra. (2011) *Dancing Naturally: Nature, Neo-Classicism and Modernity in Early Twentieth-Century Dance.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Available at: https://www.dawsonera.com (Accessed: 28.3.18).

FENTON, Steve. (2003) *Ethnicity*. Oxford: Blackwell/Polity.

FENTON, Steve. (2007) Indifference Towards National Identity: What Young Adults Think about Being English and British. *Nations and Nationalism.* 13(2) pp.321-229.

FERRY, Kathryn. (2016) *The Nations Host: Butlin's and the Story of the British Seaside.* UK: Viking.

FINE, Gary. (1998) Moral Boundaries, Leisure Activities, and Justifying Fun. In: SMITH, Philip. (ed.) *The New American Cultural Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.217-229.

FINK, J. (1975) The Future of the EFDSS: Extracts from Reader's Letters. *English Dance and Song.* 37(1) p. 30.

FINNEGAN, Ruth. (1989) *The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town.* (2nd ed. 2007) Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University.

FINNEGAN, Ruth. (1998) *Tales of the City: A Study of Narrative and Urban Life.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

FISHER, Jennifer., and SHAY, Antony. (2009) *When Men Dance: Choreographing Masculinities Across Borders.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

FLEMING-WILLIAMS, Nan., and SHAW, Pat. (1967) *A Popular Selection of Traditional Dance Airs.* London: English Folk Dance and Song Society.

FLETCHER, Kerry. (2014) *Beginners Guide to Folk Dance: A Brief Introduction to the Vibrant and Diverse English Folk Dance Traditions.* The English Folk Dance and Song Society. Available at: https://www.efdss.org/efdss-education/resource-bank/beginners-guide/english-folk-dance#english-folk-dance-introduction (Accessed:16.2.17).

FLETCHER, Sheila. (1987) The Making and Breaking of a Female Tradition: Women's Physical Education in England 1880-1980. In: MANAGAN, J.A., and PARK, Roberta J. (eds.) *From Fair Sex to Feminism: Sport and the Socialisation of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras.* London: Frank Cass, pp. 145-160.

FLETT, J.F., and FLETT T.M. (1964) *Traditional Dancing in Scotland.* (2nd. ed. 1985) London: Routledge and Keegan Paul.

FLETT, J.F., and FLETT, T.M. (1967) What do we know about our Dances? III. Dancing in Northumberland (continued). *English Dance and Song.* 29(2) pp.39-40.

FLETT, Tom. (1962) Heeuchs and Yeeuchs. *Folk.* 1(1) pp.13-14.

FOGLE, Ben. (2017) *English: A Story of Marmite, Queuing and Weather.* London: William Collins.

FOLEY, Catherine E. (2013) *Step Dancing in Ireland: Culture and History.* Farnham: Ashgate.

FOLEY, Catherine. (2018) Set Dancing, Orthodoxy, Heterodoxy: Changing Cultural and Political Landscapes in Ireland. In: STAVĚLOVA, Daniela., and BUCKLAND, Theresa

Jill. (eds.) *Folklore Revival Movements in Europe Post-1950: Shifting Contexts and Perspectives.* Prague: Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences. pp.281-292.

FOLEY, Catherine. (2019) Ethnochoreology. In: STURMAN, Janet. (ed.) *The Sage International Encyclopaedia of Music and Culture.* Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE pp.844-846. Available at: sk.sagepub.com (Accessed 30.2.20).

Folk Scene (1965) The English Folk Dance and Song Society in 1965. *Folk Scene.* 1(4). pp.16-18.

Folklorist (1958) Jubilee Year English Folk Dance and Song Society Festival. *The Folklorist*. 4(5) pp.131-133.

For Folk's Sake: Morris Dancing and Me (2019) [Television Programme] Produced by Richard Macer. UK: BBC Channel 4. Broadcast 1.4.2019. 60 mins.

FOSTER, Arnold. (1933) *Five Popular Country Dances.* Oxford: Oxford University Press for the English Folk Dance and Song Society.

FOX, Kate. (2004) *Watching the English: The Hidden Rules of English Behaviour.* London: Hodder and Stoughton.

FOXWORTHY, Tony. (1992) What Traditional Dance? *English Dance and Song.* 54(4) p.9.

FOXWORTHY, Tony. (2001) Dance Technique???!!! *English Dance and Song.* 63(3) p.8.

Francis and Day [1945a] *Francis and Day's Ballroom Guide of Old Time Favourite and Modern Dances.* London: Francis, Day, and Hunter.

Francis and Day [1945b] *Francis and Day's Album of Old Favourite Dances No.4.* Music Notation. London: Francis, Day, and Hunter.

FRANCIS-TAN, Andrew., and MIALON, Hugo M. (2014) 'A Diamond is Forever' and Other Fairy Tales: The Relationship between Wedding Expenses and Marriage Duration. DOI:10.2139/ssrn.2501480 (Accessed 30.1.18).

FRANCMANIS, John. (2002) National Music to National Redeemer: The Consolidation of a 'Folk-Song' Construct in Edwardian England. *Popular Music.* 21(1) pp.1-25.

FRANKENBERG, Ronald. (1966) *Communities in Britain: Social life in Town and Country.* Hammondsworth, Middlesex; Penguin.

FRANKS, Arthur Henry. (1963) *Social Dance: A Short History*. London: Routledge & Kegan.

FRANKS, Bob. (1952a) *Hoe-Down Square Dancing.* London: Herbert Jenkins.

FRASER, Lila M. (1962) Letters. *English Dance and Song.* 25(2). pp.66-67.

FRIEDLAND, LeeEllen. (1998) Folk Dance. In: COHEN, Selma Jeanne. (ed.) *International Encyclopaedia of Dance.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available at: https://www.oxfordreference.com (Accessed: 8.2.17).

FUBINI, Enrico. (1994) *Music and Culture in Eighteenth Century Europe: A Source Book.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago.

GALLIGHAN, Frank., BARRY, Tim., CRAWFORD, Dee., HOWE, David., MASKERY, Colin., RUSTON, Andy., and SPENCE, Jon. (2000) The Development of Physical Education. *Advanced PE for Edexcel.* Oxford: Heinmann Educational Publishing.

GAMMON, Vic. (1986) A.L. Lloyd and History. In: RUSSELL, Ian. (ed.) S*inger, Song and Scholar.* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press. pp. 147-164.

GAMMON, Vic. (2003) Introduction: Cecil Sharp and English folk music. In: ROUD, Steve., UPTON, Eddie., and TAYLOR, Malcolm. (eds.) *Still Growing: English Traditional Songs and Singers from the Cecil Sharp Collection.* London: The English Folk Dance and Song Society. pp. 2-21.

GAMMON, Vic. (2008) Many Useful Lessons: Cecil Sharp, Education and the Folk Dance Revival 1900-1924. *Cultural and Social History.* 5(1) pp.75-97.

GARFATH, Henry L. (1993) Letters. *English Dance and Song.* 55(1) p.21.

GARRINGTON, Roy. (1994) Letters. *English Dance and Song.* 56(3) p.6.

GELBERT, Matthew. (2007) *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

GIBSON, Barry., and HARTMAN, Jan. (2013) *Rediscovering Grounded Theory.* Los Angeles, California: SAGE.

GIBSON, Elizabeth. (1960) Interview notes made by Tom and Joan Flett. 1.7.1960. English Trad. 2 pp. 163-164. Available at: https://insteprt.co.uk/ (Accessed: 27.12.18).

GIGUERE, Meriam. (2011) Dancing Thoughts: An Examination of Children's Cognition and Creative Process in Dance. *Research in Dance Education.* 12(1) pp. 5-28.

GIURCHESCU, Anca. (2003) Dance Aesthetics in Traditional Romanian Communities. *Yearbook for Traditional Music.* 35. pp.163-171.

GIURCHESCU, Anca., and TORP, Lisbet. (1991) Theory and Methods in Dance Research: A European Approach to the Holistic Study of Dance. *Yearbook for Traditional Music.* 23. pp.1-10.

GODDARD, Sean. (2004) Cumberland Square Eight. *Folk Dance Problem Solver.* Society for Folk Dance Historians. pp.32-37.

GODDARD, Sean. (2006) Buffalo Girls. *Folk Dance Problem Solver.* Society for Folk Dance Historians. pp.11-16.

GODDARD, Sean. (2007) Pre-WWII International Folk Dancing in England. (2nd ed. 2017) *The Folk Dance Problem Solver.* The Society of Folk Dance Historians. pp.1-6.

GODDARD, Sean. (2012) Weaving Dances: Stripping the Willow/The Reel. *Folk Dance Problem Solver.* Society for Folk Dance Historians. pp.52-55.

GODRICH, Brenda. (ed.) (2010) *Pat Shaw 1917-1977: His Life Through Memories of his Friends, his Music, Dances and Songs.* Ashford Colour Press Ltd. for Nicolas Broadbridge.

GOODMAN, Barry. (2014) *Creative Folk Dance for Primary Schools.* English Folk Dance and Song Society. Available at: https://media.efdss.org/resourcebank/docs/RB145CreativeFolkDancePrimary-BarryGoodman.pdf (Accessed: 15/8/18).

GOODWIN-HAWKINS, Bryonny. (2016) Morris Dancers, Matriarchs, and Paperbacks: Doing the Village in Contemporary Britain. *Ethnography.* 17(3) pp.309-325.

GRAHAM, John B. (2001) The Oxford Third Friday Club. *English Dance and Song.* 63(4) pp.4-5.

Grand Chain (Online) Ceilidh Dance Instructions. Available at: https://www.scottishdance.net/ceilidh/dances.html (Accessed: 26.3.2019).

GRAU, Andrée. (1998) Myths of Origin. In: CARTER, Alexandra. (ed.) *The Routledge Dance Studies Reader.* New York: Routledge. pp.197-202

GRAU, Andrée. (2015) Why People Dance – Evolution, Sociality and Dance. *Dance, Movement & Spiritualities.* 2(3) pp. 233-254.

GRAY, John. (2000) Inclusion: A Radical Critique. In: ASKONAS, Peter., and STEWART, Angus. (eds.) *Social Inclusion: Possibilities and Tensions.* Basingstoke: MacMillan. pp.19-37.

GREENHILL, Pauline. (1994) *Ethnicity in the Mainstream: Three Studies of English Canadian Culture in Ontario.* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

GREENHOUSE, Carol. (1985) Anthropology at Home: Whose Home? *Human Organization.* 44(3) pp.261-264.

GREGORY, David. (2009) Fakesong in an Imagined Village? A Critique of the Harker-Boyes Thesis. *Canadian Society for Traditional Music.* 43(3). Available at: http://www.canfolkmusic.ca/index.php/cfmb/article/viewFile/241/235 (Accessed: 5.5.17).

GROSBY, Steven (2005) *Nationalism: A Very Short Introduction.* Oxford: Oxford University.

GROTH, Susan Charles. (1999) Challenging the Big Words Folk Revival Meets Authenticity, Politics and Reflexivity. *The Folklore Historian.* 16. pp. 20-42.

Gulbenkian Foundation (1980) *Dance Education and Training in Britain.* London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

GWYNNE, Michael. (1950) *Old Time and Sequence Dancing.* (3rd ed. 1963). London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons.

HAINES, Simon. (2000) Functional Bands with Stars in their Eyes. *English Dance and Song.* 62(2) p.12.

HAINES, Simon. (2014) On the English Ceilidh Band Wagon. Number 2. *The Living Tradition.* 101 April/May. p.31.

HAINES, Simon. (2020) On the English Ceilidh Band Wagon: Number 7. *The Living Tradition.* 132 Feb/March. p.27.

HALL, Ivy. (1959) Traditional Dancing in the Border Country. *English Dance and Song.* 23(2) pp.54-55.

HALL, Reg. (1959) Thoughts on Social Aspects of Traditional Dance. *Ethnic* 1(1) pp.12-15.

HALL, Reg. (2005) The Last Waltz and Circassian Circle. *English Dance and Song.* 67(3) p.30.

HALL, Reg. (2014) *"Good Humour for the rest of the night": Traditional Dance Music in Northumberland and Cumberland*. [CD]. Sleeve Notes. UK:Topic TSCD 675.

HALL, Reg. (2016) *A Few Tunes of Good Music: A History of Irish Music and Dance in London 1800-1980 and Beyond.* Topic. Available at: https://www.topicrecords.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/few-tunes-reg-hall.pdf (Accessed 19.11.2020).

HALL, Reg. (2017) *Peter Kennedy's Published Recordings of British and Irish Traditional Music and Related Material: An Annotated Discography*. Available at: https://www.vwml.org/topics/study-guides (Accessed 12.3.18).

HAMERA, Judith. (2007) *Dancing Communities: Performance, Difference and Connection in the Global City.* Basingstoke: Macmillan.

HAMILTON, Jack. (1964) *Community Dances Manual 6.* London: English Folk Dance and Song Society.

HANDLER, Richard., and LINNEKIN, Jocelyn. (1984) Tradition, Genuine or Spurious? *The Journal of American Folklore*. 97(385) pp. 273-290.

HANNA, Judith Lynne. (1979) *To Dance is Human: A Theory of Nonverbal Communication.* Austin, Texas: University of Texas.

HANNERZ, Ulf. (2003) Being There… and There… and There! Reflections on Multi-Sited Ethnography. *Ethnography.* 4(2) pp.201-216.

HARKER, Dave. (1972) Cecil Sharp in Somerset: Some Conclusions. *Folk Music Journal.* 2(3) pp. 220-40.

HARKER, Dave. (1985) *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British Folk Song 1700 to the Present Day.* Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

HARPER, Peggy. (1973) Dance and Movement in Physical Education in Africa: A Reassessment. In: MANGAN, J.A. (ed.) *Physical Education and Sport: Sociological and Cultural Perspectives.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell. pp. 153-160.

HARPER, Sarah. (1989) The British Rural Community: An Overview of Perspectives. *Journal of Rural Studies.* 5(2) pp.161-184

HARRINGTON, Anne. (1996) *Reenchanted Science: Holism in German Culture from Wilhelm II to Hitler*. (Princetown, New Jersey: Princetown University Press).

HARRIS, Alice. (2002) *The Blue Jean.* London: Thames and Hudson.

HARRIS, Jane., PITMAN, Anne., and WALLER, Mary. (1950) *Dance A While.* (3rd ed. 1964) Minneapolis, Minnesota: Burgess.

HAST, Dorothea E. (1993) Performance, Transformation, and Community: Contra Dance in New England. *Dance Research Journal.* 25(1) pp.21-32.

HASTRUP, Kirsten. (1992) Anthropological Visions: Some Notes on Visual and Textual Authority. In: CRAWFORD, Ian., and TURTON, David. (eds.) *Film as Ethnography.* Manchester: Manchester University Press. pp.8-26.

HAUGAARD, Mark. (2006) Nationalism and Liberalism. In: SEGAL, Daniel A., and HANDLER, Richard. (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Nations and Nationalism.* London: Sage. pp. 345-355.

HAWKINS, John. (1952) A Plea for Couples. *English Dance and Song.* XVII(1) p.8.

HAYNES, Anna. (1987) The Dynamic Image: Changing Perspectives in Dance Education. In: ABBS, Peter. (ed.) *Living Powers: The Arts in Education* (London: Falmer Press) pp.141-162.

HEFFER, M., and PORTER, W.S. (1932) *Maggot Pie: New Country Dances.* Cambridge: Heffer and Sons.

HELSINGER, Elizabeth K. (1997) *Rural Scenes and National Representation: Britain 1815-1850.* Princetown, New Jersey: Princetown University.

HEYDON, John. (online) Initial Club History as Remembered by John Heydon. *Herga Folk Club.* Available at: http://folk4all.net/HergaHistory.htm (Accessed: 12.11.2019).

HEYDON, John., and RIPPON, Hugh. (2008) Ceilidhs in Haddenham. *English Dance and Song.* 70(3) pp.20-21.

HEYWOOD, Lisa. (2017) Dancing with Respect. *English Dance and Song.* 79(2) pp.2-21.

HICKMAN, Mary J. (1998) Reconstructing Deconstructing 'Race': British Political Discourses about The Irish in Britain. *Ethnic and Racial Studies.* 21(2) pp.288-307.

HICKS, Jay. (1952) *Francis and Day's Square Dance Instructions Calls and Music.* London: Francis, Day and Hunter.

HILLGROVE, Thomas. (1857) *The Scholars' Companion and Ball-Room Vade Mecum Comprising A Description of All the Principal Dances*. New York: T.R. Turnbull.

HILLYER, Ken. (1973) Southern Comfort: Ken Hillyer Writes about The Southerners. *Folk Review.* 2(7) pp.10-11.

Hitched.co.uk (2012) *Has Anyone Been to a Wedding with a Ceilidh Band?* Available at: https://www.hitched.co.uk/chat/forums/thread/has-anyone-been-to-a-wedding-with-a-ceilidh-band-327676/ (Accessed: 7.5.18).

Hitched.co.uk (2015) *Barn Dance with Hog Roast.* Available at: https://www.hitched.co.uk/chat/forums/thread/barn-dance-with-hog-roast-509063/ (Accessed: 7.5.18).

HOBSBAWM, Eric., and RANGER, Terence. (eds.) (1983) *The Invention of Tradition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

HOERBURGER, Felix. (1968) Once Again: On the Concept of "Folk Dance". *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*. 20. pp. 30-32.

HOLBROW, C. (1946) Letters to the Editor: Dance Policy. *English Dance and Song.* X(4) p.69.

HOLMAN JONES, Stacey., ADAMS, Tony E., and ELLIS, Carolyn. (eds.) (2013) *Handbook of Autoethnography.* London and New York: Routledge.

HOLMES, Sarah. (2014) The Pilates Pelvis: Racial Implications of the Immobile Hips. *Dance Research Journal*. 46(2) pp. 57-72.

HOPKIN, David. (2012) Folklore Beyond Nationalism: Identity Politics and Scientific Cultures in a New Discipline. In: HOPKIN, David., and BAYCROFT, Timothy. (eds.) *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe During the Long Nineteenth Century.* Boston, USA: Leiden. Available from: https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/ (Accessed: 5.2.20) pp.371-401.

HORN, Adrian. (2007) *Juke Box Britain: Americanisation and Youth Culture 1945-1960.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

HORTON, Laurel. (2001) Material Expressions of Communality among Dance Groups. *Western Folklore.* 60(2/3) pp.203-226.

HORTON, Laurel., and JORDAN-SMITH, Paul. (2004) Deciphering Folk Costume: Dress Codes Among Contra Dancers. *The Journal of American Folklore.* 117(466) pp.415-440.

HOSEPIPE, Simon. (2001) All in a Night's Work 3: Barn dancing – The Real Thing. *English Dance and Song.* 63(3) p.20.

HOUSTON, Ron. (1995a) Gay Gordons. *Folk Dance Problem Solver.* (2nd ed. 2017) pp.14-16.

HOUSTON, Ron. (1995b) Saint Bernard or St Bernard Waltz. *Folk Dance Problem Solver.* (2nd ed. 2017) pp.49-50.

HOUSTON, Ron. (1996) Hokey Pokey. *Folk Dance Problem Solver.* (2nd ed. 2017) pp.18-21.

HOUSTON, Ron. (1998) Heel and Toe Polka. *Folk Dance Problem Solver.* (2nd ed. 2017). pp.23-36.

HOUSTON, Ron. (2000) Circassian Circle. *Folk Dance Problem Solver.* (2nd ed. 2017). pp.14-19.

HOUSTON, Ron. (2006) How Folk Dancing Grew. *The Folk Dance Problem Solver.* (2nd ed. 2017). pp.2-10. Available at: http://www.socalfolkdance.com/articles/how_folk_dancing_grew_houston.htm (Accessed: 14.8.18).

HOUSTON, Ron. (2008) *Familie Sekstur*. Available at: http://archives.mvfolkdancers.com/0_Other%20Items%20of%20Interest/0_Dance%20Instructions/familie%20sekstur%203.pdf (Accessed: 22.3.19)

HOUSTON, Ron. (2012) Strip the Willow/Drops of Brandy. *Folk Dance Problem Solver.* (2nd ed. 2017) pp.38-40.

HOUSTON, Sara. (2004) The Seriousness of Having Fun: The Political Agenda of Community Dance. *Animated.* Winter. pp.4-6.

HOUSTON, Sara. (2009) Dancing Around Exclusion: An Examination of the Issues of Social Inclusion Within Choreographic Practice in the Community. In: BUTTERWORTH, Jo., and WILDSCHUT, Liesbeth. (eds.) *Contemporary Choreography A Critical Reader*. London: Routledge. pp.237-250.

HOWE, Margery. (1993) Letters. *English Dance and Song.* 55(1) p22&24.

HOWSON, John., and PANTON, Mary. (1988) Two's Company. *FRoots.* 9(10) n.58. p.27.

HUGHES, Charles. (2017) *Country Soul: Making Music and Making Race in the American South.* USA, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press.

HUGHES-FREELAND, F. (1999) Dance on Film: Strategy and Serendipity. In: BUCKLAND, T. (ed.) *Dance in the Field. Theory, Methods and Issues in Dance Ethnography*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd. pp.111-122.

HUTTON, Ronald. (1999) *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

HWANG, Hokyu., and POWELL, Walter W. (2009) The Rationalization of Charity: The Influences of Professionalism in the Nonprofit Sector. *Administrative Science Quarterly.* 54(2) pp. 268 – 298.

Illustrated Weekly (1951) Everybody's Swinging It! (24.11.51).

In Our Time (2008) Vitalism. [Radio Programme]. BBC Radio 4. Broadcast 16.10.06. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00dwhwt (Accessed: 17.1.20).

INGLE, Stephen. (2011) Conservatives and Englishness: A Conversation Between Party and Nation. In: AUGHEY, Arthur., and BERBERICH, Christine. (eds.) *These Englands: A Conversation on National Identity.* Manchester and New York: Manchester University. pp.115-136.

IRESON, Mary. (1957) Here and There: Chair-Dancing. *English Dance and Song.* XXI(5) p.159.

IRWIN, Colin. (1988) The Catalyst: Rod Stradling. *Folk Roots.* 59(10) pp.13-17.

JACKSON, Antony. (ed.) (1987) *Anthropology at Home: Association of Social Anthropologist of the Commonwealth.* London: Tavistock.

JAMISON, Phil. (2002) Dance Beat: The Old Folks Danced the Do-Si-Do. *Old Time Herald* 8(4) pp.15-21, 55.

JAMISON, Phil. (2015) *Hoedowns, Reels, and Frolics: Roots and Branches of Southern Appalachian Dance*. Urbana: University of Illinois.

JEWITT, Diana. (1997) *Traditional British and Other Dances for National Curriculum KS2.* London: English Folk Dance and Song Society.

JOHODA, Gustav. (1999) *Images of Savages: Ancient Roots of Modern Prejudice in Western Culture.* London: Routledge.

JONES, Bill. (2006) Pressure Groups. In: JONES, Bill., KAVANAGH, Dennis., MORAN, Michael., and NORTON, Phillip. (eds.) *Politics UK.* London: Routledge. pp.249-280.

JONES, Brian. (1986a) *A Berkshire Bundle.* Brian Jones. Copy held at the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London.

JONES, Brian. (1986b) The Future of the Society. *English Dance and Song.* 48(4) p.2.

JONES, Derek. (1988) *Barn Dance Saturday Night: Ring of Belles Country Dance Band.* Croydon, Surrey: Barn Dance Publications Ltd.

JONES, Derek., and JONES, Pam. (1993) Interview with "The Barn Dance Agency". *Special Interest Publications: Social Dance and Ceilidh.* English Folk Dance and Song Society. (3) p.3

JORDAN, Diana. (1966) *Childhood and Movement.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

JUDGE, Roy. (1983) Tradition and the Plaited Maypole Dance. In: BUCKLAND, Theresa. (ed.) *Traditional Dance Vol 2.* Proceedings of 2nd traditional dance conference held in March 1982. Alsager, Cheshire: Crewe and Alsager College of Higher Education. pp.1-22.

JUDGE, Roy. (1989) Mary Neal and the Esperance Morris. *Folk Music Journal.* 5(5), 545-592.

JUDGE, Roy. (1997) 'The Old English Morris Dance': Theatrical Morris 1801-1880. *Folk Music Journal.* 7(3) pp.311-350.

JUDGE, Roy., SCHOFIELD, Derek., ABSON, Walter., LANGSTAFF, John., VAUGHAN WILLIAMS, Ursula., KIRWAN, Molly., FRASER, Hamish., SHIMER, Genevieve., SMEDLEY, Ron., DU CANE, Mollie., MATTHEWS, Jean., DEAN-SMITH, Margaret., LLOYD, Jim., and WALLER, John. (1988) A Tribute to Douglas Neil Kennedy, O.B.E., 1893-1988. *Folk Music Journal*. 5(4) pp.520-536.

KAMINSKY, David. (2012) *Swedish Folk Music in the 21st Century: On the Nature of Tradition in a Folkless Nation.* Massachusetts and Toronto: Lexington Books.

KANE, J.E. (1974) *Physical Education in Secondary Schools.* School Research Council. Basingstoke: Macmillan Education.

KARPELES, Maud. (1931) *Twelve Traditional Country Dances.* Re-printed 1932. London: Novello for the English Folk Dance and Song Society.

KARPELES, Maud., and SCHOFIELD, Kenworthy. (1934) *A Selection of 100 English Folk Dance Airs: For Melodic Instruments.* London: The English Folk Dance and Song Society.

KEALIINOHOMOKU, Joann Wheeler. (1972) Folk Dance. In: DORSON, Richard. (ed.) *Folklore and Folklife.* London and Chicago: University of Chicago. pp. 381-401.

KEEGAN-PHIPPS, Simon. (2008) *Teaching Folk: The Educational Institutionalisation of Folk Music in Contemporary England*. PhD Thesis. Newcastle University. Available at: https://ethos.bl.uK (Accessed: 5.9.18).

KEEGAN-PHIPPS, Simon. (2017) Identifying the English: Essentialism and Multiculturalism in Contemporary English Folk Music. *Ethnomusicology Forum*. 26(2) pp.3-25.

KELLY, John. (1987) *Freedom to be: A New Sociology of Leisure.* London and New York: MacMillan and Collier Macmillan.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1938) The Morrice Men. *Dancing Times.* December (339) pp.265-269.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1939a) To the Dancers. *English Dance and Song.* III(3) pp.80-81.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1939b) The Revival in Group Dancing. *Dancing Times.* June (345) pp.268-269.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1940a) Our English Dances: An Historical Sketch. *English Dance and Song.* V(1) p.2-3.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1940b) What about Playford? *English Dance and Song.* IV(3) pp.32-33.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1941) As Easy as A.B.C. *English Dance and Song.* V(6) pp.70 & 75.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1944a) Community Dancing. *English Dance and Song.* IX(1) pp.3-4.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1944b) Where Do We Go From Here? *English Dance and Song.* IX(2) pp.13-15.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1945a) Policy, Programme and Practice. *English Dance and Song.* IX (4). pp.31-32.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1945b) Awake and Alive. *English Dance and Song.* X(2) pp.19-20.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1946a) Notes on Recruiting. *English Dance and Song.* X(6) p.73.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1946b) Revival of Folk Dancing in England. *Dancing Times.* December (435) pp.128-130.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1946c) Open Letter from the Director to the Society. *English Dance and Song.* X(4) pp.44-45.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1946d) Notes on Northumberland Country Dances. *English Dance and Song.* X(7) p.94.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1947) Country Dances - Old and New. *English Dance and Song.* XI (1) pp.5-6.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1947-1948) Director's Page. *English Dance and Song.* XI(6) p.85.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1949a) *England's Dances: Folk Dancing Today and Yesterday.* London: George Bell and Sons.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1949b) The Royal Albert Hall Festival. *English Dance and Song.* XIII (2) pp.19 & 29.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1949c) Festival Dress – To Start You Thinking. *English Folk Dance and Song Society Bulletin.* (6). p.25.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1949d) The Hexham Festival – A Landmark. *English Dance and Song.* XIII(4) pp.56-58.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1950a) Cecil Sharp House Saturday Night Square Dances. *English Dance and Song.* XIV(2) p.17.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1950b) The Director Writes: Anglo-American. *English Dance and Song.* XV(2) pp.37-38.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1950c) The Dance as Education. *Dancing Times.* March (474) pp.345-347.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1951) Charity Begins at Home. *English Dance and Song.* XVI (6) p.185.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1951-1952) The Director Responds. *English Dance and Song.* XVI (3) p.88.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1952a) The Square Dance Comes Back. *English Dance and Song.* XVI (4) pp.109-111.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1952b) London Square Dances. *English Dance and Song.* XVI(5) p.159.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1954a) The Director Writes: National Dancing. *English Dance and Song.* XIX(1) p.5.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1954b) AGM From the Director's Speech. *English Dance and Song.* XVII(4) pp.132-133.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1955) The Director Writes: Live Music. *English Dance and Song.* XIX(5) pp.153-154.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1957) The Director Writes: Making Good. *English Dance and Song.* XXI(4) pp.115-116.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1959a) The Director Writes: Inside Out. *English Dance and Song.* 23(3) pp.63-64.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1959b) Starting Young. *English Dance and Song.* 23(2) pp.35-37.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1959c) The Director Writes. *English Dance and Song.* 23(4) pp.91-92.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1961) Rocking the Morris with Douglas Kennedy in Conversation with Sydney Carter. *English Dance and Song.* 24(3) pp.4-7.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1963) Losing Our Senses. *Dancing Times.* March (630) pp.345-346.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1964) *English Folk Dancing: Today and Yesterday.* London: George Bell and Son.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1965) Folklore and Human Ecology. *Folklore.* 76(2) pp.81-89.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1966) Further Thoughts on Human Ecology. *Folklore.* 77(2) pp.81-90.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1971) A Jubilee Symposium: Folk Dance Revival. *Folk Music Journal.* 2(2) pp.80-90.

KENNEDY, Douglas. [1973] *Talking About My Life 1893-1935.* Unpublished autobiography. Available at: The Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London. Accession Number 228.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1973) Interviewed by Jim Lloyd. Radio 3. Produced by Frances Line. (11/5/73). Available at: The Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London.

KENNEDY, Douglas. (1982). Tradition: A Personal Viewpoint of Douglas Kennedy, Vice-President of the Society. *Folk Music Journal.* 4(3) pp.195-207.

KENNEDY, Douglas., and KENNEDY, Helen. (1939) *Walking on Air: An Introduction to the Technique of Dancing Country Dances and American Square Dances*. London: English Folk Dance and Song Society.

KENNEDY, Douglas., and KENNEDY, Helen. (1955) The Cumberland Square Eight Dance. [Film]. Huntley Archives. Reference 17227. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W-ZQ2VxeRa4 (Accessed: 12.4.18).

KENNEDY, Douglas., and KENNEDY, Helen. (1959a) *Handing On: A Guide to Country Dancing for Popular Use.* London: English Folk Dance and Song Society.

KENNEDY, Douglas., and KENNEDY, Helen. (1959b) *Do It Yourself: A Guide to Enable Folk Dance Leaders to Tune up their Natural Dance Technique.* London: English Folk Dance and Song Society.

KENNEDY, Douglas., KENNEDY, Helen., and KENNEDY, Peter. (1942) *Square Dances of America: The Callers Manual.* London: The English Folk Dance and Song Society.

KENNEDY, Helen. (1941) Traditional and Playford Dances. *English Dance and Song.* VI(2) p.29.

KENNEDY, Helen. (1945) Your Questions Answered. *English Dance and Song.* X(1) pp. 4-5.

KENNEDY, Helen. (1952) Albert Hall Festival. *English Dance and Song.* XVI (5) pp.128-159.

KENNEDY, Helen. (1955) Fifty Years Ago. *English Dance and Song.* XIX (5) pp.158-159.

KENNEDY, Helen., and Kennedy, Douglas. (1961) *The English Folk Dance and Song Society: A Jubilee History.* London: The English Folk Dance and Song Society.

KENNEDY, Helen., and KENNEDY, Douglas. (1960) *English Folk Dancing in the Primary School.* London: Novello.

KENNEDY, Peter. (1948) Two Simple English Quadrilles from the Border. *English Dance and Song.* XX(3) p. 4.

KENNEDY, Peter. (1949) A Country Dance from the Pennines – The Rifleman (or Galopade). *English Dance and Song.* XIII (6) p.91.

KENNEDY, Peter. (1950a) Discovering "The Barn Dance" in the North East. *English Dance and Song.* XV(1) p.10.

KENNEDY, Peter. (1950b) More about Barn Dances Number Two. *English Dance and Song.* XV(2) pp.42-43.

KENNEDY, Peter. (1951) *The Fiddler's Tune-Book: 100 Traditional Airs.* Oxford University Press for the English Folk Dance and Song Society.

KENNEDY, Peter. (1952) *Everybody Swing: Square Dance Album Number One*: *Compete Calls and Instructions with Glossary of Figures and Steps Together with Piano Parts and Separate Orchestral Scores.* London: Chappell and Co. Ltd.

KENNEDY, Peter. (1954a) *Community Dances Manual 3.* London: English Folk Dance and Song Society.

KENNEDY, Peter. (1954b) *The Second Fiddler's Tune Book.* Oxford University Press for the English Folk Dance and Song Society.

KENNEDY, Peter. (1964) Who's Who on the Staff. Technical Representative: Peter Kennedy. *English Dance and Song.* 26(2) p.34

KENNEDY, Peter. (1985) Random Memories of an English Dancing Master. *English Dance and Song.* 47(1) p.15.

KENNEDY, Peter. (1989) The Ups and Downs: Peter Kennedy Looks at some Past Folk Attitudes and Experiences in the Light of Today. *Froots.* 10(8) pp.15&17.

KENNEDY, Peter. (1998) Everybody's Folk. *English Dance and Song.* 60(2). pp.24-27.

KENNEDY, Peter. (1999) *Traditional Dance Music of Britain and Ireland: Slip Jigs and Waltzes*. Cleckheaton, Yorkshire: Dave Mallinson Publications.

KENNEDY, Peter. [2006] *Folk Tracks*. Available at: http://www.folktrax-archive.org/menus/history.htm (Accessed: 8.2.18).

KENNY, Michael. (2014) *The Politics of English Nationhood.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

KENNY, Michael. (2016) The Genesis of English Nationalism. *Political Insight.* 7(2) pp.8-11.

KETTLEWELL, David. (1969) The Surrey Harvesters. *English Dance and Song.* 31(1) p.26.

KIDDY, Paul Alexander. (2015) *Social Dance and Wellbeing – An Ethnographic Study of Two Folk Social Dance Settings.* PhD Thesis. University of Liverpool. Available at: http://ethos.bl.uk (Accessed: 14.10.2019).

KIMMINS, G.T., and WOOLNOTH, M.H. (1907) *The Guild of Play Book of Festival and Dance Part One.* London: Curwen and Sons.

KINSMAN, W.H. (1945) Here and There: District "Ceilidhe" *English Dance and Song.* XX(4) p.145.

KIRKPATRICK, John. (2000) The Shropshire Bedlams: A Talk by John Kirkpatrick. *American Morris Newsletter.* 23(1). Available at: https://www.johnkirkpatrick.co.uk/mo_ShropshireBedlams.asp (Accessed: 22.3.2019).

KNIGHT, Wendy. (1995) *English Traditional Dancing*. London: English Folk Dance and Song Society.

KNIGHT, Wendy. (2002) *English Traditional Dancing.* (2nd ed.) CAMPBELL JEWITT, Diana (ed.) London: English Folk Dance and Song Society.

KNIGHT, Wendy. (2012) *English Traditional Dancing.* (3rd ed.) ELLIOTT, Rachel (ed.) London: English Folk Dance and Song Society.

KNOWLES, Athalie. (1982) Dance in Schools. In: *Dance in Education: Report of the Joint Course Organised by the Arts Council of Great Britain and the Department of Education and Science.* London: Arts Council and the Department of Education and Science. pp.25-34. Available at: The Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London.

KOLB, Alexandra., and KALOGEROPOULOU, Sophia. (2012) In Defence of Ballet: Women, Agency and the Philosophy of Pleasure. *Dance Research.* 30(2) pp.107-125.

KOSTOULA, Christina. (2012) Inclusive Dance Practice: Barriers to Learning. *Dance Teaching and Learning: Shaping Practice.* (2nd ed. 2013) SANDERS, Lorna. (ed.) London: Youth Dance England. pp.75-81.

KOUTSOUBA, Maria. (1999) 'Outsider' in an 'Inside' World, or Dance Ethnography at Home. In: BUCKLAND, Theresa. (ed.) *Dance in the Field: Theory, Methods and Issues in Dance Ethnography*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 186-195.

KRÜGER, Simone. (2008) *Ethnography in the Performing Arts: A Student Guide*. The Higher Education Academy. Available at: https://www.heacademy.ac.uk/system/files/ethnography-in-the-performing-arts-a-student-guide.pdf (Accessed: 6.12.17).

KUMAR, Krishan. (2010) Negotiating English Identity: Englishness, Britishness and the Future of the United Kingdom. *Nations and Nationalism.* 16(3) pp.469-487.

LABAN, Rudolf. (1948) *Modern Educational Dance.* (2nd ed. 1963) ULLMAN, Lisa. (ed.) London: MacDonald and Evans.

LAMB, Andrew. (1997) *British Light Music Classics* [CD]. Sleeve Notes. UK: Hyperion CDA66968.

LANE, Christy. (1995) *Complete Book of Line Dancing.* Champaign, Illinois: Human Kinetics.

LANGE, Roderyk. (1983) Anthropology and Dance Scholarship. *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research.* 1(1) pp.108-118.

LATIMER, A.J. (1948) *A Bouquet of Old Time Dances.* London: Danceland.

LEECH, Keith. (1993) Reply to Rosemary Tawney's Letter. *Special Interest Publications: Social Dance and Ceilidh.* (3) English Folk Dance and Song Society. p.3.

LEIB, Allison Yamanashi., and BULMAN, Robert C. (2009) The Choreography of Gender: Masculinity, Femininity, and the Complex Dance of Identity in the Ballroom. *Men and Masculinities.* 11(5) pp.602-621.

LEIGHTON, Kay. (1986) *Society for International Dancing 1946-1986*. The Society for International Folk Dancing.

LENSVELT-MULDERS, Gerty. (2008) Surveying sensitive topics. In: DE LEEUW, Edith D., HOX, Joop J., and DILMAN, Don A. (eds.) *International Handbook of Survey Methodology.* Abingdon: Taylor and Francis. pp. 461- 478.

Let's Move (2012) [Radio programme] British Folk Dance/Folk Dance from Around the World. Programme 3: Patterns Galore. UK: BBC School Radio. Broadcast 14.5.2014. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes (Accessed: 15.8.18). 20 minutes.

LEVITAS, Ruth. (1998) *The Inclusive Society? Social Exclusion and New Labour*. (2nd ed. 2005) Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

License to Ceilidh [2018] *What is A Ceilidh?* Available at: www.licencetoceilidh.co.uk (Accessed: 3.8.18).

Lloyd, A.L. (1967) *Folk Song in England.* London: Lawrence & Wishart.

LLOYD, Jim. (1986a) In comes I. *English Dance and Song.* 48(1) p.5.

LLOYD, Jim. (1986b) The Way Ahead. *English Dance and Song.* 48(4) p.2-3.

LONG, Paul. (2008) *Only in the Common People: The Aesthetics of Class in Post-War Britain.* Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.

LORRAIN SMITH, Ashley. (2008) *Embodying Scotland: Identity, Cultural Policy, Dance.* PhD Thesis. University of the West of Scotland. Available at: https://ethos.bl.uK (Accessed: 21.11.18).

LOVELESS, Kenneth N.J. (1973) Douglas Neil Kennedy O.B.E: An Appreciation for his Eightieth Birthday. *English Dance and Song.* XXXV(3) pp.87-89.

LOVELESS, Kenneth. (1976) Helen Kennedy. *Folk Music Journal.* 3(2) pp.188-190.

LOVETT, Benjamin B. (1939) "*Good Morning" Music, Calls and Directions for Old-time Dancing as Revived by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ford*. (4th ed. 1943) Dearborn, Michigan: Henry Ford.

LUCAS, Caroline. (2013) The Imagined Folk of England: Whiteness, Folk Music and Fascism. *Critical Race and Whiteness Studies.* 9 (1). E-Journal. Available at: http://www.acrawsa.org.au/ejournal/ (Accessed 3.2.20).

MAC FIONNLAOIC, Cormac. (1939) Irish Dance Music. In: *Ár Rincí Fóirne Thirty Popular Céilí Dances.* Digital Copy (2003) Available at: https://www.bernards.cz/gallery/file/Ar-Rinci-Foirne.pdf (Accessed 1.11.2019).

MACDONALD, Sharon. (1997) *Reimagining Culture: Histories, Identities and The Gaelic Renaissance.* Oxford: Berg.

MACDONALD, Sharon. (2013) *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today.* London: Routledge.

MACKENZIE KING, J. (1952) Foreword. In: FRANKS, Bob. *Hoe-Down Square Dancing.* London: Herbert Jenkins. pp. v-vi.

MACKINNON, Niall. (1993) *The British Folk Scene: Musical Performance and Social Identity.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

MAELAND, Siri. (2018) *Dansebygda Haltdalen – Knowledge-in-dancing in a Rural Community in Norway: Triangular Interaction between Dance, Music and Partnering*. PhD Thesis. Norwegian University of Science and Technology. Copy sent by the author.

MAINEY, F.J. (1953) *The Old Time Dancers' Handbook.* London: Herbert Jenkins.

MALNIG, Julie. (ed.) (2009) *Ballroom, Boogie, Shimmy Sham, Shake: A Social and Popular Dance Reader.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

MANN, Robin. (2011) 'It Just Feels English Rather Than Multicultural': Local Interpretations of Englishness and Non-Englishness. *The Sociological Review.* 59 (1) pp.109-128.

MANN, Robin., and FENTON, Steve. (2017) *Nation, Class, and Resentment: The Politics of National Identity in England, Scotland and Wales.* UK: Palgrave MacMillan.

MARCUS, George E. (1995) Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-sited Ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 pp.95-117.

MARRIOT[T], Roger. (1998) The EFDSS - A Future? *Living Tradition.* 27. Available at: www.folkmusic.net/htmfiles/inart424.htm (Accessed: 23.1.18).

MATTHEWS, Jean. (1991) Letters. *English Dance and Song.* 53(3) p.10.

MATTHEWS, Nibs. (1969) *Everyday Dances.* London: English Folk Dance and Song Society.

MATTHEWS, Nibs. (1973) *Caller's Choice 1.* London: English Folk Dance and Song Society.

MAYCOCK, Ivor. (1996) Letters. *English Dance and Song.* 58(1) p.14.

McCRONE, Kathleen, E. (1987). Play Up! Play Up! And Play the Game. Sport at the Late Victorian Public Girls Schools. In: MANAGAN, J.A., and PARK, Roberta J. (eds.) *From Fair Sex to Feminism: Sport and the Socialisation of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras.* London: Frank Cass. pp.97-129.

McDONAGH, Don. (1998) Twentieth-Century Social Dance Before 1960. In: COHEN, Selma Jeanne. (ed.) *International Encyclopaedia of Dance.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available at: https://www.oxfordreference.com (Accessed: 8.2.17).

McINTYRE Freda., and HOWE, Bob. (1992) *What Was That Dance? Over 3000 Dances in the English Tradition*. Buckinghamshire: Freda McIntyre.

McINTYRE, Freda. (1996) *What was That Dance 2? Over 2,000 Dances in the English Tradition.* Buckinghamshire: Freda McIntyre.

McNAIR, Ralph. (1951) *Square Dance!* London: W.H. Allen.

McNab Dart, Mary. (1995) *Contra Dance Choreography: A Reflection of Social Change.* New York and London: Garland.

MEAD, David. (2016) Country Dancing, Morris, Clog, Sword and More: David Mead Looks Ahead to Sidmouth Folk Week with Social Dance Coordinator Gareth Kiddier. *The Dancing Times.* 106 (1271). July 2016 pp.29-31.

MENDHAM, Geoffrey. (2005) Letters: Playing Down the Years. *English Dance and Song*. 67(2) p.30.

METHERLL, Chris. (1984) Campaign for Real Reels: Workshop with Reading Step and Traditional Dance Group Sheffield 17.12.83. *Instep.* 11. Available at: https://insteprt.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Instep11.pdf (Accessed: 22.8.19).

MIDDLETON-METCALFE, Chloe. (2020) Gender Roles in Contemporary Barn Dance. In: Roud, Steve. (ed.) *Locating Women in The Folk.* Conference Proceedings, Sussex, 2018. Sussex: Sussex Traditions. pp.115-122.

MIDGELY, Walter. (1951-2) International Dances. *English Dance and Song.* XV1(3) p.82.

Midsummer Music (Online) What is the Difference between a Ceilidh and a Barn Dance? Available at: https://www.msmusic.co.uk/fp/help/hirer_help/45_difference_ceilidh_barn_dance.html (Accessed 29.8.2019).

MILLER, Daniel. (2016) *Social Media in an English Village.* London: University College London Press.

MILLS, Annette. (1939) Boomps- A-Daisy. *The Dancing Times.* July (346) p.423.

Milton Keynes Council (2016) *Chiltern Folk Association*. Available at: https://www.milton-keynes.gov.uk/coin/group/220?l=C&page=3 (Accessed: 22/2/17).

Ministry of Education (1952) *Moving and Growing: Physical Education in the Primary School (Part 1).* Ministry of Education and the Central Office of Information. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Ministry of Education (1953) *Physical Education in the Primary School Planning the Programme (Part 2).* Ministry of Education and the Central Office of Information. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

MISCHI, Julian. (2009) Englishness and the Countryside: How British Rural Studies Address the Issue of National Identity. In: PEVIRON-PIÉGAY, Floriane (ed.) *Englishness Revisited.* Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars. pp.109-124.

MITCHELL, Kathleen. (1971) A Scrapbook for Christmas. *English Dance and Song.* 33(4) pp.129.

MITOMA, Judy., ZIMMER, Elizabeth., and STIEBER, Ann Dale. (eds.) *Envisioning Dance on Film and Video.* (ebook) London: Routledge. Available at: proquest.com (Accessed 16.6.17).

MK.gov (Online) Population Statistics. Available at: https://www.milton-keynes.gov.uk/your-council-and-elections/statistics/population-statistics (Accessed: 18.3.2019).

MONGER, George. (1981) The Ceilidh Band Caller: An Explanation. *English Dance and Song.* 43(1) pp.14-15.

MONGER, George. (2011) *Discovering the Folklore and Traditions of Marriage.* Oxford: Shire.

MOORE-COLYER, R.J. (1999) Sir George Stapledon (1882-1960) and the Landscape of Britain. *Environment and History.* 5(2) pp.221-236.

MORGENSTEIN, Henry. (2013) Contra and Ceilidhs in England. In: MORGENSTEIN, Henry (ed.) *Contra, English and Joyous Dancing.* Between the Bays/Henry Morgenstein. pp.158-160.

MORRISON, Cecily. (2003/4) Culture at the Core: Invented Traditions and Imagined Communities. *International Review of Scottish Studies.* Part One (28) pp.3-21. Part Two (29) pp.49-71.

MOULE, Barry. (1972) Drearier and Drearier. *English Dance and Song.* 34(3) p.109.

Mudcat Café (2007) *Where have all the Ceilidhs gone*? Available at: https://mudcat.org/thread.cfm?threadid=99188 (Accessed: 12.2.18)

Mudcat Café (2009) *Froots magazine and the EFDSS*. Available at: https://mudcat.org/thread.cfm?threadid=120910#2635815 (Accessed: 12.4.18).

MURDOCH, Jonathan., and MARSDEN, Terry. (1994) *Reconstituting Rurality: Class, Community and Power in the Development Process.* London: UCL.

MURDOCH, Jonathan., LOWE, Philip., WARD, Neil., and MARSDEN, Terry. (2003) *The Differentiated Countryside.* London and New York: Routledge.

MURPHY, Pat. (1995) *Toss the Feathers: Irish Set Dancing.* Cork: Mercier Press.

MURPHY, William. (1955) Postbag. *English Dance and Song.* XIX(6) p.229.

NAHACHEWSKY, Andriy. (2001) Once Again: On the Concept of "Second Existence Folk Dance". *Yearbook for Traditional Music*. 33. pp.17-28.

NAHACHEWSKY, Andriy. (2008) Folk Dance Revival Strategies. *Danse au Canada*. 30(1) pp.41-57.

NAHACHEWSKY, Andriy. (2011) *Ukrainian Dance: A Cross-Cultural Approach.* Jefferson NC: McFarland.

National Dance Teachers Association (2004) *Memorandum Submitted by the National Dance Teachers Association: Dance in School Executive Summary.* Select Committee on Culture, Media and Sport. Available at: https://publications.parliament.uk (Accessed: 13.2.18).

NEGUS, Keith., and PICKERING, Michael. (2004) *Creativity, Communication and Cultural Value.* London: Sage.

NIELSON, Erica M. (2011) *Folk Dancing.* Oxford: Greenwood.

NOTT, James. (2002) *Music for the People Popular Music and Dance in Interwar Britain.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

NOTT, James. (2015) *Going to the Palais: A Social and Cultural History of Dancing and Dance Halls in Britain 1918-1960*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Novello (1975) Advert for *Swing Partners.* In: *English Dance and Song.* XXXVII (2) p.44.

O'CONNOR, Barbara. (1997) Safe Sets: Women, Dance and Communitas. In: Thomas, Helen (ed.) *Dance in the City*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. pp.149-172.

O'CONNOR, Barbara. (2013) *The Irish Dancing: Cultural Politics and Identities 1900-2000.* Cork: Cork University Press.

O'REILLY, Karen. (2005) *Ethnographic Methods.* London: Routledge.

O'SHEA, Janet. (2010) Roots/Routes of Dance Studies. In: CARTER, Alexandra., and O'SHEA, Janet. (eds). *The Routledge Dance Studies Reader* (2nd edition). London and New York: Routledge. pp.1-16.

OcknDough (Online) Homepage. Available at: http://www.ockndough.co.uk/ (Accessed: 27.8.2019).

Old Time Dancing (1951) "Old Time" dancing at Prestatyn Holiday Camp in North Wales. [Film]. British Pathé. Film ID: 2569.22 Available at: www.britishpathe.com (Accessed 10.5.2017).

One Dance UK (2016) How to Identify High Quality Dance Provision in Schools. Available At: www.onedanceuk.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/High-quality-dance-in-schools-updated-March-2016.pdf (Accessed: 14.2.18).

OPIE, Iona., and OPIE, Peter. (1985) *The Singing Game.* Oxford: Oxford University.

PACKARD, Anne. (1951) *The Golden Souvenir Canada Tour Brochure*. UK: Pitkins Pictorials.

PALMER HEATHMAN, Katie. (2016) *Revival: The Transformative Potential of English Folksong and Dance, 1890-1940.* PhD thesis. University of Leicester. Available at: https://ethos.bl.uK (Accessed: 29.10.2017).

PALMER, William. (1949) Cambridge Dancers. *English Dance and Song.* XIII(3) p.43.

PANTON, Mary. (2018) *Knees up Cecil Sharp*. [Lecture] *Steps for Success* conference. Hosted by the English Folk Dance and Song Society. London: Cecil Sharp House. (10.3.18).

PARTRIDGE, J.B. (1912) The Game of "Thread the Needle" and Custom of Church Clipping. *Folklore.* 23(2) pp. 196-203.

PATRICK, Brian. (2007) The Strawplaiters. *English Dance and Song.* 69(2) pp.22-23.

PATTERSON, K. (1993) *Dances from Newcastle*. Newcastle: Newcastle Education Authority.

PENNY, Patricia. (1999) Dancing at the Interface of the Social and the Theatrical: Focus on the Participatory Patterns of Contemporary Competition Ballroom Dancers in Britain. *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research*. 17(1) pp. 47-74.

PETERSON, Richard, A. (1997) *Creating Country Music: Fabricating Authenticity.* Chicago: University of Chicago.

Physical Educational Association [1939] *Folk Dances from Many Lands.* First Series. London: The Physical Educational Association.

PICKERING, Michael. (1990) Recent Folk Music Scholarship in England: A Critique. *Folk Music Journal*. 6(1). pp.37-64.

PINK, Sarah. (2007) *Doing Visual Ethnography.* (3rd ed. 2013) Los Angeles, California: SAGE.

PINK, Sarah., HORST, Heather., POSTILL, John., HJORTH, Larissa., LEWIS, Tania., and TACCHI, Jo. (2016) *Digital Ethnography: Principles and Practice.* Los Angeles, California: SAGE.

Pinkers Spinney (Online) Pinkers Spinney Barn Dance and Ceilidh Band. Available at: http://www.pinkersspinney.co.uk/ (Accessed: 17.7.19).

PINNEY, Christopher. (1992) The Lexical Spaces of Eye-Space. In: CRAWFORD, Ian., and Turton, David. (eds). *Film as Ethnography.* Manchester: Manchester University Press. pp.26-50.

PIPER, Henry. (2019) [Forum] *Couple Dancing in England*. Available at: http://forum.melodeon.net/index.php/topic,23955.0.html (Accessed: 12.7.19).

PODILCHAK, Walter. (1985) The Social Organisation of "Fun". Loisir et Société/*Society and Leisure.* 8(2) pp.685-692.

PODILCHAK, Walter. (1991) Distinctions of Fun, Enjoyment and Leisure. *Leisure Studies, The Journal of the Leisure Studies Association.* 10. pp. 133-148.

Poldarked (Online) Viewing Figures for 'Poldark' S4. Available at: http://www.poldarked.com/2018/08/viewing-figures-for-poldark-s4.html (Accessed: 27.8.2019).

POOL, J.A. (1986) Dance for Males in Education. *Dance: The Study of Dance and the Place of Dance in Society. Proceedings of the VII Commonwealth and International Conference on Sport, Physical Education, Dance Recreation and Health.* Glasgow 18-23 July 1986. London: G&F.N. Spon. pp.172-179.

Practical Teacher (1910) Morris Dancing and Folk Song: The Esperance Clubs at the Kensington Town Hall. *The Practical Teacher.* 30(9) pp.547-549.

PRATT, S.R.S. (1965) The English Folk Dance and Song Society. *Journal of the Folklore Institute.* pp.294-299.

PRATT, Stephan. (1963) Reply to Miss Hazel Brandon. *English Dance and Song.* 26(1) p.16.

PRESTON-DUNLOP, Valerie. (1998) Rudolf Laban. In: COHEN, Selma Jeanne. (ed.) *International Encyclopaedia of Dance.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available at: https://www.oxfordreference.com (Accessed: 8.2.17).

PUTNAM, Robert. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

QUIGLEY, Colin. (1985) *Close to the Floor: Folk Dance in Newfoundland.* Newfoundland: Memorial University of Newfoundland.

QUIGLEY, Colin. (1998) Methodologies in the Study of Dance: Ethnology. In: COHEN, Selma, Jeanne. (ed.) *International Encyclopaedia of Dance.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available at: https://www.oxfordreference.com (Accessed: 28.11.2019).

QUIGLEY, Colin. (2001) Reflections on the Hearing to "Designate the Square Dance as the American Folk Dance of the United States": Cultural Politics and an American Vernacular Dance Form. *Yearbook for Traditional Music.* 33. pp.145-157.

QUIIGLEY, Colin., and MAELAND, Siri. (2020) Choreomusical Interactions, Hierarchical Structures, and Social Relations. *The World of Music*. 9(1) pp.83-94.

QUINLAN, Mary Kay. (2012) The Dynamics of Interviewing. In: RITCHIE, Donald. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 23-36.

QUINN PATTON, Michael. (2004) Autoethnography. In: LEWIS-BECK, Michael S., BRYMAN, Alan., and FUTING LIAO, Tim. (eds.) *The SAGE Encyclopaedia of Social Science Research Methods.* Available at: https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412950589.n41 (Accessed: 5.2.20).

QUINN, Dan. (2011) Still Swanning Around. *English Dance and Song.* 73(3) pp.16-17.

RADCLIFFE, Caroline. (2001) The Ladies' Clog Dancing Contest of 1898. In: BOYES, Georgina. (ed.) *Step Change: New Views on Traditional Dance.* London: Francis Boutle. pp.87-118.

RAWSON, Frank. (1989) The Future of the Society: What? Why? How? *English Dance and Song.* 51(1) p.7.

READ, Sue. (1986) *Hello Campers! Celebrating 50 years of Butlins*. London: Transworld.

REAY, John. (1990 [1992]) *The Barn Dance Book.* Croydon, Surrey: Barn Dance Publications.

REEVES, James. (1958) *The Idiom of the People: English Traditional Verse.* London: Heinemann.

REYNOLDS, Tubby. (1976). Sleeve Notes. *No Reels.* LP. Free Reed Records FRR 011.

RICE, Timothy. (2010) Ethnomusicological Theory. *Yearbook for Traditional Music.* 42. pp.100-134.

RICHARDSON, R.G. (1951-1952) Postbag: Letters. *English Dance and Song.* XVI(3) p.88.

RIDGEWELL, Gordon. (1978) Letters. *English Dance and Song.* XL(3) p.104.

RIPPON, Hugh. (1962) The Yardstick that Matters is Sales. *English Dance and Song.* 25(2) pp.44-45.

RIPPON, Hugh. (1963) Public Relations – There's no Magic Formula. *English Dance and Song.* XXV(5) p.151.

RIPPON, Hugh. (1971) Letters. *English Dance and Song.* XXXIII (3) p.106.

RIPPON, Hugh. (1975) *Discovering English Folk Dance.* (3rd ed. 1993; re-printed 2008) Botley, Oxfordshire: Shire.

RIPPON, Hugh. (2005) Reviews Community Dances Manual, Revised Edition. *English Dance and Song.* 67(4) p.30.

ROBBEN, Antonius, C.G.M., and SLUKA, Jeffrey. (2007) *Ethnographic Fieldwork: An Anthropological Reader.* (2nd ed. 2012) Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

ROBSON, Colin. (1993) *Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner-Researchers*. Oxford: Blackwell.

ROGERS, Chris. (2002) Letters. *EFDSS Members Newsletter.* Spring 2002. p.6.

RONSTRÖM, Owe. (1989) The Dance Event: A Terminological and Methodological Discussion of the Concept. In: TORP, Lisbet. (ed.) *The Dance Event: A Complex Cultural Phenomenon.* Proceedings from the International Council for Traditional Music 15th Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology in Copenhagen, Denmark, 1988. [CD-ROM] unpaginated.

RONSTRÖM, Owe. (2018) Traditional Music, Heritage Music. In: BITHELL, Caroline., and HILL, Juniper. *The Oxford Handbook of Music Revival.* Oxford University Press. e-Book. Available from: www.oxfordhandbooks.com (Accessed: 2.2.20).

ROPER, Jonathan. (2012) England the Land Without Folklore. In: HOPKIN, David., and BAYCROFT, Timothy. (eds.) *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe During the Long Nineteenth Century.* Boston, USA: Leiden. e-book. Available from: https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/ (Accessed: 5.2.20) pp.227-253.

ROSENBURG, Neil V. (1993) *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

ROUD, Steve. (2006) *The English Year: A Month-by-Month Guide to the Nation's Customs and Festivals from May Day to Mischief Night.* (re-printed 2008). London: Penguin.

ROUD, Steve. (2017) *Folk Song in England*. London: Faber and Faber.

ROYCE, Anya Peterson. (1977) *The Anthropology of the Dance.* Bloomington (Indiana) and London: Indiana University Press.

ROWLEY, Steve. (Online) Organising a Successful Barn Dance or Ceilidh. Available at: http://artension.co.uk/barndance/organise.htm (Accessed: 27.8.18).

ROWSE, Charles. (1955) Postbag: "Playford". *English Dance and Song.* XIX(6) p.228.

RUAULT, Cecil., and GALLOWAY, Norah. (1951) *American Square Dances: As Broadcast in "Happy Hoe Down."* London: Phoenix Music Publishers.

RUNDLE, Bob. (1996) Smile Please. *English Dance and Song.* 58(1) p.27.

RUSSELL, Joan. (1958) *Modern Dance in Education.* London: Macdonald and Evans.

RUTHERSTON, Jeanette. (1938) Dancing and the Physical Fitness Scheme. *Dancing Times.* January (328) pp.648-650.

RUTTER, Bill. (1976a) There's No Business Like Folk Business. *English Dance and Song.* 38(2) p.56.

RUTTER, Violet. (1969b) Letter. *English Dance and Song.* 31(2) p.71.

SACHS NORRIS, Rebecca. (2001) Embodiment and Community. *Western Folklore - Communities of Practice: Traditional Music and Dance.* 60 (2/3) pp.111-124.

SACHS, Curt. (1937 [1965]) *World History of the Dance.* SCHÖNBERG, Bessie. (Trans.) New York: Norton.

SAMINADEN, Annick., LOUGHNAN, Stephen., and HASLAM, Nick. (2010) Afterimages of Savages: Implicit Associations Between Primitives, Animals and Children. *British Journal of Social Psychology.* 49(1) pp.91-105.

SAMSON, L.K. (1972) Letters: Dancing in the Midlands During the Last Decade. *English Dance and Song.* 34(2) p.67.

SANDERSON, Patricia. (1996). Dance within the National Curriculum for Physical Education of England and Wales. *European Physical Education Review.* 2(1) pp.54-83.

SCHOFIELD, Derek. (1985a) Nibs Matthews - 50 Years A Dancer. *English Dance and Song.* 47(5) pp.3-6.

SCHOFIELD, Derek. (1985b) Introducing Jim Lloyd: Derek Schofield Talks to the Society's New Director. *English Dance and Song.* 47(2) pp.34-3.

SCHOFIELD, Derek. (1985c) Correspondence. *English Dance and Song.* 47(1) p.19.

SCHOFIELD, Derek. (1988) The Dance Musician: One of the Catalysts of the Re-Discovery of English Country Music was Reg Hall. Derek Schofield Tracks him Down. *FRoots.* 9(10) pp.23-26.

SCHOFIELD, Derek. (2001) '"Little Ballets": Playford, Sharp and Douglas Kennedy in the 20th century Folk Dance Revival'. *On Common Ground 3: John Playford and The English Dancing Master 1651:* Proceedings of the third DHDS Conference. Jointly organised with the English Folk Dance and Song Society. 24-25 March 2001. Available at: https://historicaldance.org.uk/conference/year/2001 (Accessed 13.2.18).

SCHOFIELD, Derek. (2005) *The First Week in August: Fifty Years of the Sidmouth Festival.* Matlock, Derbyshire: Sidmouth International Festival.

SCHOFIELD, Derek. (2006a) Ceilidh Roots. *English Dance and Song.* 68(1) pp.16-20.

SCHOFIELD, Derek. (2006b) Nibs Matthews: Leading Folk Dancer and Administrator. *The Guardian.* 17.4.06. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/news/2006/apr/17/guardianobituaries.artsobituaries (Accessed 13.2.18).

SCHOFIELD, Derek. (2011a) "The Everyday Dance of the Country Folk." *English Dance and Song.* 73(1) pp.12-13.

SCHOFIELD, Derek. (2011b) After the War. *English Dance and Song.* 73(2) p.13.

SCHOFIELD, Derek. (2011c) Joyful Stratford. *English Dance and Song.* 73(2) pp.14-15.

SCHOFIELD, Derek. (2011d) Roll back the Carpet…Join in the Fun! *English Dance and Song.* 73(2) pp.16-18.

SCHOFIELD, Derek. (2011e) A New Generation. *English Dance and Song.* 73(3) p.13.

SCHOFIELD, Derek. (2011f). Folk Dance – Present and Future. *English Dance and Song.* 73(4) pp.12-13.

SCHOFIELD, Derek. (2014a) *Towersey Festival: Fifty Years in the Making*. Matlock, Derbyshire: Mrs Casey Music.

SCHOFIELD, Derek. (2014b) Review of Social Dance and the Modernist Imagination in Interwar Britain by Rishona Zimring. *English Dance and Song.* 76(3) pp.42-43.

SCHOFIELD, Derek. (2016) Cecil Sharp and English Folk Song and Dance Before 1915. *Country Dance and Song Online.* 1(1) Available at: http://www.cdss.org/programs/cdss-news-publications/cds-online/cecil-sharp-english (Accessed 25.2.20)

SCHOFIELD, Derek. (2017) *Pat Shaw*. [Lecture]. *Pat Shaw Centenary Day of Celebration.* Hosted by the Pat Shaw Legacy Group at Cecil Sharp House: London. (24.8.17).

SCHOFIELD, Derek. (2018) *How Did We Get Where We Are Today?* [Lecture] *Steps for Success* conference. Hosted by the English Folk Dance and Song Society. London: Cecil Sharp House. (10.3.18).

SHARP, Cecil. (1907) *English Folk Songs: Some Conclusions.* London: Simpson, Novello.

SHARP, Cecil. (1909) *The Country Dance Book: Part I*. London: Novello and Company.

SHARP, Cecil. (1909 [1913]) *Folk Dancing in Elementary and Secondary Schools.* Copy held in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London.

SHARP, Cecil. (1911) *The Country Dance Book: Part II.* (3rd ed. 1927). London: Novello and Company.

SHARP, Cecil. (1918) *The Country Dance Book. Part Five.* Re-printed in: *The Country Dance Books Parts 5 and 6.* (1977) Wakefield, Yorkshire: E.P.

SHARP, Cecil. (1923) The Development of Folk Dancing. *EFDS News.* November pp.145-148.

SHARP, Cecil. (1934) *The Country Dance Book Part 1.* (2nd ed.) Revised and edited by KARPELES, Maud. Re-printed in: *The Country Dance Books Parts 1 and 2.* (1972) Wakefield, Yorkshire: E.P.

SHARP, Cecil. [1926] *The English Country Dance Graded Series: Containing the Description of the Dances Together with the Tunes: Supplement I.* KARPELES, Maud. (ed.) London: Novello.

SHARP, Cecil., and BUTTERWORTH, George. (1916) *The Country Dance Book: Part Four*. Re-printed in: *The Country Dance Books Parts Three and Four.* (1975) Wakefield, Yorkshire: E.P Publishing.

SHARP, Cecil., and OPPÉ, A. P. (1924) *The Dance: An Historical Survey of Dancing in Europe*. London: Halton and Truscott Smith.

SHAW, Lloyd. (1948) *The Round Dance Book: A Century of Waltzing.* (re-printed 1950). The Country Life Press.

SHAW, Patrick. (1951/2) Review: The Fiddler's Tune Book. *English Dance and Song.* XVI (3) p.80.

SHAY, Antony. (2002) *Choreographic Politics*: *State Folk Dance Companies, Representation and Power.* Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press.

SHAY, Antony. (2008) *Dancing Across Borders: The American Fascination with Exotic Dance Forms.* Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland.

Shenley Leisure. (Online) Feel the Beat Zumba/Fit Steps. Available at: https://shenleyleisure.org.uk/inspire-health-fitness/studio-classes/feel-the-beat/ (Accessed: 16.12.2019).

SHEPARD, Paul. (1967) Whatever Happened to Human Ecology? *BioScience.* 17(12) PP.891-894+911.

SHILS, Edward. (1981) *Tradition.* Chicago: University of Chicago.

SHORT, Lucy. (1960) Interview by Tom and Joan Flett. 3.1.1960. Flett MSS. English Trad. 1 pp.1-11. Available at: https://insteprt.co.uk/ (Accessed: 27.9.18).

SHORT, Nigel P., TURNER, Linda., and GRANT, Alec. (eds.) *Contemporary British Autoethnography.* 2013. Rotterdam, Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

SHOUPE, Catherine A. (2001) Scottish Social Dancing and the Formation of Community. *Western Folklore.* 60(2/3) pp.125-148.

SHUKLA, Pravina. (2015) *Costume: Performing Identities through Dress.* Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

SIBTHORPE, Gordon. (1993) Letters. *English Dance and Song.* 55(1) p.20.

SICILIANO-ROSEN, Laura. (2014) *Ploughman's Lunch.* Britannica Encyclopaedia (Online) Available at: https://www.britannica.com/topic/ploughmans-lunch (Accessed 16.10.2019).

SILVESTER, Victor. (1950) *Old Time Dancing.* (re-printed 1951). London: Herbert Jenkins.

SIMONS, Matthew. (2019) *Morris Men: Dancing Englishness, c.1905-1951*. PhD Thesis. De Montford University. Available at: https://dora.dmu.ac.uk/handle/2086/2388/discover (Accessed: 1.2.20).

SIMPSON, Jacqueline., and ROUD, Steve. (2000 [2003]) *Oxford Dictionary of English Folklore.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

SKINNER, Johnathan. (ed.) (2012) *The Interview: An Ethnographic Approach.* London: Berg.

SKINNER, Jonathan. (2010) Leading Questions and Body Memories: A Case of Phenomenology and Physical Geography in the Dance Interview. In: COLLINS, Peter., and GALLINAT, Anselma. (eds.) *The Ethnographic Self as Resource: Writing Memory and Experience into Ethnography.* New York: Berghahn. pp.111-128.

SKIPPER, George., and SKIPPER, Sonia. (1981) *Barn Dance Guide: For Bands, Callers and Organisers.* South Hampshire: George and Sonia Skipper.

SMEDLEY, Ron. (1956) Northumbrian Jig. *English Dance and Song.* XX(6) p.217.

SMEDLEY, Ron. (1998) *Country Dance Part 1: Folk Dance.* BBC Television. Available through: https://learningonscreen.ac.uk (Accessed: 15.9.2016). Initial broadcasting date unknown.

SMEDLEY, Ron., GRAHAM, Ian., JONES, Griff., PARKER, Bob., TETHER, John., MATTHEWS, Nibs., and CLARK, Ken. (1970) The Artistic Development Committee Replies to The Members Motion. *English Dance and Song.* 32(4) p.144.

SMEDLEY, Ronald., and TETHER, John. (1972) *Let's Dance – Country Style: A Handbook of Simple, Traditional Dances.* London: Paul Elek Books.

SMITH, Antony D. (1998). *Nationalism and Modernism.* (re-printed 2003). London: Routledge.

SMITH, Kate. (2008) Change, Continuity and Contradictions in May Day Celebrations in Northamptonshire. *Folklore.* 119(2) pp.142-159.

SMITH, William. (2008) Does Gender Influence Online Survey Participation? A Record-linkage Analysis of University Faculty Online Survey Response Behavior. Available at: https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED501717.pdf (Accessed: 10.6.2019).

SNAPE, Robert. (2009) Continuity, Change and Performativity in Leisure: English Folk Dance and Modernity 1900-1933. *Leisure Studies*. 28(3) pp. 297–311.

Sound of Dance (2019) [Radio Programme] English Folk Dance. Produced by Ellie Mant. UK: BBC Radio Three. Broadcast 13.4.2019. 30 mins.

SPALDING, Susan Eike., and WOODSIDE, Jane Harris. (1995) *Communities in Motion: Dance Community and Tradition in America's Southeast and Beyond.* Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

SPALDING, Susan Eike. (2014) *Appalachian Dance: Creativity and Continuity in Six Communities.* Urbana: University of Illinois.

Spectator (2005a) Strictly Come *Folk* Dancing. *English Dance and Song.* 67(1) p.10.

Spectator (2005b) The Last Waltz. *English Dance and Song.* 67(2) p.15.

SPENCELEY, Mic. (2017) *The Callers Manual: The Intricacies of Being a Social Dance Caller.* Mic Spenceley.

SPICER, Katy. (2009) EFDSS Matters. *English Dance and Song.* 71(4) p.26.

SPRACKLEN, Karl., and HENDERSON, Stephen. (2013) 'Oh! What a Tangled Web We Weave': Englishness, Communicative Leisure, Identity Work and the Cultural Web of The English Folk Morris Dance Scene. *Leisure/Loisir*. 37(3) pp. 233-249.

Squarecrows [1976] Publicity Flyer. Collection of Chloe Middleton-Metcalfe.

STACEY, Margaret. (1960) *Tradition and Change: A study of Banbury.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

STANFIELD, Norman. (2008) *Rough Music, Rough Dance, Rough Play: Misrule and Morris Dance*. PhD Thesis. The University of British Columbia. Available at: https://open.library.ubc.ca/media/download/pdf/24/1.0066479/1 (Accessed: 12.4.18).

STEBBINS, Robert A. (1982) Serious Leisure: A Conceptual Statement. *The Pacific Sociological Review*. 25(2) pp. 251-272.

Still Folk Dancing After All These Years (2010) [Television Programme]. Produced by Ellen Hobson. UK: BBC Four. Broadcast 10.12.10. 60 mins.

STINSON, Susan W. (1997) A Question of Fun: Adolescent Engagement in Dance Education. *Dance Research Journal*. 29(2) pp. 49-69.

STOCK, Jonathan P.J. (2004) Ordering Performance, Leading People: Structuring an English Folk Music Session. *The World of Music.* 46(1) pp.41-70.

STRADLING, Rod. (1976) Sleeve Notes. *No Reels.* LP. Free Reed Records FRR 011.

STRATHERN, Marilyn. (1981) *Kinship at the Core.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

STROBEL, Desmond F. (1998) Cotillion. In: COHEN, Selma Jeanne. (ed.) *International Encyclopaedia of Dance.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available at: https://www.oxfordreference.com (Accessed: 8.12.19).

SUGHRUE, Cynthia M. (1988) Some thoughts on the 'Tradition' versus 'Revival' debate. In: BUCKLAND, Theresa. (ed.) *Traditional Dance Vol 5/6*. Proceedings of the 5th and 6th

traditional dance conference held in March 1985 and March 1986. Alsager, Cheshire: Crewe and Alsager College of Higher Education. pp.184-190.

SNYDER, Andrew. (2019) Contraculture: Bird Names and the Degendering of Contra Dance. *Yearbook for Traditional Music.* 51. pp.187-215.

SWEERS, Britta. (2005) *Electric Folk: The Changing Face of English Traditional Music.* Oxford: Oxford University.

SYKES, Richard. (1993) The Evolution of Englishness in the English Folksong Revival, 1890-1914. *Folk Music Journal.* 6(4) pp.446-490.

TAYLOR, Cecil. (1944) *Old Time and Novelty Dances.* London: The Dancing Times.

TETHER, John. (1968) Unchanging Dance in the Changing Primary School. *English Dance and Song.* 30(3) pp.96-97.

The News Quiz (2018) [radio broadcast] Produced by Richard Morris. UK:BBC Radio 4. Broadcast: 14.9.18. 28mins.

The News Quiz (2020) [radio broadcast] Produced by Richard Morris. UK:BBC Radio 4. Broadcast: 7.2.20. 28mins.

The Park Parade (1939) The Latest Pally Dance 'The Park Parade'. Film. British Pathé. Film ID: 1186.05. Available at: www.britishpathe.com (Accessed 17.7.2017).

The Session (2004) [Forum] *Shoe the Donkey*. Available at: https://thesession.org/tunes/2320 (Accessed: 14.8.18).

THOMAS, Anne Elsie. (2001) Practicing Tradition: History and Community in an Appalachian Dance Style. *Western Folklore - Communities of Practice: Traditional Music and Dance.* 60(2/3) pp. 163-181.

THOMAS, Helen. (ed.) (1993) *Dance, Gender and Culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

THOMAS, Helen. (ed.) (1997) *Dance in the City.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

THOMAS, Paul. (2011) All White? Englishness, 'Race' and Ethnic Identities. In: AUGHEY, Arthur., and BERBERICH, Christine. (eds.) *These Englands: A Conversation on National Identity.* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press. pp.75-93.

THOMAS, Robin. (2007) The Ceilidh Club. *English Dance and Song.* 69(3) pp.16-17

THOMPSON, Allison. (2010) Meeting the Prophet: Cecil Sharp and the English Folk Revival as Seen by Elsie J. Oxenham. In: BOYES, Georgina. (ed.) *Step Change: New Views of Traditional Dance.* London: Francis Boutle. pp.145-170.

THOMPSON, Sydney, (1950) *The Theory and Practice of Old Time Dancing.* London: John Dilworth.

THOMPSON, Sydney. (1956) *Sydney Thompson's Old Time Dance Book.* London: Burke.

THURSTON, Hugh et al. (1966) Our Dances No. 31 Circassian Circle. *The Thistle: A Magazine of Scottish Country Dance and Allied Subjects.* 28.5.1966. pp. 1-2. Available at: https://www.rscdslondon.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/The-Thistle-028-May-1966.pdf (Accessed: 19.11.18).

THURSTON, Hugh. (1954) Country Dances of the Recent Past. *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society.* 7(3) pp.152-160.

TIMMINS, Ronald. (1952) Recent Publications. *Dancing Times.* May 1952 (500) p.470.

TOMKO, Linda. (1999) *Dancing Class: Gender, Ethnicity and Social Divides in American Dance 1890-1920.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Too Long a Winter (1973) Directed by Barry Cockcroft. Yorkshire Television. Released on DVD by ITV.

TRANMER, Jeremy. (2009) Reclaiming England for the Left: The Case of Billy Bragg. In: REVIRON- PIÉGAY, Floriane. (ed.) *Englishness Revisited.* Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars. pp.189-204.

TRENTMANN, Frank. (1994) Civilization and Its Discontents: English Neo-Romanticism and the Transformation of Anti-Modernism in Twentieth-Century Western Culture. *Journal of Contemporary History.* 29(3) pp.583-625.

TREWINNARD, Geoffrey. (1964) Letters. *English Dance and Song.* 26(3) pp.66.

TRUBSHAW, Bob. (2002) *Explore Folklore*. Loughborough: Heart of Albion Press.

TUBRIDY, Mick. (1994) The Set Dancing Revival. *Ceol na hÉireann.* (2) Na Píobairí Uilleann. pp.23.34.

TURINO, Thomas. (2008) *Music as Social Life.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

TV Insider (2018) [Film] *Outlander's Richard Rankin and Sophie Skelton Talk Season 4.* Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pyi4oSYBDgA (Accessed: 22.3.19).

TYLER, Katherine. (2003) The Racialised and Classed Constitution of English Village Life. *Journal of Anthropology Museum of Ethnography.* 68 (3) pp.391-412.

UCL (2010) Was available at: http://studentsunionucl.org/node/85480 (Accessed 20.5.19). Link no longer active (24.12.19).

UPTON, Eddie., and PAINE, Lyn. (1996) *Up the Sides and Down the Middle.* Somerset: Folk South West.

UTTLEY, Keith. (1954) Teen-a-Page. *English Dance and Song.* XIX(2) p.47.

VALLELY, Fintan. (2008) *Tuned Out: Traditional Music and Identity in Northern Ireland.* Cork: Cork University Press.

VAN ZILE, Judy. (1999) Capturing the Dancing: Why and How? In: BUCKLAND, Theresa (ed.): *Dance in the Field: Theory, Methods and Issues in Dance Ethnography*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. pp.85-99.

VAUGHAN WILLIAMS, Ralph. (1957) Postbag: "Local Tradition". *English Dance and Song.* XXII (2) p64.

VERTINSKY, Patricia. (2015) Reconsidering the Female Tradition in English Physical Education: The Impact of Transnational Exchanges in Modern Dance. *The International Journal of the History of Sport.* 32(4) pp.535-550.

VWMLDA: CJS2/10/2240. Swedish Dance (County Dance). Cecil Sharp Manuscript Collection. Available at: https://www.vwml.org/ (Accessed: 22.11.19).

VWMLDA: MK/1/1/4532. Circassian Circle. Vaughan Williams Memorial Library Digital Archive. Maud Karpeles Manuscript Collection. Available at: https://www.vwml.org/ (Accessed:18.12.18).

VWMLDA: MK/1/1/4536. Drops of Brandy. Vaughan Williams Memorial Library Digital Archive. Maud Karpeles Manuscript Collection. Available at: https://www.vwml.org/ (Accessed: 18.12.18).

VWMLDA: MK/1/1/4571. Drops of Brandy. Vaughan Williams Memorial Library Digital Archive. Maud Karpeles Manuscript Collection. Available at: https://www.vwml.org/ (Accessed: 18.12.18).

VWMLDA: MK/1/1/4584. Square Eight. Vaughan Williams Memorial Library Digital Archive. Maud Karpeles Manuscript Collection. Available at: https://www.vwml.org/ (Accessed: 18.12.18).

VWMLDA: MK1/3/5000. Drops of Brandy Country Dance. Vaughan Williams Memorial Library Digital Archive. Maud Karpeles Manuscript Collection. Available at: https://www.vwml.org/ (Accessed: 18.12.18).

VWMLDA:MK/1/1/4448. Sicilian Circle. Vaughan Williams Memorial Library Digital Archive. Maud Karpeles Manuscript Collection. Available at: https://www.vwml.org/ (Accessed: 18.12.18).

VWMLDA:MK/1/1/4524. Square Eight. Vaughan Williams Memorial Library Digital Archive. Maud Karpeles Manuscript Collection. Available at: https://www.vwml.org/ (Accessed: 18.12.18).

WALES, Tony. (1968) *The Folk Story: Folk Dances and Songs in the English Tradition.* London: English Folk Dance and Song Society.

WALES, Tony. [1972] *Let's Have a Barn Dance: Hints on Organising a Folk Dance Evening – For Pleasure and Profit.* London: English Folk Dance and Song Society.

WALKER, Christopher (2001) 'The Triumph' in England, Scotland and the United States. *Folk Music Journal.* 8(1) pp.4-40.

WALKOWITZ, Daniel, J. (2010) *City Folk: English Country Dance and the Politics of the Folk in Modern America.* New York and London: New York University.

WALKOWITZ, Daniel. (2006) The Cultural Turn and a New Social History: Folk Dance and the Renovation of Class in Social History. *Journal of Social History.* 39 (3) pp.781-802.

WALLACE, Sylvia. (1978) Letters: Dressing Up. *English Dance and Song.* 40(1) p.18.

WARD, Andrew H. (1993) Dancing in the Dark: Rationalism and the Neglect of Social Dance. In: THOMAS, Helen. (ed.) *Dance, Gender and Culture.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 16-33.

WARD, Lauren. (2019) What Are the Ingredients for a Great Youth Ceilidh? *English Dance and Song.* 81(1) pp.11.

WATSON, Roger. (1983) The Barn-dancer's Guide to the Ceilidh. *English Dance and Song.* 45(2) pp.20-21.

WATTS, June. (2006) *Circle Dancing - Celebrating the Sacred in Dance.* Somerset, Street: Green Magic Publishing.

Wedding Venues (2017) Real Wedding – Kristina and Daniel's Rustic Countryside Wedding at The Barn at Bury Court. 8.11.17. Available at: https://www.wedding-venues.co.uk/wedding-ideas/2017/real-wedding-kristina-and-daniel%E2%80%99s-rustic-countryside-wedding-at-the-barn-at-bury (Accessed: 1.6.18).

WELLINGS, Ben. (2010) Loosing the Peace: Euroscepticism and the Foundations of Contemporary English Nationalism. *Nation and Nationalism.* 16(3) pp.488-505.

WENGER, Etienne. (1998) *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Westrop's. [1923] *T. Westrop's 120 Country Dances, Jigs, Reels, Hornpipes: Arranged for Piano.* London: Herman Darewski.

WHISTLER, Laurence. (1947) *The English Festivals.* London: William Heinemann.

WHITEHEAD, N., and HENDRY, C.B. (1976) *Teaching Physical Education in England Description and Analysis.* London: Lepus Books.

WHITEMAN, Elsie. [1950] Notes on Leadership. English Folk Dance and Song Archives. London: Cecil Sharp House.

WHITESIDE, Bethany. (2017) *The Hidden Dancers: A Goffmanian Analysis of Participatory Dance Activity and Practice in Glasgow, Scotland*. PhD Thesis. Royal Conservatoire of Scotland and University of St Andrews. Available at: https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/handle/10023/11017 (Accessed: 16.4.18).

WILD, Margaret. (1970) Letters. *English Dance and Song.* 32(1) p.32.

WILKINSON, Desi. (2003) "Celtitude," Professionalism, and the *Fest Noz* in Traditional Music in Brittany. In: STOKES, Martin., and BOHLMAN, Philip (eds.) *Celtic Modern: Music at the Global Fringe.* Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press. (e-book). Available at: http://ebookcentral.proquest.com (Accessed: 8.10.2019).

WILLIAMS, Deborah. (2018) *Finding their Dance: A Study of the Narratives and Claims of Alterations of Belief Systems Amongst Non-Professional Dancers*. PhD Thesis. University of Roehampton. Available at: http://ethos.bl.uk (Accessed: 14.10.2019).

WILLIAMS, Drid. (1991) *Ten Lectures on Theories of the Dance.* Metuchen N.J: Scarecrow.

WILLIAMS, Raymond. (1973) *The Country and the City.* London: Chatto and Windus.

WILLIAMS, Raymond. (1976) *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society.* London: Harper Collins.

WILSON, Cheryl, A. (2009) *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

WINSLOW, Michelle., and SMITH, Graham. (2011) Ethical Challenges in the Oral History of Medicine. In: RITCHIE, Donald. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 372-393.

WINTER, Trish., and KEEGAN-PHIPPS, Simon. (2013) *Performing Englishness: Identity and Politics' in a Contemporary Folk Resurgence.* Manchester: Manchester University.

WODAK, Ruth., CILLA, Rudolf de., REISIGL, Martin., and LIEBHART, Karin. (1999) *The Discursive Construction of National Identity.* HIRSCH, Angelika, and MITTEN, Richard. (trans.) Edinburgh: Edinburgh University.

Woodcraft Folk (Online) *Woodcraft Folk: History*. Available at: https://woodcraft.org.uk/history (Accessed:7.2.20).

WOODS, Rollo. (2015) *Rollo at 90: His Life in Folk.* Poole: Dawn Syke.

WORRALL, Dan. M. (2009) *The Anglo-German Concertina: A Social History Volume 1.* Fulshear, Texas: Concertina Press.

WRIGHT, Lucy. (2019) 'What a troupe family does': Family as Transmission Narrative in the British Carnival Troupe Dancing Community. *Dance Research.* 37(1) pp.35-58.

WRIGHT, Lucy. (2017) Girls' Carnival Morris Dancing and Contemporary Folk Dance Scholarship. *Folklore.* 128(2) pp.157-174.

WULFF, Helena (2015) Forum - Rethinking Euro-Anthropology: In Favour of Flexible Forms: Multi-Sited Fieldwork. *Social Anthropology* 23(3) pp.355-356.

WULFF, Helena. (2000) Access to a Closed World: Methods for a Multi-locale Study of Ballet as a Career. In: AMIT, Vered. (ed.) *Constructing the Field: Ethnographic Fieldwork in the Contemporary World.* London: Routledge. pp.147-161.

WULFF, Helena. (2007) *Dancing at the Crossroads: Memory and Mobility in Ireland.* Oxford: Berghahn.

WYKES, Diana. (2014) ISTD Histories: The Sequence Dance Faculty. Available at: https://www.istd.org/about-us/documents/istd-sequence-faculty-history/istd-sequence-history.pdf. (Accessed: 10.1.18).

YouGov/BBC (2018) *English Identity YouGov for the BBC*. Available at: https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/articles-reports/2018/06/18/young-people-are-less-proud-being-english-their-el (Accessed: 19.7.18).

YOUNG, Judith. (1993) Letters. *English Dance and Song.* 55(1) p20.

YOUNGERMAN, Suzanne. (1974). Curt Sachs and His Heritage: A Critical Review of World History of the Dance with a Survey of Recent Studies that Perpetuate his Ideas. *CORD News*. 6(2) pp. 6-19.

YOW, Valerie. (2006) 'Do I Like Them too Much?' Effects of the Oral History Interview on the Interviewer and Vice-Versa. In: PERKS, Robert., and THOMSON, Alister. (eds.) *Oral History Reader.* (2nd ed.) Oxford and New York: Routledge. pp. 54-79.

ZHAO, Yang. (2017) Participation in Scottish Cèilidh Dancing. MA essay. Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Szeged, Szeged, Hungary. Copy held by CEMM.

ZIMRING, Rishona. (2013) *Social Dance and the Modernist Imagination in Interwar Britain.* Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.