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ENGLISH GYPSY SINGING

by Denise Stanley

Submitted as PH.D Thesis to:

The City University

Music Department

September, 1989

THESIS CONTAINS

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Courtesy of National Gypsy Education Council



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

I would like to gratefully acknowledge the assistance and guidance of both my supervisor, Dr Steve Stanton and my acting-supervisor, Dr Simon Emmerson. I would also like to acknowledge the grant from the Social Science Research Council which made the research possible. I would like to thank Dr Thomas Acton, Senior Lecturer in Social Sciences, Thames Polytechnic, Malcolm Taylor, the Librarian of The English Folk Dance and Song Society and Michael Yates for their time and helpful discussion. I would like to express great appreciation for my dear friend, Karen Conlan for both her time and encouragement and for all the Gypsies and Travellers I had the privilege of meeting, socialising and singing with, especially those who allowed me to record them. Finally, I would like to dedicate this work to my Mother and to the memory of my late Father to express my thanks for their love, encouragement and support.

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THESIS ABSTRACT:

This thesis presents a study of English Gypsy Singing in the broader context of contemporary English folksong research and previous English Gypsy song studies. It describes and illustrates Gypsy singers and their respective song performances in the five detail ed case studies of formal and informal contexts. It examines communal engagement in singing and observes that there are three different Singing roles: the Novice, the Participating singer and the Specialist which it considers in relationship to other roles activated during song performances.

It gives an account of the way in which Gypsy singing is employed as an enabling device for social bonding through song performances of the community's Participating and Specialist singers.

It further observes that the social constructs which apply to Gypsy singing change according to gender and context.

Finally, it considers the songs that Gypsies perform and emphasises that there is no such thing as Gypsy song, rather, it is the song performance, indeed, the whole activity of singing that is specific to Gypsies. English Gypsy singing provides the opportunity to observe community ritual in a vibrant context.

CHAPTER ONE:

CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH FOLKSONG STUDIES

1.1 The study of English folksong has evolved from a study of the artefact, to a study of the performance context and more recently to a study of both the performance context and informant. The English folksong 'movement' consists of academics from a range of disciplines including folklore, cultural traditions and language, ethnomusicology, musicology, and social sciences, as well as folk musicians and amateur folksong collectors. It serves as a forum for the discussion of English folk and popular song. This discussion is generally documented and published as conference papers or in the English Folk Dance and Song Society's journal.

1.2 In one such publication, 'Singer, Song and Scholar' by I. Russell (ref:1), Boyes highlights one particular problem of methodology of folk-song studies in her paper, 'New Directions - Old Destinations' and outlines the practice of

considering the immediate context and the role of the tradition-bearer or informant and asserts that the focus on context and process, rather than artefact, merely provides a new route to familiar destinations:

"it seems that whatever position is adopted theoretically, in practice, individuals are only singled out for research when they are known to perform some traditional songs. A singer, therefore, has to be an old style tradition-bearer for the popular songs in their repertoire to be considered for study" (ref:2).

1.3 She does not dismiss the value of either the context-centred or the informant-centred approach but suggests a much broader approach to both informant and context: "A still greater area of performance and creativity is..almost entirely undocumented by..researchers" (3)

1.4 Boyes observes that there has been no attempt "to examine aspects of informal performance except in cases where it approaches this self-fulfilling stance" (4). She, like many others researching English folk and popular music, including Harker, Pickering and Green (5), has identified "a need for a re-appraisal of the relationship between collectors and the individuals they work with" and she concludes that continuous application of relatively unchanged criteria concerning the concept of the tradition-bearer will lead the folksong researcher in "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".

1.5 This publication of 1986 marks the point where the English folksong movement is rejecting the

non-specific term (and ideology) of folksong in favour of a new all-embracing ideology which recognises and validates a range of song. The term 'traditional' is becoming less concerned with particular songs and more concerned with the context or the activity of singing.

1.6 By 1987, Pickering, Russell and others completely discard the term 'folksong' and give their examples, descriptions and discussions in a publication called 'Everyday Culture: Popular Song and the Vernacular Milieu' (7). The Preface explains that: "the old paradigm of 'folk culture' is breaking up...because of its lack of correspondence to actual cultural life as encountered by fieldworkers, and its lack of flexibility in response to historical change" and "there is no new paradigm to replace it, and it is questionable whether there will be or should be". The book attempts to provide: "a focus on the

use of popular song in everyday situations...(as) diverse and shifting phenomena in a provisional stage" and urges: "that a performing art should be studied...(and)where it exists it should be studied in performance... and where it no longer exists...as performance".

1.7 The editors present an outline of the current theoretical situation in the study of vernacular popular song in order to introduce the debate. Their own paper entitled, 'Towards a Cartography of the Vernacular Milieu', introduces the study area which previously had been referred to as 'folksong': the study of "amateur song performance". (7) or the fuller definition of "amateur locally performed song and its role in everyday social life" (8).

1.8 They give two reasons for such a study:

A. "(amateur locally performed song) remains,

however modestly, alternative in motivation to realisation of profit and alternative in experience to mass market consumption... its significance in many people's lives is precisely that it preserves an area of cultural activity and experience that is different to mass market consumption" (9);

B. "to develop a better understanding of non-elite culture" (10); and explain that the study would be concerned with "how popular song is woven into the fabric of everyday social experience" (11); and endeavour to examine "this engagement... appropriation and usage of popular song in non-commoditised manifestations"(12).

1.9 The methodology employed would be that of local studies reincorporated into a general framework of theory in which "the student should define what is 'local' in particular cases taking account of the subjective as well as the objective perspective"

(13). The term 'local' is defined as the result of "a process of localisation... the process of making our own" (14). They believe that "situated contexts of performance must be understood not only in relation to their own immediate dynamics, but also in relation to the broader structural forces which shape the character and course of everyday social interaction"(15).

1.10 Pickering and Green's 'amateur locally performed song study' is primarily concerned with two linked processes: (1) the song performance and (2) the song selection . In this thesis, singing is examined in a series of contexts among Gypsies and Travellers and observations are placed into a broader framework of available research on Gypsy singing.

CHAPTER TWO:

ENGLISH GYPSY SONG STUDIES

2.1 Six main texts describe and illustrate Gypsy and Traveller song in the UK. There are also various recordings of Gypsy singers available on record and cassette tape. The literature spans a period of seventy-six years, from Gillington's 'Songs of the Open Road' of 1911 (16) to Maccoll and Seeger's 'Till Doomsday in the afternoon' of 1986 (17) and Sam Richards article of 1987, 'Westcountry Gypsies: Key Songs and Community Identity'(18).

2.2 The most generally available publication which includes a discussion of Gypsy song is Kennedy's 'Folksongs of Britain and Ireland'(19). John Brune's contribution entitled 'Songs of the Travelling People' provides the opportunity to observe the ethnocentric collector at work. The philosophy that collectors should develop cultural awareness and empathy with informants to enable the observer, with certain limitations, to discern and distinguish within the

boundaries of a particular culture, was evidently not shared by Brune. The commentary which accompanies the song transcriptions indicates that Brune is both uninformed and unsympathetic to the culture he has undertaken to study. He provides the reader with stereotypical and evaluative accounts which are both fruitless and a discredit to folksong collectors:

> "whereas a traditional hand-carved, brightly painted wooden gipsy caravan with some well groomed horses and a group of handsome, brightly dressed gipsies doing a traditional job rarely offended anyone, a group of dirty people pulled on to a field with their ramshackle vehicles and trailer caravans surrounded by an assortment of rusty old bicycle frames, car bodies, prams, bedsprings and other garbage is a different matter" (20).

2.3 Paragraphs such as this lead the reader to conclude that Brune is unaware that scrap-dealing is, indeed, a traditional Gypsy occupation and conforms to the typically Gypsy tendency to fill in gaps that appear in the economy of the sedentary population. Further, that Brune is also unaware that Gypsies are most likely to have pulled on to a field because, at the time of publication, over one-third of the Gypsy population had no legal stopping place or camp-site due to the 1968 Caravan Sites Act. This apparent lack of empathy and cultural awareness is, unfortunately, carried over to the descriptive accounts of both singer and song:

> "... the voice of the singer is modified by acute bronchitis which has undoubtedly been brought on by Travellers living in over-heated caravans which they will come into and go out of in their shirt-sleeves in all weathers" (21).

2.4 The first ten words may be accurate but the reader is subjected to his irrelevant qualifying statement. The songs are equally qualified with Brune's own personal reference points. His observations are coloured by his value judgement. He is selective, contradictory and dismissive. Useful information is discarded because it does not conform to his preconceived models:

"Many singers tend to add simple decoration to insipid tunes...some of the best known travelling singers deviate from the general gipsy style of singing in one or more details" (22). Brune offers the reader no definition or detail, nor who are regarded as the best known singers, nor who regard them as such.

2.5 He describes the song repertory in the following manner: "... they (the gipsies) will not

make up their own songs and tunes and will concentrate on whatever is popular in the areas which they travel... the material on the whole is common. The most popular types of song... are nineteenth century music hall songs, Victorian tear-jerkers, a number of popular songs of the twenties and early thirties and the odd latest pop number"(23). Two pages later he continues the song description with: "Fred Wood... said that in his family very short nonsensical songs were frequently made up on the spur of the moment after nocturnal poaching expeditions... The women made up hawking songs and songs about 'scrapes' they had with local people and police. These songs rarely came to more than four to six lines, and very few became part of the permanent repertoire" (24).

2.6 He includes a song composed by Minty Smith, "Me Brother's 'orse" (25). but gives no examples of the songs of the Wood family which he describes as

unintelligable. He comments on the fragmentary nature of Gypsy song but does not regard it as a characteristic of the tradition despite his observation that "It has no parallel in other British song tradition" (26). He gives no value to short songs with no fixed text or meaning and justifies this with his conclusion: "Collectors generally dismiss these fragments as too short to be noted...(and) if (collectors are) asked about Gypsy folk-song tradition (they) say it does not exist" (27).

2.7 Brune dismisses 'older traditional song' as non-existant and informs the reader that: "...whole ballads and songs from British tradition have been taken over and slightly changed in mood by getting a traveller's setting and becoming obscure through cantification of the words; ... a more comprehensible new style of travellers' song has evolved under the

influence of British tradition. These new songs ... are gradually ousting the bulk of traditional Gypsy song described above"(28).

2.8 The reader is left wondering how the songs from the British tradition which have, as a natural part of the enculturation process, taken on the Gypsies own cultural references and languages, have 'ousted the bulk' of traditional Gypsy song which Brune dismisses as obscure, fragmentary and not worth noting. He defines street cries and jingles as specifically Gypsy items and dismisses them, also, as of little interest musically. This account of a minority culture's singing traditions does little more than indicate the lack of scholarship and responsibility of its author.

2.9 Two years later, a more specific, substantial and creditable piece of work concerning Gypsy and

Traveller song was published: 'Travellers' Songs from England and Scotland' by Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger (29). This demonstrates a greater empathy and understanding of Gypsy culture but tends to focus on the collection of English and Scots traditional song in the Gypsy repertory.

Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger are described on the cover of their text as: "widely known as two of the founding singers and collectors of the British and American folk revivals" and the text, as one in which the authors "display their vast fund of folksong scholarship in the first major work devoted to the songs of British travelling people since Alice Gillington's 'Songs of the Open Road' (1911)".

2.10 The book was published with financial assistance from the American Council of Learned Societies (30) and is purported to be of interest to singer and scholar of folk-song. The authors express

their desire to present a "truthful record of the kind of songs which were sung by two small groups of Scots and English Travellers in the years between 1960 and 1975"(31). However, this statement appears somewhat inconsistent with that on the book jacket which labels the collection as the "result of extensive collecting in southern and south-eastern England and central and north-eastern Scotland over the past fifteen years".

2.11 The songs are presented with descriptive notes and references to variants recorded in other folk-song collections. They are titled according to the practice, most often employed in English folk-song collections, of using the title of the most common or established variant of the song. They are further classified according to the Child collection or compiled in sections relating to song personalities eg Soldiers and Sailors, Unfaithful lovers, etc.

2.12 The songs constitute more than three-quarters of the publication and therefore must be regarded as the major focus. The text tends toward the descriptive and only traverses into the realm of scholarship during the somewhat fruitless and speculative section of: "Some unanswered questions" (32) and by the discussion of traveller singing styles and aesthetics (33). The motive for publication is clearly reflected in a descriptive phrase on the book-jacket: "many new versions of major ballads". From this description, one could assume that the target customer would have a clear idea of what constitutes a 'major ballad' and would want to purchase the book in order to acquire a new version. The most likely customer, therefore, would be a singer wishing to increase his or her traditional repertory.

2.13 It is not unreasonable to assume that the authors exploited their reputation as singers and

collectors to initiate contact with other Traveller-song collectors or Traveller associates. The authors' access to publishing and to media coverage would have enabled them to offer certain prestige to Traveller singers such as Belle and Alec Stewart of Blairgowrie.

2.14 The actual collecting of the songs is described in the text as "'Song-hunting' (34) or requesting certain traditional songs from the repertory of a singer, "we asked Mrs Hughes if she knew the ballad 'Lord Thomas and Fair Ellender' (35). This approach provides little evidence for the observation (36) that 'the majority of English and Scots traveller songs' are 'representative' or 'characteristic' of the 'standard song-repertoire' of their simultaneous countries; nor the observation that 28 of the 130 songs are Child ballads and just 7 are, exclusively, Traveller songs. The authors feel no

need to define 'standard song repertoire' or to describe who, other than Travellers, sing the 123 songs which are not exclusive.

2.15 The authors locate the majority of the songs within the English or American traditional song repertories. This preoccupation with traditional song leads the reader to wonder if certain 'traditional' criteria were applied to the collection or the publishing of the songs. If this is the case then the collection of songs should be labelled and considered an account of traditional English and Scots songs as requested from and performed by Travellers.

2.16 The authors acknowledge that they "recorded the same song several times" (37) from a number of singers and they describe the resulting 'irregularities' between each rendition as 'characteristic improvisation'. They also observe that "certain songs within the repertoire of a creative

singer were not given the same treatment as other songs", these songs they describe as 'semi-popular' but give no definition. They just name the songs: 'Twenty-one years' and 'Green grows the laurel' (38) and observe that "(They) remain unchanged or unaffected by a singer's creativity, although they are widely sung".

2.17 The published songs reflect this obvious bias in favour of the traditional and therefore, the reader may not be convinced that the editors attributed equal value to other songs, nor, indeed, that several recordings were demanded from the singer in the same manner as that given to those from the traditional repertory. The statement that semi-popular songs are widely sung seems to imply that these form part of a collective rather than an individual repertoire and may be corrected or challenged by

listeners. However, the authors make no suggestion.

2.18 MacColl and Seeger, like Brune, note the 'chest and respiratory disorders' but explain these with a more empathetic description of contemporary traveller lifestyle: "(they are) victims of almost continual harassment, overcrowding on the few available camp- sites, lack of facilities for elementary hygiene and an inadequate diet" (39). There is, however, a tendency to over-simplify the culture and emphasise the traditional. This is highlighted by the editors' focus on the Scots Traveller rather than the English counterpart in a brief, rather sketchy, comparison of the Scots and English informants, their respective life-styles and knowledge (40).

2.19 A brief account of how certain recordings were made (41) gives little attention to the contexts in which the songs were recorded. These are not

considered relevant to this publication and those given are of a superficial nature with greater emphasis on the song, noting comparative texts within the American and British traditional song collections.

2.20 Seeger and MacColl present an image of the Traveller as the final natural living guardian of traditional English and Scots song. They make little reference, in their commentary, to any other specific song genre, except the semi-popular **(42)**. However, they describe the non-traditional songs among the song collection as 2 songs of 'music hall origin' **(43)**, 3 'pieces' **(44)**, 1 'victorian tear-jerker' **(45)**, 1 'brief cant ditty' **(46)**, 1 'jingle' **(47)**. Others are labelled 'ballads' and 'songs'. Twelve of the 131 songs have no references to other American or British traditional songs **(48)**, twenty-nine are labelled 'ballads' **(49)** and ninety-one, as 'songs' **(50)**.

2.21 The songs are made available, then, not for the purpose of serious study, but for re-creation by the singer: "Those wishing to sing the songs may want to change the speed as marked" (51). This emphasis on the provision of traditional repertory limits the reader's perspective of Gypsy song.

2.22 Almost ten years later, MacColl and Seeger published a second book concerning Traveller culture in which they focus entirely on a Scots Traveller family with a largely traditional stock of ballads, songs, tales, riddles and anecdotes: "Till doomsday in the afternoon" is a record of the folklore of a family of Scots Travellers, the Stewarts of Blairgowrie (52).

2.23 The song commentary and context is as disappointing as it is minimal with notes relating to the transcriptions, modes (53) and the three female singers from the Stewart family, (54). There is a

collection of 71 songs and 15 'mak-ye-ups', or compositions. The songs begin with an introductory paragraph which offers text comparisons with other versions located in the American or British traditional song collections, an account of an historical event referred to by the song-text, or the history of the song, or failing any of these, a summary of the song-story.

2.24 Thirteen of the songs are catalogued according to Child (55), ten according to Laws (56) and the rest are numbered. However, the Traveller singer's own compositions are neither catalogued nor numbered and only one is given an introductory paragraph (57). The authors, thus, are still primarily concerned with the traditional artefact, unlike their contemporary folksong scholars.

2.25 They do raise certain contemporary issues, however, in the section entitled 'the changing scene',

(58) where they comment on the way in which the family has changed 'over the last twenty years': "it seems to us that the songs and ballads which formerly helped the family to maintain its 'Traveller' identity are now being used, almost exclusively, to entertain the visiting folklorist, journalist and television crew" (59). They express the feeling that they, like other cultural interventionists, are partly responsible: "one cannot avoid the suspicion that the editors of this book... are... responsible for the alienation of individual Travellers from their communities... They (the Travellers) have discovered that their songs and stories are held in high esteem by scholars and that the mass entertainment industry is prepared to view them as viable commodities..as a result the family singers...have transformed into "entertainers"... (which is) merely a symptom of the process of alienation of the Stewart family" (60).

2.26 Particular members of the Stewart family came to realise that values were being imposed by the 'outside world' on <u>certain</u> aspects of their culture, and this changed the values that they themselves imposed. For the 'outside world' was offering status and financial rewards. Culture is not static and nor are its constituent elements nor its products. A culture maintains its identity by the expression of continuity between past and present not by clinging to certain aspects of the past at the expense of the present or future. The observation that: "it has alerted them to the danger of their imminent destruction as a culture and social unit" (61) and that: "twenty years ago, the Stewarts saw themselves as Travellers, as members of a community of outcasts... time has changed their view... they have become observers" (62) give an impression that MacColl

and Seeger believe in a 'golden age of folksong'.

2.27 Sam Richards, who contributed an article to "Everyday Culture" (63) just twelve months later, employs a different approach but is equally concerned with the question of cultural intervention: "Two constituencies are addressed...song research and intervention in Travellers' culture" (64).

2.28 Richards indicates his awareness of the preoccupation with 'traditional' elements in Traveller's song collections by his suggestion "that Travellers, in Britain, at least, need gaujos (non-Travellers) who wish to genuinely appreciate their culture for what it is, rather than what it might be imagined to be" (65). He observes that the interest of folklorists in Travellers has focussed on them as "carriers and users of traditional songs which conform to a somewhat Sharpian view of the vernacular repertoire" (66). Richard's work, however, highlights

the intervention or 'engagement' of one culture with another "...the relationship between the observer and the observed... is neither a matter of moral neutrality on one part, nor is it peripheral on the other"(67).

2.29 He views this engagement as the "central question upon which others depend" (68). The social attitudes of both Traveller and non-Traveller cannot be divorced from the research, as these are latent in the immediate context and data (69). His unanswered questions suggest that researchers should examine their responses to these or similar questions (70), which would result in an awareness of their personal, cultural and academic philosophy. However, he does not include his own response in this particular paper. The relationship of observer with observed is considered during the descriptive account of Traveller culture, his informants (71), previous folk-song

research, (72) his own research experiences and by the annotation of feedback from Travellers following the initial research (73). This relationship is featured as a part of his analysis of the example given as a 'key song', "The highwayman outwitted" (74).

2.30 His paper presents a case for the study of 'key songs', which he defines as 'a part of the shared layer of a communal repertoire' and possessing 'especial significance for particular groups'. The purpose of such a study is that it can 'unlock' "areas of meaning which give strong pointers to shared attitudes and values held by the people a tradition represents" (75).

2.31 Richards asserts that singing traditions are, primarily, of value as an expression of community identity: "a community's internal values and view of itself, the way it is and the way it would like to

be..., the way it thinks others view it, and the way it would like others to view it"; furthermore, "... the key song gives as good an expression of the insider's view as it is possible to get" (76).

He believes that gravitation towards these "key songs" occurs for 'ultimately rational' reasons and that these reasons include "problem solving through symbols and codes, matters of self-image, the need to confront subjects and ideas not generally discussed in other ways, and group values" (77).

2.32 His song analysis aims to 'unlock' community identity by examining text, melody, immediate and non-immediate references and to offer a constructive and informative image of Traveller culture as reflected in Traveller singing and song repertoire. He suggests this provides a format for contemporary, non-selective, song analysis which broadens the horizon of Traveller culture for the

non-Traveller in a way which could not be achieved by the mere location of particular 'Traveller songs' into other recorded song traditions.

2.33 The literature, then, with the exception of the last piece of work, offers a selective glimpse of Traveller song and culture. Records and cassette-tapes of Traveller singers have, at least, the obvious advantage of a Traveller delivery but present a similar image by the song selection and the sleeve notes commentary. They have been recorded in predominantly artificial circumstances and so exist in a vacuum being divorced from the context of shared communal performance.

2.34 Gypsy and Traveller song, then, as presented in literature and on record has been on the whole, prescribed by collector and editor with emphasis on the song, rather than the song performance in context.

CHAPTER THREE:

THE EVOLUTION OF A METHODOLOGY

THE EVOLUTION OF A METHODOLOGY:

THE RESEARCH BRIEF:

If singing occurs in a non-commercial context among Gypsies and Travellers in the Home Counties, then, when and how does it occur?

3.1 The approach employed in both fieldwork and analysis embraces Richards' concern to account for cultural intervention together with the English folk movement's consideration of artefact, performer, and context. However, the focus is not on the individual but takes the broader perspective of the participating community, ie. all those engaged in the activity, in order to develop greater awareness and understanding of this aspect of singing.

3.2 The methodological approach was developed throughout the three years during which the recordings

were made. A comparative analysis of this approach in relationship to other current methodologies gave a clearer definition of what may best be described as a methodological process ie. the evolution of an appropriate methodology.

3.3 This process is both normal and unavoidable if one takes into account that both researcher and informant participate in the development of an awareness of the informant's culture, the researcher's culture and the relationship between the two: the scene is set; a researcher lands on the shores of a different culture armed with maps and notes of previous explorers. She has a collection of opinions, observations, and artefacts from those who have landed on this or similar cultures before. Each explorer, with their respective maps and notes, carries and reflects their personal history, philosophy, aspirations and culture with them and observes within

the framework of their personal luggage, even as they are observed by the diverse inhabitants of the culture.

3.4 As the journey within the culture proceeds the researcher encounters the inhabitants and initiates and endeavours to develop relationships. (Some inhabitants may introduce her to others to promote relationships on her behalf). These encounters and relationships are understood initially in terms of the researcher's pre-encounter awareness and subsequently as a direct result of her changing awareness.

3.5 The researcher enters a culture at a particular time and location and encounters particular members of that community and so may be charted on an imaginary dynamic grid. This grid locates not only the researcher but also the immediate or situational context within the non-immediate or

structural context, (the cultural map), which determines the social constructs of the community. The researcher is an inhabitant of a culture and therefore, is also located within a structural context.

3.6 Each encounter of researcher and informant brings both their structural contexts into contact in the same situational context. This situational context can only be interpreted by researcher and informant in terms of their respective structural context and since the initiative for the situational context has come from the researcher in the first instance, one would expect the situational dynamics to be forced and therefore, unnatural. For, if a group in a stable but dynamic relationship is faced with or introduced to an alien, then one would expect to see a resultant isolated and imposed reaction or behaviour rather than the norm. It is likely that any imposed relationship

causes a brief period of instability followed by the re-establishing of an equilibrium to the former state, or as near as possible to that state.

3.7 The researcher is therefore an alien and attempts to 'fit in' with the informants' activity and thus facilitate the informants' return to an equilibrium. It is the new equilibrium that is recorded since the former has been displaced. It is clear, then, that the researcher is not an objective observer but rather a subjective observer and thus has to take into account that her presence is not necessarily negligable nor a key factor depending on both the situational and structural context relationships.

3.8 As a response to the initial research, examining written and recorded materials and the archives of the Gypsy Lore Society (at the Sydney Jones Library, Liverpool University), two explicit

ground rules for collecting data were established:

1. A Gypsy-centred approach should be maintained which encouraged all contributors to offer what they considered to be 'Gyspy songs';

2. The interaction of the researcher should be taken into account in various non-exclusive roles including, initiator, performer, and receptive listener.

These were considered to offer a solution to the problem of collector-defined or prescriptive song collection. However, three additional rules were developed as a direct response to initial encounters:

3. to emphasise rule 1 and explain that the recordings would not be used for commercial gain and that the motive for research was not that of 'talent spotting'. This particular rule was applied at the researcher's discretion when previous experience of collectors was obvious or described;

4. to record the encounter in writing as soon as practically possible after it took place enabling the alertness of the researcher and reflecting the readiness to engage in any activity and to allay the informants' suspicions regarding any associations with welfare professionals and their reports;

5. to value all testimonies and to reflect an attitude of desiring and accepting these as 'Gypsy songs', irrespective of length, sense, subject, genre, or delivery.

3.9 These rules were mostly applied to each encounter and song performances were recorded onto cassette-tape when permission was granted. The case studies, with respective tapes, where applicable, follow.

CHAPTER FOUR:

ENGLISH GYPSY SINGING

ENGLISH GYPSY SINGING: INTRODUCTION

4.1 The selection of the activity of Gypsy singing as research subject enabled the researcher to draw direct experiential links or comparisons with the researcher's own interest in the activity of individual and group singing. This may have proved an unsubstantiated or superficial link but served initially as a point or plane of contact between researcher and informants. The assumed shared enjoyment of participating in singing enabled a confident approach to gypsy informants when undertaking the fieldwork. The researcher presented an image to her informants which emphasised that she was a working-class Londoner, a single woman, a student and not a professional and that she had an equally social and academic responsibility in the undertaking of such research.

4.2 Gypsies were chosen as the research subject for the following initial reasons:

i) they are an example of a minority group with many sub-groups who are ascribed by gaujos (non-Gypsies) to have greater unity than they often actually have;

ii) Gypsy life-styles have changed considerably in the last few decades. They have been transformed to meet the demands of modern urban and industrial society. Gypsies have been socially 'invisible' and as a result of being unconsulted, have become victims of legislation. For what other group in society can be legally evicted because a designated number of families exist in a particular geographic region? However, various local government and education departments have sought, and are still seeking, to enable access to public services for this group.

iii) Gypsies are a predominantly oral or non-literate culture. The Department of Education and Science discussion paper of 1983 on Gypsy Education (78) states that of 12-15 thousand gypsy children of school age in England, between 8-11 thousand receive no formal education. Further, that those who do receive some form of education do so irregularly. The oral nature of the culture is reinforced by aural media which are often encountered in the gypsy home, such as television, video, radio, record and cassette tape-players. Therefore, Gypsies provide a unique opportunity to research aspects of a non-literate culture in a literate society. They have the same commercial pressures through the aural media as the sedentary society but are not recognised by that society, or by themselves, as part of it. As an oral culture, the references in that culture are constantly changing according to the context, therefore, it is

essential that any static record includes details of the context.

4.3 Finally, the researcher decided to seek informants out on Gypsy sites, herself and not utilise the contacts of other collectors or researchers. As a response to Acton's work on Gypsy stereotypes (79), she decided that all those informants who described themselves as Gypsies and appeared to live or work as Gypsies, were considered as such.

4.4 Singing occurs in a variety of settings within the Gypsy community; in trailers, vehicles, houses, public houses, community halls, and around fires. It is most likely to occur at kin-gatherings for special occasions, such as births, deaths, marriages, Christmas or birthdays, or when kin are camping together for seasonal work or for a special event such as the horse fair in Case study 1.

THREE SINGING ROLES:

4.5 Singing is considered a normal activity for all ages. Group participation in the form of solo singing is encouraged and appreciated by the Gypsy community. Each singer gives personal, family or community associations to the song or addresses a particular shared 'knowledge' by the song and communicates aspects of these in his or her performance. Whenever Gypsy singing occurs, the singer is most likely to know or know something about the listeners and, therefore, has a sense of how they will react to the song, the singing and the singer. Likewise, the listeners know or know of the singer and also have expectations of the performance. The social relationships between singer and listeners construct preconceived notions about the expected performance

and these non-musical associations define or re-define the social relationships between singer and listeners in relation to the actual performance.

4.6 Singing defines the singer as a valued contributor to the group or community and is, thus, an expression of social status. However, someone who contributes in a group singing context does not have the right to name themselves a "Singer". There are three different singing roles within the Gypsy community which reflect both singing competency and social status:

1. NOVICE SINGER

2. PARTICIPATING SINGER

3. SPECIALIST SINGER

THE NOVICE SINGER:

4.7 The Novice Singer has to acquire a repertory before he or she can contribute in group singing. This is achieved by learning an "appropriate" song. The Novice evaluates the "appropriateness" of a particular song for a group singing context. This evaluation will depend on the desired reaction from listeners together with the singer's own experience of others' singing. A song is heard, chosen and learned from family, friends, other singers or from aural media. The performance is tested in private with trusted family or friends outside the group setting, with the aid of the source or reference version or from memory, until the singer is satisfied with the competence of the performance. If the words, tune, and gestures flow in a private context ie. under restricted pressure, then, the Novice is ready to test performance in a more public context. This testing process is actually

applied to any new material or new context by all singers. The Novice sings in predominantly private or informal group contexts until she or he is accepted as a regular contributor. The song selected by the Novice launches the singing role of that person and creates a particular group of musical and non-musical associations. These associations come into play during each subsequent performance and, once accepted and expected by listeners, they become the hallmark of a particular singer.

THE PARTICIPATING SINGER:

4.8 The Novice is granted the status of Participating Singer by the listeners who demonstrate both recognition and confirmation of that role by their expectations and requests. The more public or formal the context the greater the recognition and, therefore, the greater the social

status of the singer. If the Participating Singer contributes just one song it is likely to be one which is most relevant to or is most closely associated with the particular group of listeners. It is also one in which the singer can achieve the maximum response from the listeners in terms of confirming or building the singer's reputation as singer and group member. If more than one song is requested the singer is given the opportunity to sing songs which develop a reputation. However, this development is not at the expense of the singer's established reputation, since he or she is appreciated and supported by the listeners who consider any other songs in relation to previous musical and non-musical associations.

4.9 Certain songs become accepted and expected as part of a particular singer's repertory and no other singer may sing them if that singer is present,

indeed, sometimes if that singer is not present if the listeners want only that singer to perform the song. In this sense particular song performances are 'owned' by particular singers.

4.10 In private or informal contexts Participating Singers make their contribution and, also, invite and encourage Novice members of their families and friends to sing. However, in the more public or formal situations Participating Singers represent their kin or community with often just one contribution. In this case the song is chosen to reflect the relationship between the singer's community or kin and the listeners; eg the Irish Travellers in the minority at Appleby (case study 1) sing "Give an Irish girl to me" and "Kennedy".

4.11 Participating Singers, when asked by a gaujo or outsider would deny that they are singers even though they admit participating in singing and

would refer the outsider to a 'Singer', that is a Specialist Singer from their community.

THE SPECIALIST SINGER:

4.12 The Specialist Singer is one who has been given the status of community representative because of a reputation earned in singing contexts. The Specialist is a competent singer who possesses one or more of the following attributes: varied 'appropriate' repertory; ability to motivate others to participate; ability to create and sustain momentum by intervention; vocal versatility and expertise or an expressive quality which facilitates an emotional response.

4.13 Any singer's reputation begins within the private context of family and friends and develops as the Novice moves to Participating Singer. However, the reputation of the Specialist extends beyond the boundaries of the Participating Singer to the wider

community and sometimes beyond that. When the Specialist performs in the public or formal context, he or she is expected to contribute more than one song, (unlike the Participating Singer), and is accompanied by kin and friends who demand performance, request songs and voice support, encouragement and appreciation of each performance (case study 1).

FIVE CASE STUDIES:

4.14 The first two case studies demonstrate Gypsy singing in a public or formal context and the other three case studies, the semi-private or informal context. All the case studies give evidence that there is a series of interactive roles, including the singer. These tend to be more defined in the formal context. These roles can be exclusive or shared.

4.15 Each case study begins with a description of the researcher's awareness of the non-immediate context ie, the context which defines the social constructs which determine the roles and relationships in the situational context. These are more defined in the first two case studies, since the researcher is aware of the wider context of Appleby fair. The non-immediate context is followed by a description of the situational context with singing roles and song performances.



Fig. 3 Horse-sellers.
Appleby, 1982



Fig. 4 'A deal is struck!'. Horse-sellers.
Appleby, 1982



Fig. 5 Researcher with three Gypsy women.
Appleby, 1982



Fig. 6 Gypsy woman in her Reading wagon.
Appleby, 1982



Fig. 7 Gypsy fortune-teller's trailer.
Appleby, 1982

CASE STUDY I

Date: 7.6.1982

Location: THE MIDLAND HOTEL, APPLEBY

Context: FORMAL PUBLIC

MALE

TAPE ONE: EXAMPLE

THE NON-IMMEDIATE CONTEXT:

4.16 Gypsies literally occupy the town for the duration of the Fair, held annually beginning on the second Wednesday in June. They mix with local residents and tourists to sell horses (figs.3 & 4), charms (fig.5) or other wares (fig.6) and to tell fortunes (fig.7). Appleby Fair provides an opportunity for Gypsies to renew friendships and kinships, therefore, they socialise, almost exclusively, with other Gypsies.



Fig. 8 Gypsies grooming a horse in the river.
Appleby, 1982



Fig. 9 Gypsy horses in the river.
Appleby, 1982



Fig. 10 Horse-sales area, Longmarton Road.
Appleby, 1983



Fig. 11 A 'trotter' on Longmarton Road.
Appleby, 1983

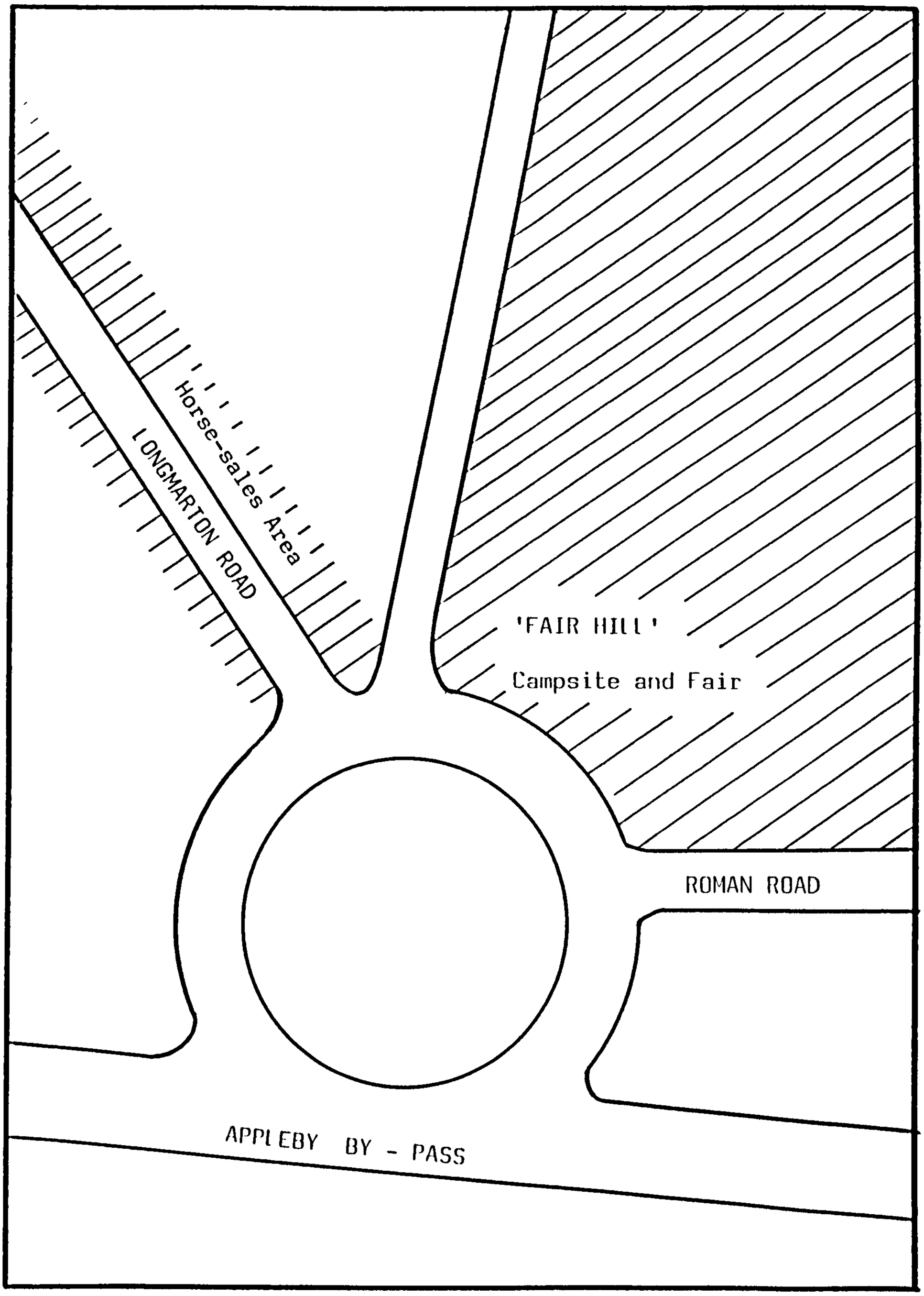


Fig. 12 Sketch map showing horse-sales area in relation to Fair Hill.
Appleby, 1982

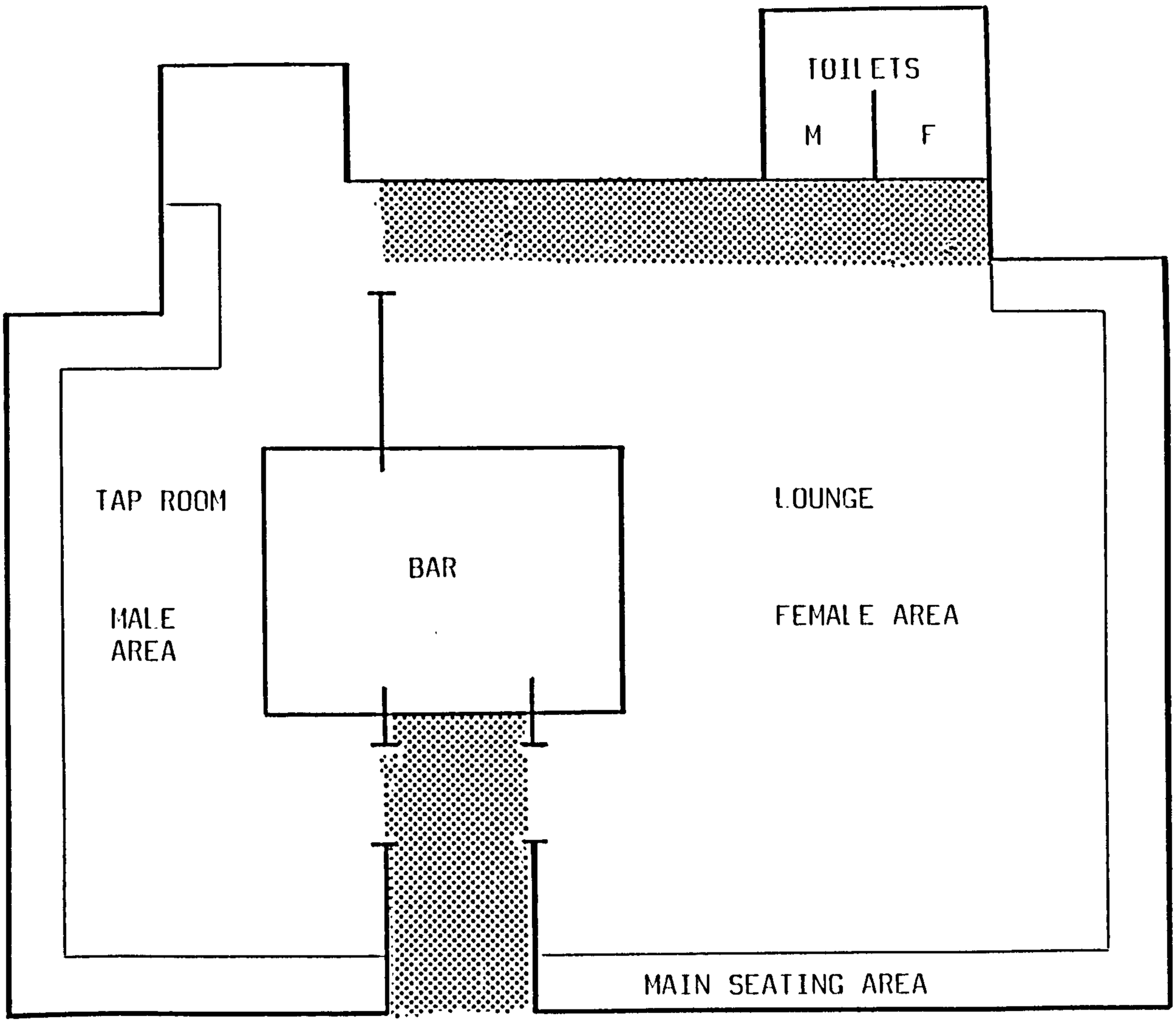


Fig. 13 Midland Hotel : layout.
Appleby, 1982

MIXED AREA

4.17 The occupation of the town by Gypsies enables them to 'own' certain parts of the town or, at least, to consider these parts as semi-private. These 'owned' areas include the river (figs. 8 & 9) stopping place or campsite, known as 'Fair Hill'; the horse-sales and occasional trotting race area, Longmarton road (figs. 10 & 11); and particular public houses, such as 'The Railway', the Gypsy name for the Midland Hotel (fig.12). The lay-out of the Midland Hotel (fig.13) is typical of a public house in the north of England, with tap room and lounge. Tap rooms are traditionally occupied by men and lounges, by men accompanied by women, or more rarely, unaccompanied women. Gypsies are the sole patrons of this public house during Appleby Fair. They regard the tap room as male territory and the lounge as female. Children are welcome in the lounge but not in the tap room. The public house is divided by gender in this manner with the only mixed territory where toilets are located,



Fig. 14 The Midland Hotel : Lounge.
Appleby, 1982

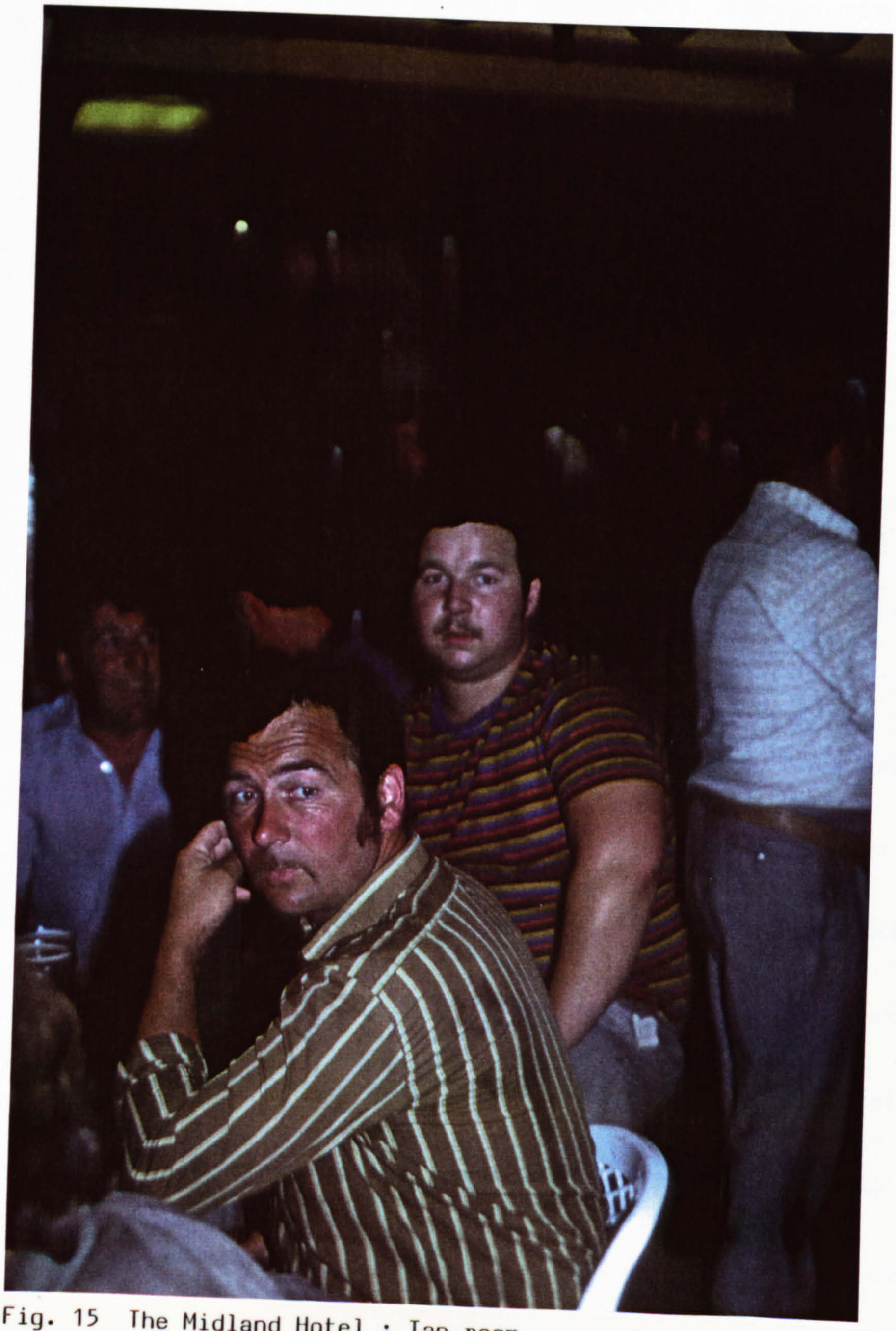


Fig. 15 The Midland Hotel : Tap room.
Appleby, 1982

at the front door and entrance hall, and on the forecourt. The forecourt territory seemed to be marked out by an invisible boundary approximately 6 feet from the front and right-hand side (in the diagram) of the two wooden 'picnic' type tables and benches. This boundary followed the length of the public house until it reached the left-hand side (in the diagram) of the front door.

THE SITUATIONAL CONTEXT:

4.18 On the evening of the 7th June 1982, both tap room and lounge were overcrowded. The only gaujos or non-Gypsies present appeared to be the bar staff, the researcher and a lady colleague. Previous acquaintance had been made with several Gypsies therefore, there was no feeling of being unwelcome in the Lounge (fig.14). However, this was not the case in the Tap Room (fig.15).

4.19 The noise level of conversations in both

rooms made it impossible to hear or be heard without raising the voice. The weather was very warm and all the windows were open wide so that it was possible to hear a quartet playing music at one of the two tables on the forecourt. The musicians on snare drum, tenor saxophone, tambourine and home-made string bass busked a few swing numbers and a medley of popular song tunes. By 10pm the forecourt was crowded. It was dominated by men but a few women were present in one particular area which included 4 women actually sitting inside the lounge on the ledge of the open window but facing the outside. Three other women were standing directly in front of the window. Some of the men began to sing or hum along with the musicians. The band stopped playing. There was an interlude of conversation for a few minutes and then one particular Gypsy man who was seated at the other table began to sing. The table was quickly surrounded by a few men who gave him their attention amid a lot of noise. Two

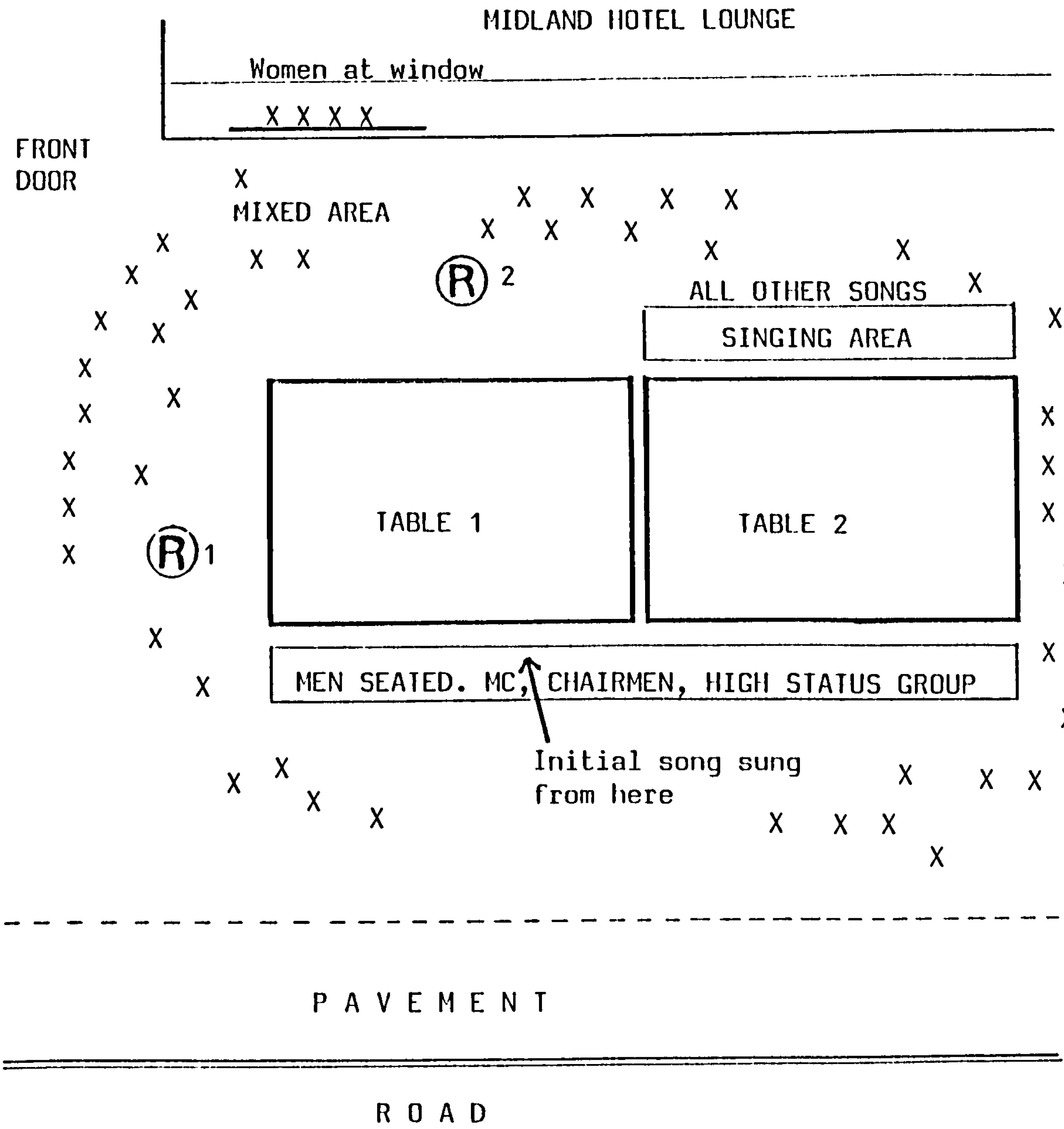


Fig. 16 Singing territory on the forecourt of the Midland Hotel. Appleby, 1982

of the singer's supporters who were sitting at the same table attempted to get the crowd to listen but the level of the background noise caused the singer to strain his voice which led it to crack. One of his friends gave him a pat on his shoulder to express appreciation of his difficulties and with a giggle he continued his singing. When he finished the song there was a roar of applause from all those standing around him.

4.20 After Bill, the first singer, had performed "Sweet Dunmore", Norman was pushed to his feet by the men around him and he moved to the corner of table 2 (fig. 16) opposite Bill and the other men seated there. He took a drink from his beer bottle and stood holding it, closed his eyes and began his song, "I didn't know God made honky tonk angels". Several men requested order and voiced their support to which Norman responded by opening his eyes and singing louder. His arms were stretched slightly outwards in

a semi-embracing gesture throughout the song and when he approached the end he slowed the song down slightly and raised his beer bottle to the crowd, who responded with one "yahoo", several cheers, applause and a drum-beat.

4.21 Order was requested as Norman moved back to his seat and Paddy took his place. He started to sing, then, realised that men were still calling for order, so stopped and waited until order was established and recommenced his song, "Give an Irish Girl to me". He stood, also, with a bottle of drink in hand but his head was tilted back slightly and as he sang his arms and the top part of his body swayed in time to the lilt of the tune. His supporters shouted during the natural breaks of the song. When he reached the fourth verse he quickened the pace and raised both the pitch of the song and his arms. The crowd cheered and applauded as he finished. He turned on his heels and pushed his way through the crowd towards the tap room.



Fig. 17 Molly performs "When I was young and in my prime". Appleby, 1982

4.22 Molly requested some tap-dancers as he made his way to the singing area. He held his half-finished pint whilst singing (fig.17). He looked around him and then began his song, "When I was young and in my prime", slowly as if to announce that it had begun. He gradually accelerated so that by the fourth line he had reached a quick pace for his song. He moved his head from the direction of those seated opposite to the left and then to the right and spluttered in all directions whilst singing. He maintained the speed throughout and moved his foot up and down to the beat until the last two words of the song when he slowed down for his own particular ending and punch line to the song which was met with roars of appreciation and agreement from male members of the crowd. He drank the remains of his pint of beer in one gulp and moved away from the singing area despite requests from the crowd for another song.



Fig. 18 Matt performs "O'Raffety's Pig".
Appleby, 1982

4.23 Cries for Molly to continue were superseded by those for Matt as he became noticed in the crowd near the table. As Matt moved towards the singing area the cries were replaced with the song request of "Master McGrath, Matt". Order was requested and Matt put down his drink and began his song, "Master McGrath", slowly, announcing it with the first line. Matt appeared the most relaxed of the previous singers he moved his head and arms continuously to include the listeners. His voice, hand and facial expression reflected the tension in the story of the battle between McGrath and Rosie. The crowd responded with shouts of encouragement for Matt which sounded like cheers for the racing dogs. Matt was invited to sing another song and given order. He sang his patter song "O'Rafferty's pig" (fig. 18) in which he played the comedian by acting out the roles described in the song using his whole body and very strong facial expression. He regulated the speed of the song in

order to emphasise certain words and phrases eg. "bumpin'", "slid in the gutter", "garters". The crowd cheered and demanded "Shoe-shine boy", which Matt began to sing and dance to. He directed himself at the whole crowd when he commented that "he liked a bit of jazz as well". He kept the beat by snapping his fingers and dancing and was joined by a few men clapping along. However, when the saxophone player joined in he was unable to keep singing the tune and so stopped. The crowd cried out in disappointment as he walked out of the singing area annoyed at the musician.

4.24 Isaac who was standing to the left of Matt began singing 'You'll never know just how much I love you" as soon as the noise had subsided. He stood with his head back, arms open with a beer bottle in his hand. Order was requested as he continued. The crowd were not as attentive as previously but when Isaac finished singing they showed appreciation by cheering.

Peter was called over to the singing area by the men seated at the table and began his song, "There goes my heart". He, stood like Isaac initially, with head back and arms open but as he reached the end of his song he slowed down the song, opened his arms wider and lifted them up higher. As he finished his song other men joined in the last line. The crowd applauded and cheered as the men seated at the table called for Sonny to give a song. Sonny who was seated at the table, got up after much badgering from his friends and stood in the singing area. He began his song, "If I had my life to live over" with his arms at his side, his head slightly back with his eyes closed. His pose remained the same until the last line when he increased the volume, slowed the speed, opened his eyes and raised his arms outwards. He was cheered and applauded by those immediately around him. Several men had caught sight of Jimmy who was standing in the doorway of the Midland Hotel and shouted for him to

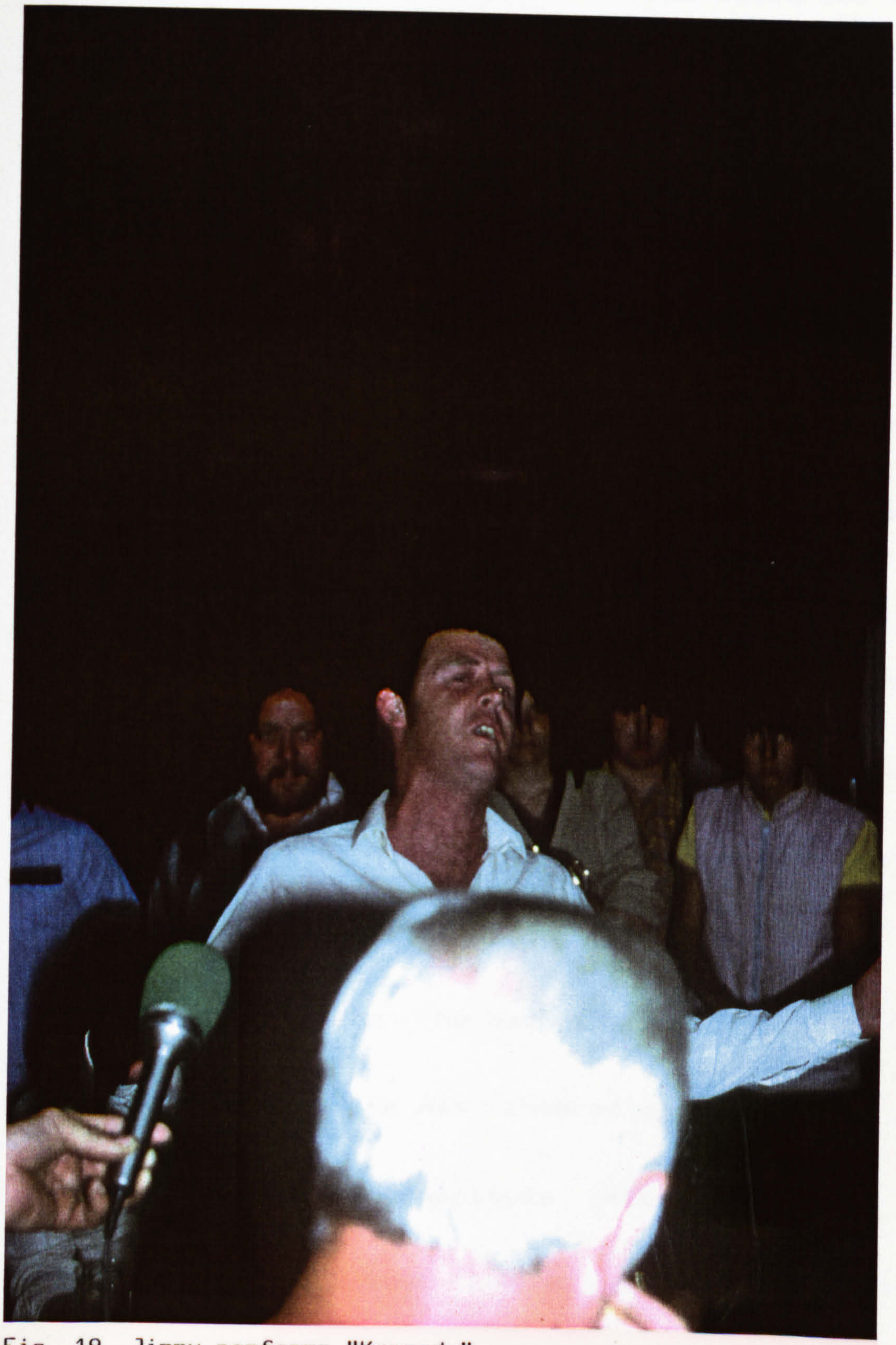


Fig. 19 Jimmy performs "Kennedy".
Appleby, 1982

come over and join in, "rip him out!". Jimmy moved towards the singing area where he was bombarded with requests to sing, and to sing "Kennedy", in particular. When he reached the singing area the men at the table called for order. Jimmy responded to the order given with a demand for recognition of himself as Singer by raising an almost empty pint of Guinness and shouting "three pints of Guinness for me!". He began "Kennedy" and order was called several times and eventually given. He stood with his arms outstretched, his head slightly back and swayed his body (fig.19) with the lilt of the song. He looked directly infront of him but did not seem to focus on anyone in particular even though he had the full attention of everyone near him. He was cheered on throughout the song and given great applause after the song had finished. All those that cheered raised their hands in appreciation. They wanted him to sing more but he declined, picked up his glass and went back into the

tap room, followed by several men from the crowd. There was a break in the singing with noisy conversation and then, Dave, who was seated at the table started to sing from his seat, "God's gift from above". He sang leaning one elbow on the table with his head to one side. One of his friends cheered him on and clapped him on the back when he finished the song. Many of the men had returned to the tap-room but those that remained applauded and then they too returned to the tap-room. The singing was over.

4.25 The singers with respective contributions had been as follows:

Bill -'WHEN I RETURN ONE DAY'

Norman -'HONKY TONK ANGELS'

Paddy -'GIVE AN IRISH GIRL TO ME'

Matt -'MASTER MCGRATH', 'O'RAFFERTY'S PIG', & 'SHOESHINE BLUES'

Isaac -'YOU'LL NEVER KNOW'

Pete -'THERE GOES MY HEART'

Sonny -'IF I HAD MY LIFE TO LIVE OVER'

Jimmy -'KENNEDY'

Dave -'GOD'S GIFT FROM ABOVE'

4.26 The majority of them were middle-aged English Gypsies with Paddy and Jimmy, two younger Irish Travellers in their late twenties or early thirties. Each singer performed one song with the exception of Matt, who performed three. Matt, Molly and Jimmy were recognised by listeners as singers with some reputation. The invitations to sing another song and the familiarity of listeners with the singers' repertory were indications of recognition of Specialist Singers. The other singers were not invited to sing further contributions and so were regarded by listeners as Participating Singers.

4.27 The territory taken up by those involved in the activity of singing on this occasion could be divided into four seperate areas:

SONG PERFORMANCE

MASTER OF CEREMONIES

NON-SINGING PARTICIPANTS

BAND

The Song Performance (SP) area, established after the first song, was situated directly across the picnic table, which constituted the Master of Ceremonies (MC) area. The Non-Singing Participant (NSP) area was to the left of the MC area and the Band (B) area was to the right (fig.16). The female presence in the SP area appeared to be an extension of the lounge area (women's territory), because the women stood next to the lounge window-ledge were other women were sitting. It was worth noting that the first taped contribution was recorded from point '01' (fig.16) and that something prompted a change of location from that original position into the female territory at '02' . At the time, it seemed to be a better location for recording the singers and

undoubtedly was.

4.28 The special nature of both singing activity and occasion was indicated by its occurrence on the forecourt of the public house. The non-immediate context, described above, enabled or dictated that male Gypsy singing could occur not only inside the tap-room of a 'Gypsy pub' but also on the forecourt of a 'Gypsy pub', as in this case. Therefore, particular social constructs which came into play during Appleby Fair defined the normally public zone of the forecourt as a private zone. Smith explains the social constructs of a closely-knit rural community who engage in singing in a public house: "it may be possible to regard the street outside the pub as part of the semi-public area,...then the space within the pub...would be equivalent to a semi-private zone where cultural tradition dictates that song performance may take place without interference"(80) . Gypsies, then, 'own' both public house and surrounding territory for

the duration of their occupation of the town.

4.29 The recording (Cassette-tape 1, example A) makes the listener aware of not only the singer but also of several other different roles interacting with the singer and each other. These roles may be defined as:

The MASTER OF CEREMONIES requests the attention of the listeners when a singer is about to begin and endeavours to keep order during the performance. This role was shared by three different men who sat at table 1 who shouted various phrases throughout the singing including "order, lads", "less noise", "same order", "give him order", "give him order, back there", and the more desperate plea of "give him a chance, lads" when order was not given;

The COMMENTATOR expresses his own opinion about the performance or singer. The Commentators were all male and were situated in various locations. Their comments included "that's a good song", "he must be

good", "lovely", "beautiful", "good old Matt", "good old singer", and "why not?" in relation to "Give an Irish Girl to me";

The RESPONDER applauds, laughs or reacts to the performance or singer during or immediately after a song. Everyone who was listening applauded after each song. However, only the male listeners cheered and laughed aloud at appropriate points in the particular songs, "When I was young and in my prime" and "O'Rafferty's pig";

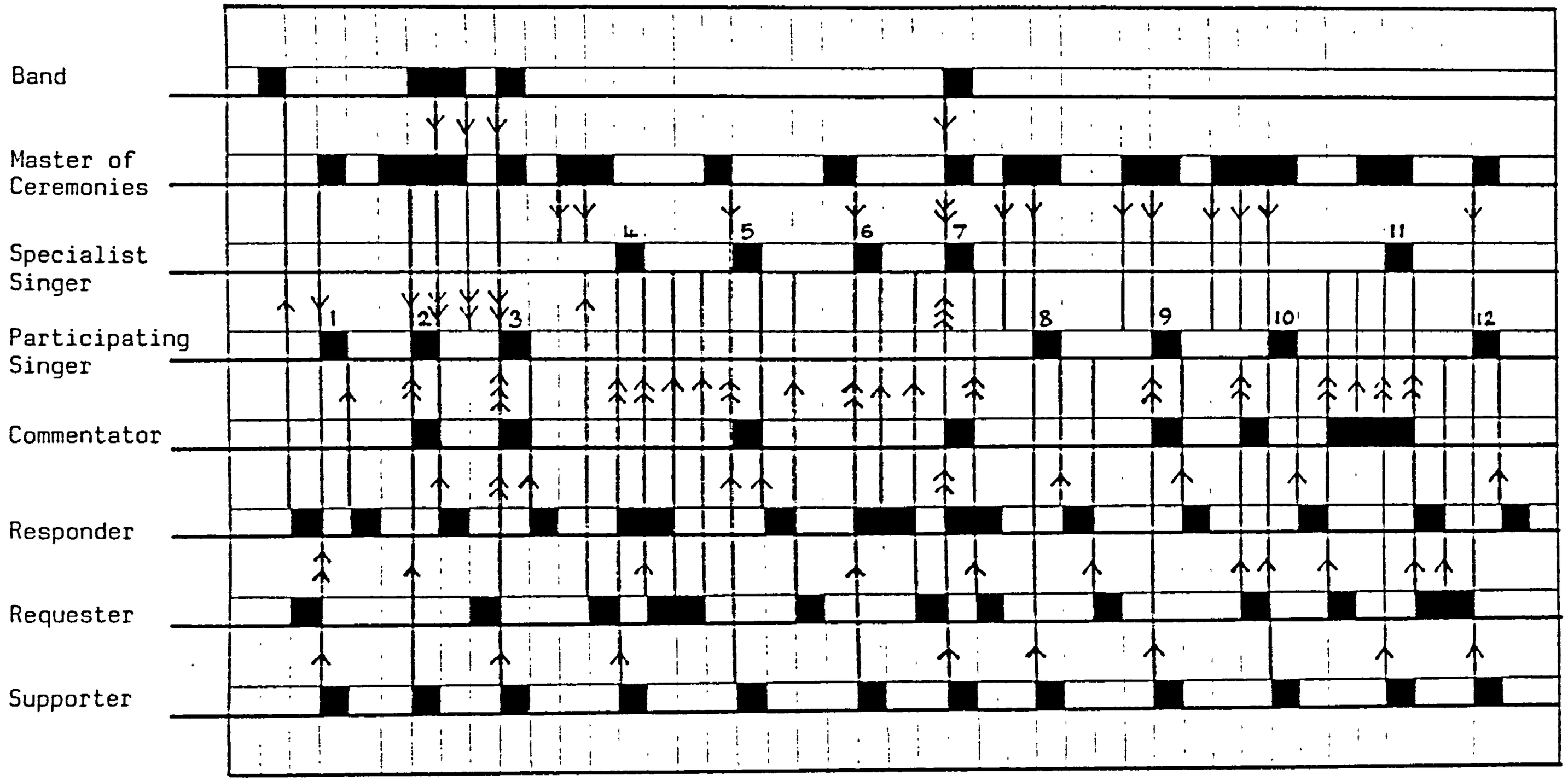
The REQUESTER invites certain singers to perform and requests particular songs. This is a specialist role since it requires a previous knowledge of possible singers and songs which form a singer's repertory. The role is, therefore, usually played by someone who knows the singer personally and is familiar with the most appropriate song for the context in that singer's repertory. This role was most

often played by those seated at table 1 except when Molly, Matt and Jimmy were called for by the larger group of listeners who demanded singer and song by name: "Master McGrath", "rip him out, come out, Jimmy", "Kennedy, Jim", "go on sing, music, boy", and "get the music on, brother";

The SUPPORTER encourages the singer by cheering him on during the performance. This role, like that of Requester, is likely to be someone who knows the singer since the singer's name is most often used. Encouragement in the form of cheering-on eg. "go on, Bill", "play us the music", "get on, Matt", "go on, cousin", "go on Jim, stick to it" took place throughout certain songs;

4.30 These roles continously interact with that of the singer. Fig.20 represents the interaction in this particular context. Each horizontal block on the grid represents a "unit of action" hence, the action is plotted and moves from the left-hand side to the

Fig. 20 - Role/action diagram of public singing by Gypsy men.
Appleby, 1982



Role/Action diagrams of public singing

Fig. 20 by Gypsy men (Appleby, 1982) and

Fig. 25 by Gypsy women (Appleby, 1983)

The Role/Action diagram demonstrates the activation of various roles during the activity of singing: the vertical axis marks the different ROLES in play and the horizontal axis marks the passing of time. Time is not measured as normally in seconds or minutes but in varied time-length units of progression from one ACTION or 'role-activation' to another.

Each black square represents a unit of ROLE/ACTION (if two black squares are in parallel horizontally this means those actions happen simultaneously). The directional arrows that join a box on its LEFT-HAND side are the lines of STIMULATION or 'encouragement/permission for action' either before the action or during the action and those which join a box on its RIGHT-HAND side are the lines of REACTION. The lines travel in the direction of the arrow-head and when there is more than one arrow-head on a line then there is more than one line of STIMULATION or RE-ACTION.

The numbers identify the songs in singing order.

right-hand side of the diagram, across the different roles. Several roles may be operated in the same "unit of action" and these are indicated by more than one block in a vertical line. The vertical arrows mark the direction of role-reactions and these tend to be directed towards the singer (where there are two reactions these are represented by two arrow-heads etc). This Role/action diagram demonstrates clearly that Gypsy singing is not merely a series of performances to a passive audience but rather an activity which engages people in these various roles.

THE SONGS:

4.31 Each song was selected as appropriate for the formal, almost exclusively, male context by the singer or by the requester. 10 of the 12 songs performed were expressions of a male point of view, nine in the first person and three in the third person which were performed by Specialist singers. The songs

may be analysed in relation to the context and an assessment of the listeners' view of the singer as a direct result of the performance:

"When I return one day" (first person): Bill

The song (and therefore, the singer) was nostalgic and sentimental in its yearning for the past. The singer struggled for the attention of the crowd, lost his voice at one point, continued and eventually won the listeners' applause at the end of the song for his noble effort.

"Honky tonk angels" (first person): Norman

The singer impersonated an American Country and Western singer by using a yodelling style, greatly admired by Gypsy listeners. He sang of his rejection by a woman who had been lured by the "glamour of the game" and who will never find true-love again. The listeners recognised and responded to his cowboy impersonation by giving a "yahoo" with the applause.

The singer was a rejected cowboy, a man who could not understand why he was not accepted by a woman who prefered prostitution to 'real' love.

"Give an Irish girl to me" (first person): Paddy

This song was also nostalgic for a home left behind. Here, it was not the man's particular girlfriend that he longed for but any Irish girl. Since, Irish girls are the best girls in the world according to the singer. The singer, then, knew about such things, he was a man of wide experience. The moral of the song was that the grass always seemed greener on the other side of the fence but experience told him that home-grown was always the best. There was, however, the further implication of Paddy presenting a song of national pride since he was an Irish Traveller, and therefore, part of a minority group in a predominantly English Gypsy event.

"When I was young and in my prime" (first person): Molly

This song reviewed courtship and marriage by ridiculing the wife, her father and the priest that married the couple. The singer finished the song by ridiculing a man, with whom the listeners were particularly familiar, Sam Price. The song was entertaining and witty with the main purpose of mocking the institution of marriage and church. Molly changed that main purpose to the mocking of Mr Price. The singer was regarded as witty, clever and naughty, much to his and the listeners' delight.

"Master McGrath" (Third person): Matt

The song related not only the battle of English and Irish dogs but also that of the sexes. The English Rose and female dog was very definitely defeated in a fair and competitive race by the Irish, proud, male and supposed, in the truest sense of the

word, under-dog. The singer was regarded as both an entertainer and serious story-teller.

"O'Rafferty's pig" (Third person): Matt

The next song offered a definite change of mood. Matt still played the singing entertainer but this time he competed with Molly, the previous singer, by demonstrating that he, also, possessed wit and naughtiness. "O'Rafferty's pig" ridiculed both women and professionals - a doctor and a councillor by describing their encounter with the escaped pig. Matt achieved his aim and received the listeners acclamation.

"Shoe-shine Boy" (First person) : Matt

Matt broadened his contribution to include his "bit of Jazz" which gave him the opportunity to dance as well as sing and to lead the listeners into participation. However, his invitation was too readily taken up by the saxophone player who disturbed Matt's

concentration and, therefore, control of the song. The entertainer gave up and left with annoyance and the sympathy of the listeners.

"You'll never know" (first person): Isaac

The song was sentimental about a deep love for a woman who had left him. The singer is at his wits end because he has done all he can to prove his love for her. The listeners hear a victim of love.

"There goes my heart" (First person): Peter

The song was also sentimental depicting the singer as vulnerable. He had failed his lover and she had left him. Another victim of 'love.

"If I had my life to live over" (First person): Sonny

Sentimental and nostalgic showing the singer as a man who had lived and loved. A man with no regrets who

would do it all again. The singer was a successful fulfilled man because of love.

"Kennedy" (Third person) : Jimmy

This song was an expression of national pride as well as the portrayal of an historic and shocking event. The roots, life and murder of J.F. Kennedy is related to the listeners. The singer asserted his heritage, like Paddy the other Irish traveller singer, and depicted the injustice of the world and its consequences in people's lives. The singer was emotionally charged and moved the listeners.

"God's gift from above" (First person): Dave

The final song was in praise of love and women. The singer painted a romantic picture: the fairy story of love. He depicts woman as God's gift to man.

4.32 The varied song content provides a range of images of the female sex; from desirable to ridiculous, from unworthy to priceless. Female stereotypes of prostitute, false lover, object of desire, beautiful girl, fat wife, scornful bitch, jealous lover, victim of love, faithful wife, good mother, and gift from God to man are found in the songs. The male sex, however, is presented (with the exception of the two comic songs), as obsessed by love, sentimental, sorry, proud, strong, true and brave but vulnerable, particularly to women.

CASE STUDY TWO:

Date: 8.6.1983

Location: THE MIDLAND HOTEL, APPLEBY

Context: FORMAL OR PUBLIC

FEMALE

SPACE:

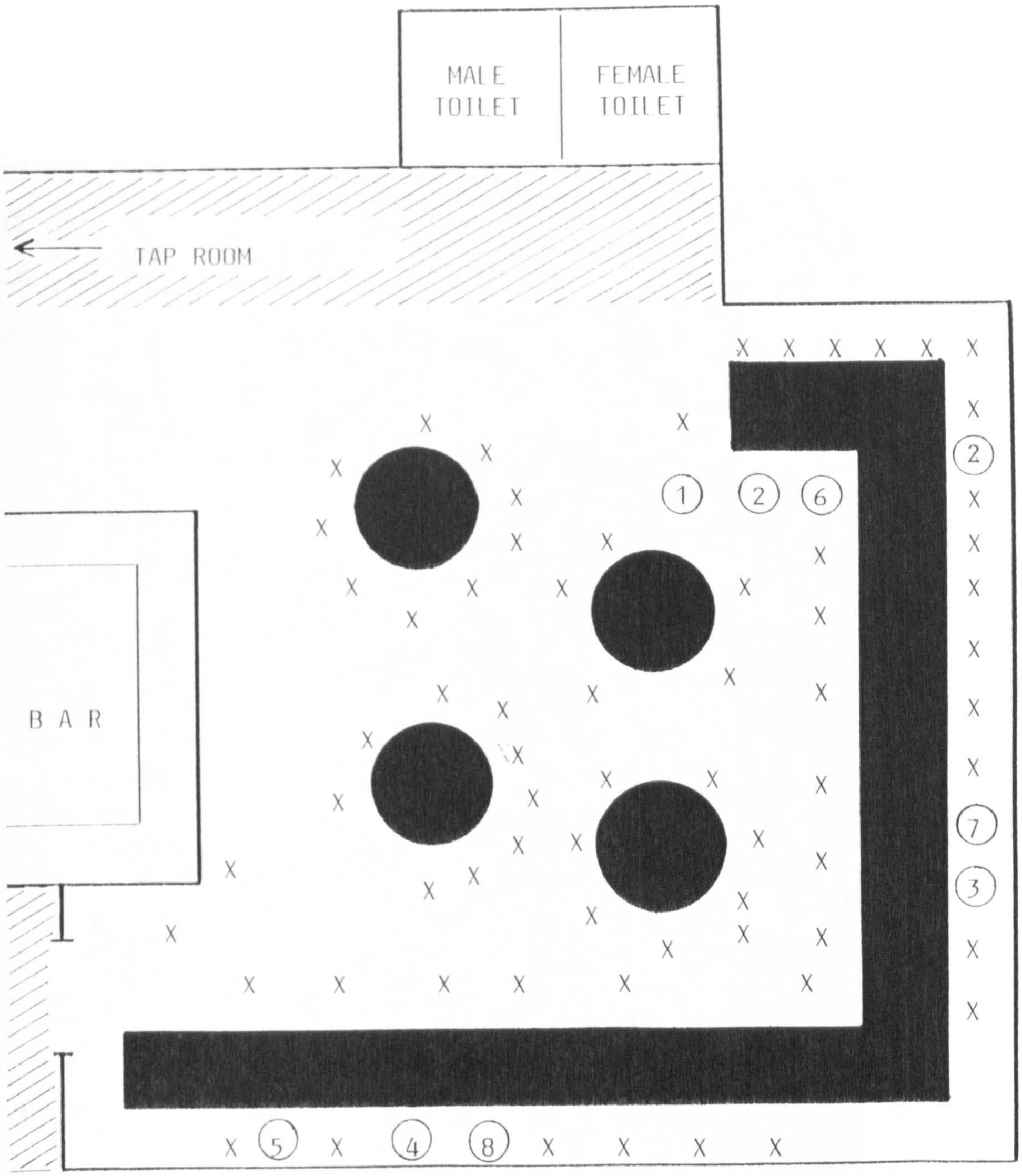
(See Case Study I)

NON-IMMEDIATE CONTEXT:

(See Case Study I)

SITUATIONAL CONTEXT:

4.33 The situational context is represented in figs. 2-14 of the previous case study of 7.6.82. Unfortunately, no sound recording was made of the women singing in the lounge but notes and photographs were taken. Conversations took place between women (and children) who were not directly participating in



1 : Josie
2 : Mary (2)
3 : Kate
4 : Maggie
5 : Kathleen
6 : Mary (1)
7 : Patsy
8 : Cathy

Fig. 21 Singing territory in Lounge of Midland Hotel. Appleby, 1983



Fig. 22 Women accompanied by children in Lounge.
Appleby, 1983

the singing. There were no men present at any time except in the mixed areas. Most women had arrived in the lounge by about 9pm and were sitting with their friends or relatives (fig.21). Several women had babies or young children on their lap and others had older children sitting with them or frequently approaching them in order to ask them for drinks, crisps or the money to purchase these (fig.22).

4.34 The singing began with Cathy being invited to sing by friends and relatives sitting beside her. She remained seated but sat more upright and held onto her glass as she sang "There goes my heart". She slowed the song near the end and everyone applauded. Mary(1) was then invited to sing by the same women.

4.35 Mary (1) sang assertively and banged the table with her fist on each strong beat of her song "We're gonna free old Wexford town". Mary(2) and Josie, (who sang together throughout) began singing

without any invitation to do so. They looked at each other as they started to sing "Dixie Melody" and kept glancing at each other throughout the song. The women applauded and then Kathleen took a leading role by beginning her song, "I've got a lovely bunch of coconuts". She sat upright so that everyone could see her and made obscene gestures throughout the song. A group of women joined in with both singing and gestures. The women laughed during the song and cheered as well as applauded it. Mary(2)/Josie encouraged the same group to continue singing with their next song, "It wasn't God who made Honky Tonk Angels" the women particularly emphasised the line, 'but married men who still think they're single'. Mary(2) and Josie continued to glance at each other throughout the singing. The women cheered and applauded. Cathy sat with her eyes closed and her head slightly back as she gave her rendition of "you'll

never know just how much I love you", which made the women more attentive for the duration of her song. She slowed the song at the end amid the cheers and applause.

4.36 Mary(2) and Josie sang two further songs "Drive me crazy", to which they danced in their seats waving their arms about in their impersonation of Shakin' Stevens, (Shakin' Stevens had just released the hit single "Drive me crazy") and "Puppy Love", in which they were joined by Kate and Maggie. Mary(2) and Josie continued to over-dramatise their singing by impersonating a distraught singer. The women giggled at the over-dramatisation and cheered and applauded the singers. Maggie went straight into a short rendition of "Jealous heart" and was given applause as Kate began her song, "A serenade to you" with her arms outstretched as if singing to someone beside her. Kathleen waited for quiet after the applause and then



Fig. 23 Maggie performs "I'm going to marry a far better boy" and is accompanied by other women.
Appleby, 1983

began to sing "The way we were". The women were attentive as Kathleen sang expressively with her eyes shut, her head slightly back and hand outstretched. She moved her hand up and down in relation to her word emphasis and regulated both volume and speed. She was highly appreciated and the cheering was the loudest, yet. Maggie sang "I'm going to marry a far better boy" and was joined by a few others (fig.23), followed by Kathleen who began singing, "When you were sweet sixteen", before Maggie's applause had finished. The singer used the same expressive style as in "The way we were" and was given the same response. She then got up to go to the bar and Patsy began singing "Blackboard of my heart" and was applauded. Mary(2)/Josie continued their impersonation of Shakin' Stevens with "Green door" by pointing and dancing in their seats, much to the delight of the women who laughed and cheered. Mary(1) raised her glass and

began singing "My name is Dan I'm your man". She waved her glass in time to the beat of the song. She finished her drink in one gulp as she finished the song and raised her empty glass to the applause and cheers.

4.37 Maggie sang another two songs, "Lipstick on your collar" and "My Guy", in which she was joined by a group of women, who swayed and clicked their fingers in time to their singing of "My Guy". The landlady called out that the bar was closing as the women finished applauding and Mary(2)/Josie sang "I don't wanna dance". The singers and those women around them banged their fists on the table or clapped in time to the beat. Quite a few women were trying to buy the last drinks of the evening and so Kathleen took the opportunity of singing a recapitulation of "The way we were"in which she was joined by Maggie (fig. 24). By the time she finished most women had returned to



Fig. 24 Kathleen performs "The way we were" and is joined by Maggie.
Appleby, 1983

their seats and she continued with "Save the last dance for me" to which everyone swayed and sang along. Kathleen got up as she finished the song and everyone cheered and clapped. The bar had closed it was time to leave.

4.38 The 21 songs were performed by eight women who made the following contributions:

a) Cathy: "There goes my heart"

b) Mary(1): "We're gonna free old Wexford Town"

c) Mary(2)/Josie: "Dixie Melody"

d) Kathleen+group: "I've got a lovely bunch of coconuts"

e) Mary(2)/Josie+group:"It wasn't God who made Honky Tonk Angels"

f) Cathy: "You'll never know just how much I love you"

g) Mary(2)/Josie: "Drive me crazy"

h) Mary(2)/Josie/Kate/Maggie:"Puppy Love"

i) Maggie: "Jealous heart"

j) Kate:" A serenade to you"

k) Kathleen:"The way we were"

l) Maggie: "I'm going to marry a far better boy"

m) Kathleen: "When you were sweet sixteen"

n) Patsy: "Blackboard of my heart"

o) Mary(2)/Josie: "Green door"

p) Mary(1): "My name is Dan I'm your man"

q) Maggie: "Lipstick on your collar"

r) Maggie+group: "My Guy"

s) Mary(2)/Josie: "I don't wanna dance"

The majority of the singers were English gypsies between the ages of 25-40. There were three exceptions, Mary(1) was in the same age-group but Irish and Kate was in 41-60 age-group and Kathleen, in 61-80 age-group. Table 1. indicates the number of songs in which each singer participated (P), the number of solo songs(S) performed, the number of songs

SINGERS	TOTAL SONGS	SOLOS	DUETS	LED	GROUP
Cathy:	6	2	0	0	4
Josie:	9	0	4	(1)	4
Kate:	6	1	0	0	5
Kathleen:	7	3	0	2	2
Maggie:	8	3	0	1	4
Mary (1):	6	2	0	0	4
Mary (2):	9	0	4	(1)	4
Patsy:	5	1	0	0	4
total songs:	21	12	4	*4	*5

TABLE ONE.

PUBLIC SINGING BY GYPSY WOMEN: indicating the type of singing and number of songs made by each contributor. (* Josie and Mary (2) led a song together giving a total of 4 led songs and not 5. The total number of group songs was 5).

led (L) and the number of group participation (G) songs. Kathleen, Maggie, Mary(2) and Josie played an important role in the proceedings. Kathleen led the first and final group song as well as contributing her three solo performances of two songs. Maggie allowed herself the opportunity of warming up by the group singing and then kept the momentum going by her 3 solo performances and her final group song. Mary(2) and Josie contributed the greatest number of performances to the singing session, despite their lack of solo performance. They also encouraged others to sing by performing without invitation, thus, setting a precedent for others to participate.

4.39 Cathy and Mary(1) were identified by their friends and relatives as having a reputation for singing, ie as Specialist singers. Kathleen proved herself a specialist singer by her singing leadership. Mary(2) and Josie identified themselves as Singers but

may be considered Participating singers since they preferred to sing together or as part of a group. Maggie, Kate, and Patsy were also likely to be Participating singers.

4.40 The whole lounge area (except directly in front of the bar) became the Singing territory. The Song Performance area moved around the lounge according to the singer. The MC area also moved in relation to the singer; the MC was always adjacent to the singer.

4.41 The roles identified in Case study one were mostly present in this context. The MC role was played usually by a friend or relative of a singer, but sometimes by a previous singer. The MC usually demanded "quiet" or "shhhh" coupled with a glare to the offenders to announce that the singer was about to begin or that conversational level was too high. The C role was minimal. There were a few comments, eg

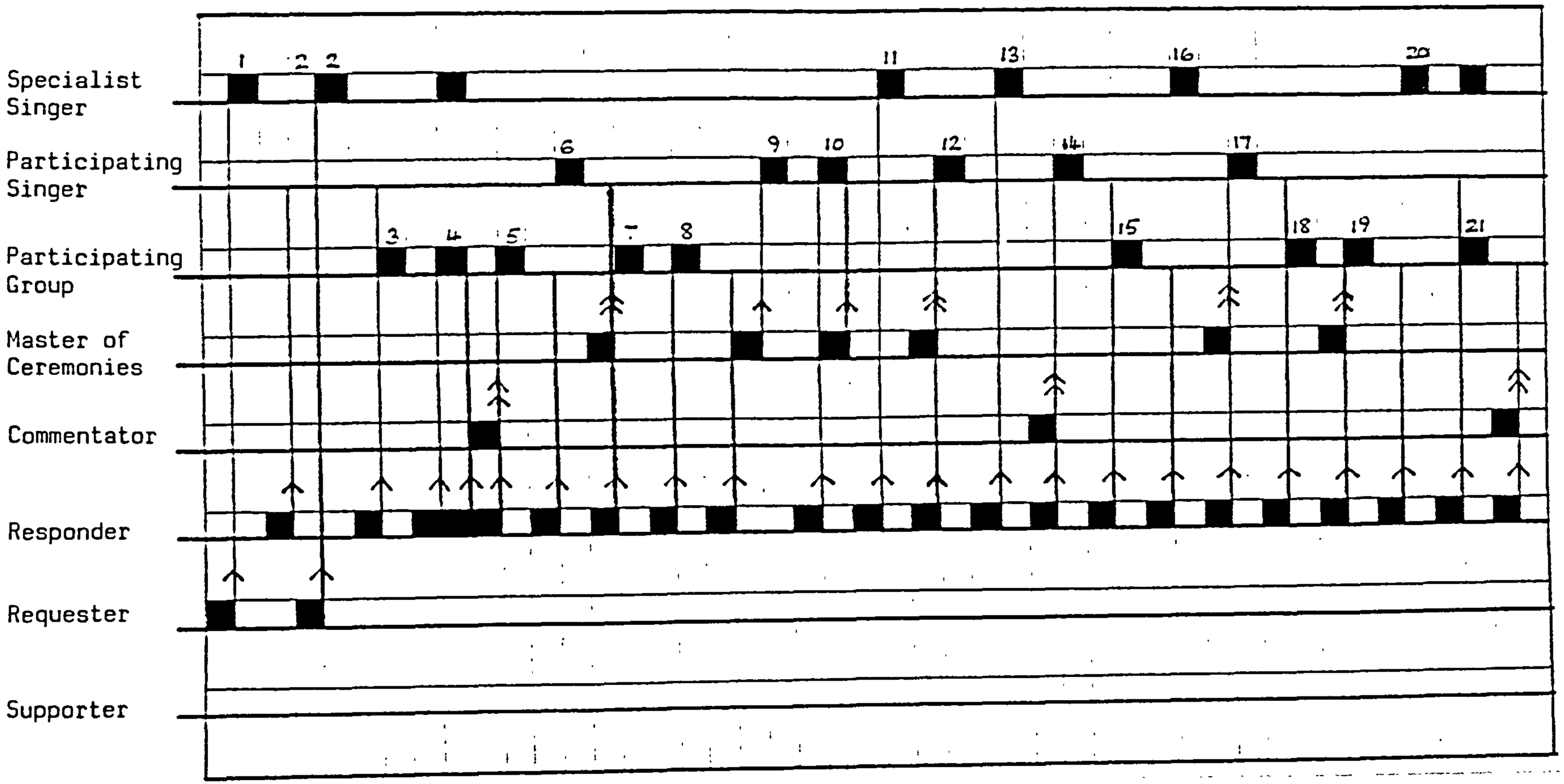
"that's a good song", concerning the group songs by those who had participated in the singing, but these appeared to be addressed to those seated around the speaker rather than to the whole group. The RES role was played by all the women. Everybody applauded, cheered and reacted to various singers. The REQ role was limited to the first two songs and was played by those seated next to the singers. The SUP role was not evident on this occasion (fig.25).

THE SONGS:

4.42 The women chose songs which, with the exception of just three songs ("We're gonna free old Wexford Town", "When you were sweet sixteen" and "My name is Dan and I'm your man"), were expressions of the female point of view. The song content began with women as unworthy and some nostalgia about childhood. Then sex was brought in to the song content initially

by insinuation and obscene gesture in "I've got a lovely bunch of coconuts" and then in relation to prostitution and unfaithful men. These were followed by songs describing obsession, a young and idealistic first love affair, jealousy, true-love and blind-love. Then, the disappointments and nostalgia of past love-affairs were depicted in "The way we were", "I'm going to marry a far better boy", "When you were sweet sixteen", and "Blackboard of my heart". "Green Door" and "My name is Dan" provided some light relief from the songs of disappointment, which resumed with "Lipstick on your collar" declaring men's unfaithfulness followed by "My Guy" declaring women's faithfulness. Finally, the singing concluded with the loss of romantic feeling in "I don't wanna dance", another pang of nostalgia with the repeat of "The way we were" and finally, the recognition that whosoever her man dances with will not alter the fact that at

Fig. 25 Role/action diagram of public singing by Gypsy women.
Appleby, 1983



by insinuation and obscene gesture in "I've got a lovely bunch of coconuts" and then in relation to prostitution and unfaithful men. These were followed by songs describing obsession, a young and idealistic first love affair, jealousy, true-love and blind-love. Then, the disappointments and nostalgia of past love-affairs were depicted in "The way we were", "I'm going to marry a far better boy", "When you were sweet sixteen", and "Blackboard of my heart". "Green Door" and "My name is Dan" provided some light relief from the songs of disappointment, which resumed with "Lipstick on your collar" declaring men's unfaithfulness followed by "My Guy" declaring women's faithfulness. Finally, the singing concluded with the loss of romantic feeling in "I don't wanna dance", another pang of nostalgia with the repeat of "The way we were" and finally, the recognition that whosoever her man dances with will not alter the fact that at

the end of the evening he belongs to her, "Save the last dance for me".



Fig. 26 Gypsy women socialising in Lounge.
Appleby, 1983

CASE STUDY THREE

Date: 18.5.82

Location: MR AND MRS MOORE'S TRAILER

THISTLEBROOK SITE

GREENWICH

Context: INFORMAL

MIXED

(Tape one example B)

SPACE:

4.43 The singing occurred in the "sitting area" of Mr and Mrs Moore's trailer on the Thistlebrook site in Abbey Wood, Greenwich (fig.27).

NON-IMMEDIATE CONTEXT:

4.44 This was the first time the researcher had met Mr and Mrs Moore; they had been suggested as a contact on the site by one of the teachers at Abbey

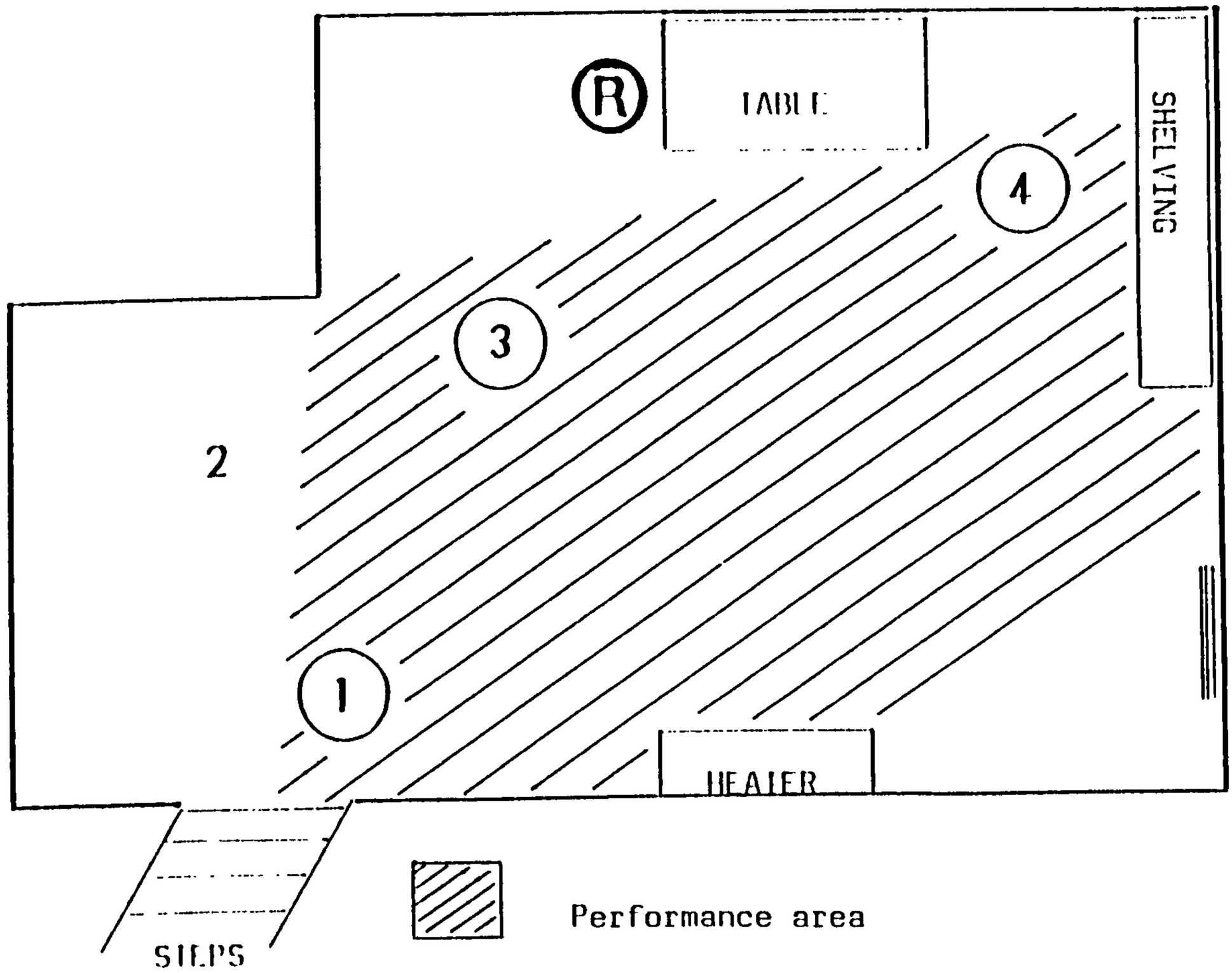


Fig. 27 The 'sitting area' of Mr. & Mrs. Moore's trailer. Thistlebrook site, Greenwich, 1982

Wood School who knew the family quite well. Therefore, they had regular sustained contact with one or more gaujos (non-gypsies) in relation to the education of their children.

SITUATIONAL CONTEXT:

4.45 It was 4pm and Mr and Mrs Moore, their eldest son Billy, and a neighbour, Wally Fuller were in the trailer. The researcher asked Mary if she knew any Gypsy songs and if she or her family would be willing to sing them. Mary responded by inviting the researcher into the trailer and explaining the proposition to her family and neighbour. The researcher prepared the tape-recorder and Mr Moore, who was seated in an armchair, took the microphone from her and tested it to make sure it was working with CB radio jargon,"one-four for a copy". He was encouraged to sing "Twenty-one years" by both Billy

and Mary and sang just three verses as he had pitched the song too high and was unable to continue. He remained seated and looked straight in front of him (at no-one in particular) during his performance. Mary, who was standing opposite him, asked for the microphone, took it and sang two songs; during the first one, "Paper Roses" she stood holding the microphone and moved her head slightly from side to side as she sang. The second song was just two lines, "I bought my girl a brand new dress with buttons all down the front" and Billy giggled as he spoke the second line, "and when she was bending over you couldn't tell the back from the front!" There was an awkward period of silence and Billy was being pressured by Mary, then by Mr Moore, then by Mary again, and finally by Wally. Mary then asked Wally to sing and show up Billy. Wally, who was standing in the doorway of the trailer, sang "It's holiday time

again, me lads". Billy still would not sing. Mary took the microphone from Wally and sang "Old Shep" but needed help with the words and was continuously prompted by Mr Moore. Wally and Billy left the trailer and Mary went to make some tea leaving the researcher and Mr Moore talking. The singing never reached the point of flowing, it was stifled because Mary, and, to a lesser extent, Wally both failed in their attempt to motivate Billy and to re-motivate Mr Moore.

4.46 The Moore family performed five songs, one of which was just two lines. Mr Moore, Mary and Wally made the following contributions:

Mr Moore: "Twenty-one years"

Mary Moore: "Paper Roses"

Mary Moore: "I brought my girl a brand new dress"

Wally Fuller: "It's holiday time, again, me lads"

Mary Moore: "Old Shep" (prompted by Mr Moore)

Mr Moore, Mary and Wally were English Gypsies aged between 41-60 years. Billy was in his twenties. Wally's encouragement to Billy of "Come on, Bill, you ought to sing, mate, young feller like you" reflected his opinion that singing is a 'good' and 'natural' activity. Mary's comment, immediately prior to that of Wally, of "Well, we can't sing, mate, but we're showing willing" gave a definition of herself, Mr Moore and Wally as not singers. Wally, however, seemed to be a confident singer and Mr Moore, although he contributed one song, proved that he knew, at least, one other song, since he was able to prompt Mary when she forgot the words of 'Old Shep'. It was therefore most likely that Mr Moore, Mary and Wally were Participating singers rather than Specialist singers.

4.47 The sitting area in the Moore's trailer became the singing territory and the Song Performance area moved to where the singer was seated

Role/Action diagrams of private singing

Fig. 28 by the Moore family (Greenwich 1982)

Fig. 30 by Hilden and Cooper families (Kent 1982)

Fig. 32 by the Smith family (Kent 1981)

The Role/Action diagrams are essentially the same as Fig.s 20 and 25 but here the vertical axis marks those present. The actual roles are marked by various patterns as shown in the key. There is one further difference and that is the arrow which feeds-back to its unit of action. This line is the line of SELF-REFLECTION and demonstrates the activation of an individual's reflective role on what has just occurred in the preceeding role.

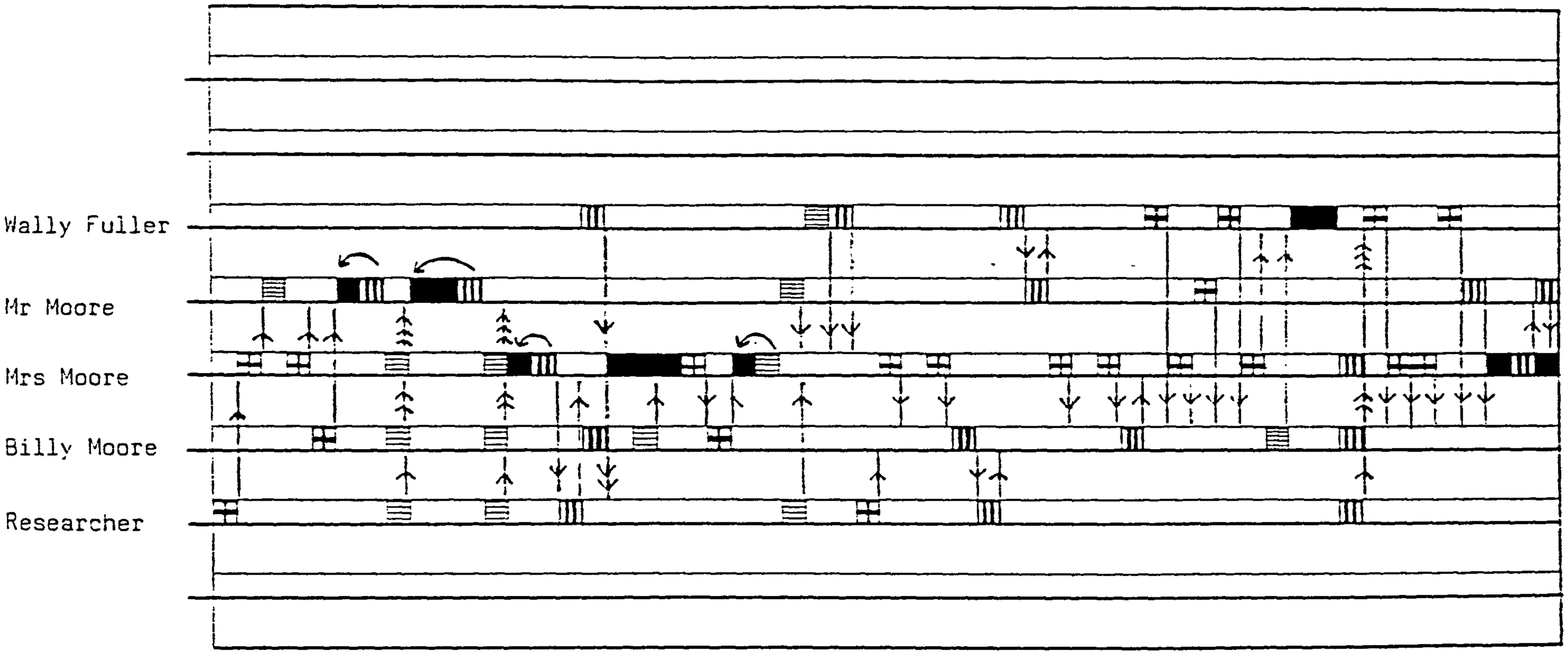


Fig. 28 Role/action diagram of private singing by Moore family.
Greenwich 1982

or standing.

4.48 The Role/Action model (fig 28) demonstrates how the roles are shared by the group. This diagram differs from the previous two case studies in that it indicates the people in relation to the roles that are played in an informal singing session. MC and REQ roles were played by Mary, who took responsibility for the singing activity as a whole, since she had invited the researcher into the trailer. She had suggested that Mr Moore began with "Twenty-one years", she put the most pressure on Billy to sing, she suggested giving the microphone to Wally and finally when no-one else was willing to continue she began a song which she did not know very well, but knew that Mr Moore did. Her final attempt to involve his participation in singing failed, however, since he was only willing to prompt her with the words to enable her to finish the

song.

4.49 Billy, who refused to sing, involved himself by playing REQ and C roles with comments such as "let it rip", "go-on give 'em twenty-one verses" and "sing an old un'".

4.50 Mary, Mr Moore and Wally also gave each other advice concerning the microphone and the recording of the song; "keep it away from your mouth" or concerning the singing; "nice and steady", "I'll never get up there", "oh, I can"t do that one",and "now don't make me laugh". The C role was thus played by all those present. The RES role was evident after Wally's contribution. However, laughter was constant throughout the singing eg.Mr Moore's defeat was met with laughter, Mary's second song snippet encouraged laughter and her attempt at the final song was also met with laughter when she asked "what's the other part?" and "don't know no more of it". The SUP role

was not evident on this occasion.

THE SONGS:

4.51 The songs would have been chosen by members of the family because they were familiar and considered suitable songs for the context. (It is interesting that the first song has been noted by Richards as a 'key' song, which, according to his research, has often been sung to gaujos by Gypsies as an initial contribution (81). The singing began with a man singing about prison and unfaithful women and this was followed by a woman singing about an unfaithful man. Then, a song snippet was performed which suggested a reference to sexuality. The silence was broken by Wally's song which was performed to encourage participation and demonstrate Wally's skill as a singer. "It's holiday time" was likely to have been chosen because it demonstrated Wally's vocal

agility, by his yodelling, and was a party song extolling the virtues of company, drinking and singing. The final song was chosen because Mary knew that it was part of Mr Moore's repertory. The song was nostalgic and dramatised the cruelty of life's situations.

CASE STUDY FOUR

Date: 14.3.82

Location: MR AND MRS HILDEN'S TRAILER

GREEN ST GREEN SITE

KENT

Context: INFORMAL

MIXED

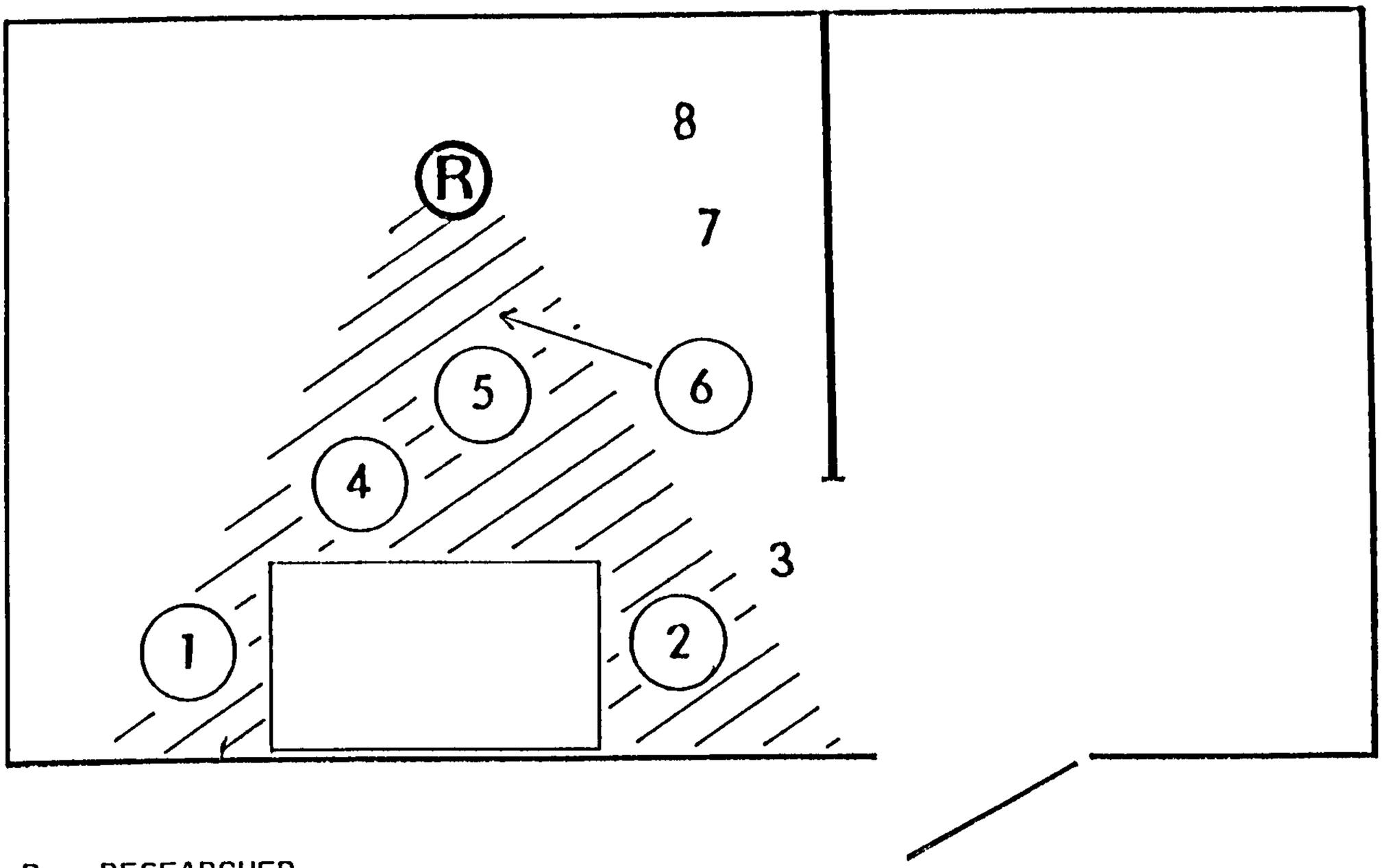
(Tape one example C)

SPACE:

4.52 The singing occurred in the sitting area of the Hilden family trailer on the Green St Green site of the A21 major road in Kent (Fig.29).

NON-IMMEDIATE CONTEXT:

4.53 The researcher(R) had previously been on the



R : RESEARCHER
1 : Kit Cooper
2 : Kate Hilden
3 : Rose
4 : Child
5 : Child
6 : Child (who moved across when he performed)
7 : Len
8 : Bill

Song performance and
Master of Ceremonies area

Fig. 29 The 'sitting area' of Mr. & Mrs Hilden's trailer.
Green Street Green site, Kent, 1982

site three times to visit and record the Smith family. The neighbouring Hilden family knew about these visits from the Smiths, since the Hildens had never met (R).

SITUATIONAL CONTEXT:

4.54 Following the discovery that the Smith family were not in their trailer, Kate Hilden informed (R) that they had gone out and invited (R) into her trailer.

4.55 It was a Sunday afternoon and approximately 5.30pm when Kate introduced (R) to Len Hilden, Bill and Kit Cooper, a neighbour, Rose and three children who were seated in the trailer. (R) had brought a guitar and a few beers with her. She placed the beers on the table and invited the adults present to help themselves, which they did. She took out the guitar and began singing two songs, which she thought they would have heard before, "Blowin' in the wind" and

"Leavin' on a Jet plane", after explaining that these were songs she sang when her family had a singing session. The listeners applauded after each song and (R) then asked them to sing any Gypsy songs.

4.56 Kate and Kit, who were sitting opposite each other began to sing. Kate began a song, she was joined by Kit and sometimes Kit continued alone. They sang "Twenty-one years" together, Kate sang "Gypsy Phoebe", and "I'm a Romani Rai". At this point Kate got up from her seat and started singing "Still I love him" and the song was taken over by Kit. While Kit was singing the second verse of the song Kate went into the Kitchen area. She returned to the sitting area and remained standing to sing "A sailor cut down in his prime". Kit joined in with her. Kit often closed her eyes when she sang and swayed slightly, in time to her singing. Kate did not look at anybody when she began a

song but once she had started to sing she continually looked in Kit's direction. Len and Bill, who seemed to be satisfied to sit drinking the beers and listening to the women, were also asked to sing. They declined to sing but continued to sit and drink as well as participate by giving comments and responding. Kit sang her first solo song, "Lay the blanket on the ground" followed by Kate who began singing "Play me a serenade" and was joined by Kit. Kit sang another solo, "I walk the floor" and Kate began "Your cheatin' heart" and was joined by Kit, again.

4.57 The children who were sitting in the area near the microphone had been practising their contribution and were asked by the women to perform their rhyme, "One, two, three mother caught a flea". Everybody laughed and then Kit began to sing an Anglo-Romani song, "It happened on a Monday night". This was followed by a solo song from Kate, who had

sat down again during the children's rhyme, "My mother's ring". This song was improvised and Len expressed his opinion that she had made it up. Kit began "I'm riding along on a freight train" and was joined by Kate. Everybody clapped the last song. Kate began a conversation with Kit and Fred Smith entered the trailer. The singing had ended.

4.58 The role of singer is initially played by (R) and then (R) is not invited to sing again. Kate and Kit sang both as solo performers and as a duo. When the two women knew different words each continued to sing her words. Everyone present was encouraged to participate but Rose, Len and Bill declined. The performers made the following contributions:

(R): Blowin' in the wind

(R): Leavin' on a jet-plane

Kate and Kit: Twenty-one years

Kate: Gypsy Phoebe

Kate: I'm a Romani Rai

Kate and Kit: Still I love him

Kate and Kit: A sailor cut down in his prime

Kit: Lay the blanket on the ground

Kate and Kit: Play me a serenade

Kit: I walk the floor

Kate and Kit: Your cheatin' heart

Children: 123 mother caught a flea

Kit: It happened on a Monday night

Kate: My mother's ring

Kate and Kit: I'm riding along on a freight train

4.59 Kate and Kit were both English Gypsy women aged between 25-40 and 61-80, respectively. The children were aged between 5-8. Len, Bill and Rose were also in the 25-40 age-group. Kate and Kit were likely to be Participating singers rather than

Specialist singers, however, Kit seemed to possess a wide repertory and was relaxed when she sang which could imply that she was a Specialist singer who did not want to take a leading role.

4.60 Kate was a dramatic singer and she displayed a willingness to participate and an inventiveness, if sometimes unconvincing, in her singing. She seemed to begin songs which she knew Kit knew so that Kit would take over the singing and this usually worked. Kate apologised for her lack of songs by blaming her memory, "I used to know a lot of them.. (old folk songs)".

4.61 The sitting area became the singing territory and the Song Performance area was opposite (R) since the songs were being recorded. The Master of Ceremonies area was marked out by the same triangle as the (SP). The Non-Singing Particpant area

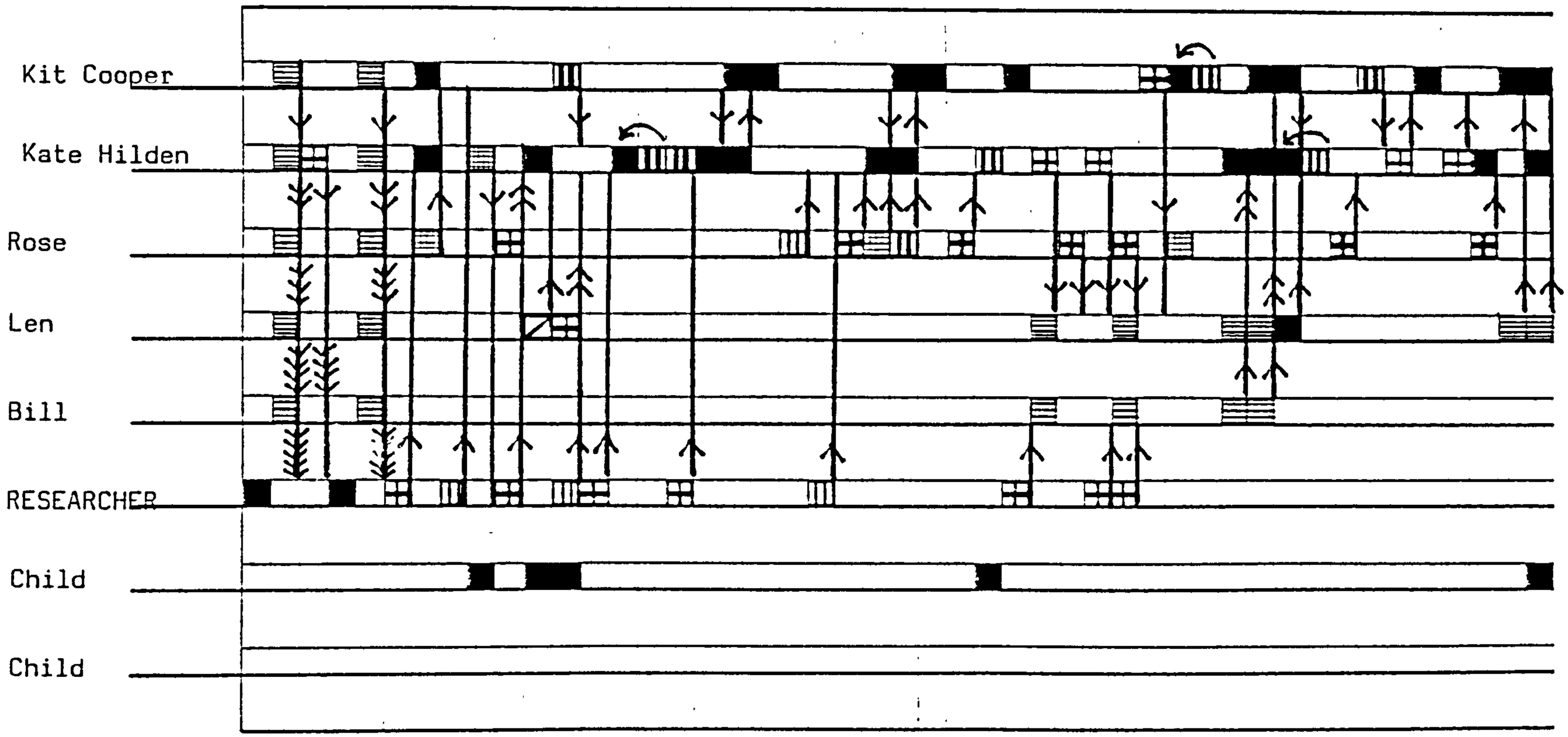
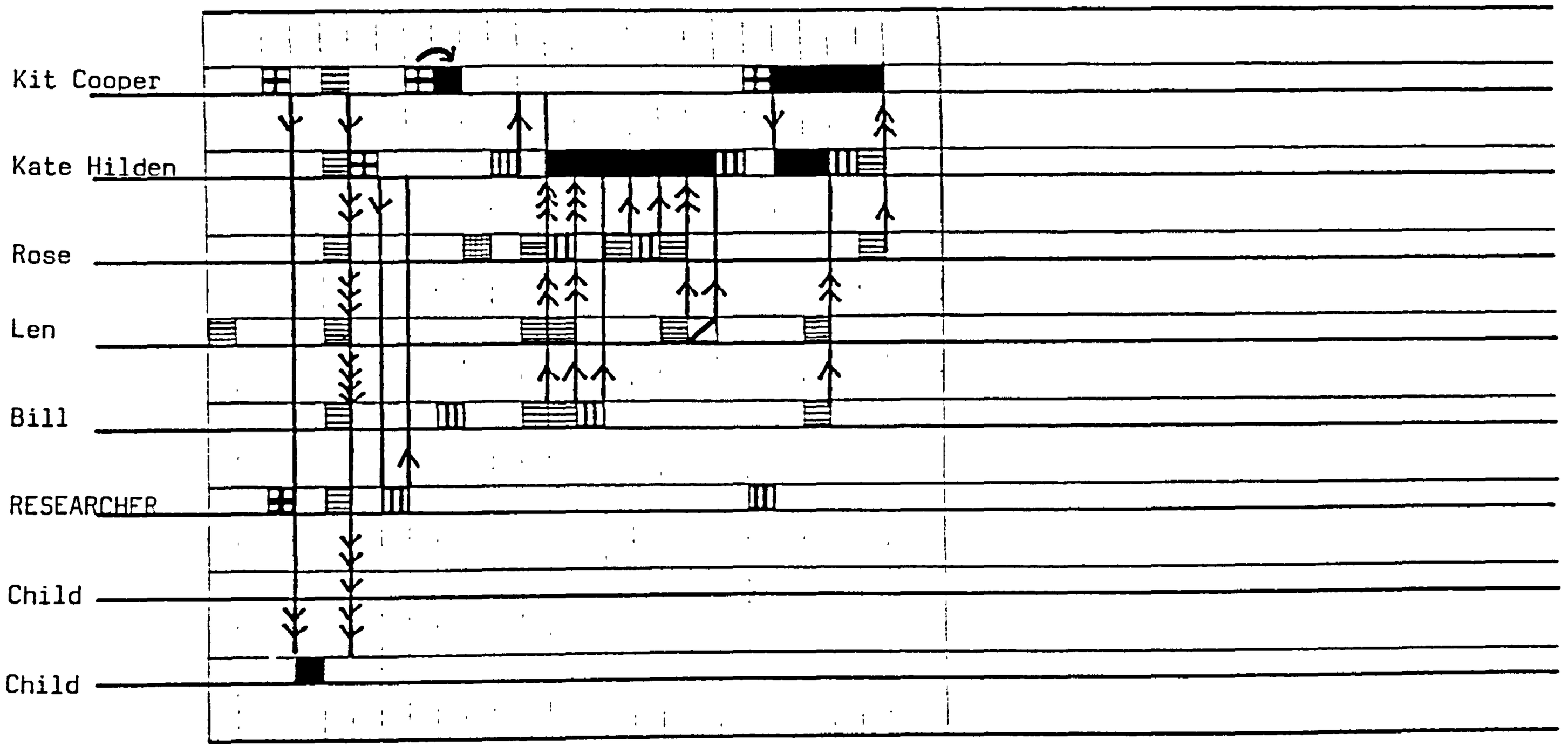
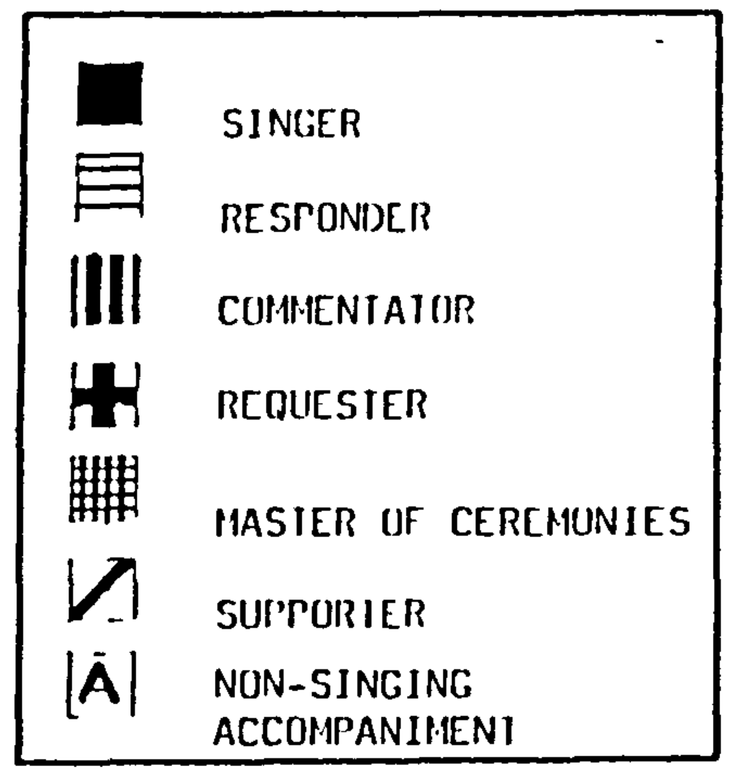


Fig. 30 Role/action diagram of private singing by Hilden and Cooper families.
Kent, 1982

continuation....





was the area outside this triangle (fig.29).

4.62 Kate and Kit performed 12 songs and the children performed a rhyme. The Role/Action diagram (fig.30) demonstrates that the MC role was rarely played except following the first Gypsy contribution when Kate demanded less noise from the children, " be quiet all you's children" and that the C role was played the most. Comments included "that's lovely" (R); "I sang mine on my own, didn't I" (Kit); " she did an' all!" (Rose); "you're singing the oldest song amongst all those Travellers" (Kate); "hold the mic' in your hand, Kate, the girl can't git ya" (Kit); "She 's right!" (Kit); "that's old, ain't it, Kit...you can't sing it without music" (Kate); The C role player gave advice on the singing or commented on the words or content of the song.

4.63 The RES role was played by everyone with

some laughter after the children's performance and applause after the final song. However, Len dominated this role by his laughter which was often present during the songs, especially, when Kit and Kate sang two different versions of the same song. He also whistled along with part of "Play me a serenade" and heckled Kate during her improvised "My mother's ring" with "Have you made that one up, Kate".

4.64 The REQ role played occasionally by (R) but mostly by Kate, who invited Len, Bill, Kit, Rose and the children to sing; "what's that one we used to sing, that old one", "Go on Len, we'll all join in". Rose also played this role by asking anyone to sing, "More, more ...she's waiting for more".

4.65 The SUP role was played mostly by Len with his cheering on of the singer, "go-on, Kate".

SONGS:

4.66 Kate and Kit had a notion that (R) wanted only to record 'old songs'. This was reflected by several comments from the women; "you wants a good old song, don't you", from Kate and "That's an old un', from Kit. This attitude was similar to that encountered from the Smith family and may have been conveyed to the Hilden family by the Smiths. However, the emphasis on 'old songs' may not, necessarily, be solely a consequence of contact with a song-collector but could actually express Gypsy aesthetics concerning particular songs. Kate comments on the old songs, "If you git the real, true old songs... like, you know...when you're singing an old song you can sit down and then, today's songs you can't get no meanin', its all 'yeah, yeah, yeah'...you get the old songs and they all got a meanin' behind 'em. All our old songs..they're all handed down." It is possible then that Gypsy singers value their old songs. However, the

Gypsy definition of 'old' would not necessarily be the same as that of the song-collector.

4.67 The songs would have been chosen by Kit and Kate as suitable for the context which had been established by the presence of (R). It is noteworthy that the first song was "Twenty-one years" as in Case Study III. The second and third songs refered specifically to Gypsies, "Gypsy Phoebe" and "I'm a Romani Rai", Phoebe had been cast out and the Romani Rai was proud of Gypsy heritage. The song subject moved to men in "I'll go with him" which described a husband who made his wife poorer and drove her to destroy his gifts. However, she loved him and would always go with him. "A Sailor cut down in his prime" told the story of a dying sailor who could have been saved by the guilty woman responsible for both his illness and poverty. More successful relationships were then depicted with "Lay the blanket on the

ground" and "Play me a serenade" both with sexual overtones. These songs were followed with the disappointment of unfaithfulnes in "I walk the floor" and "Your cheatin' heart".

4.68 Then, the children presented their rhyme. The singing recommenced with an Anglo-Romani, Gypsy poaching song followed by two songs which presented a romantic view of mother. The first, an improvised nostalgic song about an aged mother and her death and the second, about a son who remembers leaving his mother because of his bad relationship with his father.

CASE STUDY FIVE

Date: 4.3.81

Location: MR AND MRS SMITH'S TRAILER

GREEN ST GREEN SITE

GREEN ST GREEN

KENT

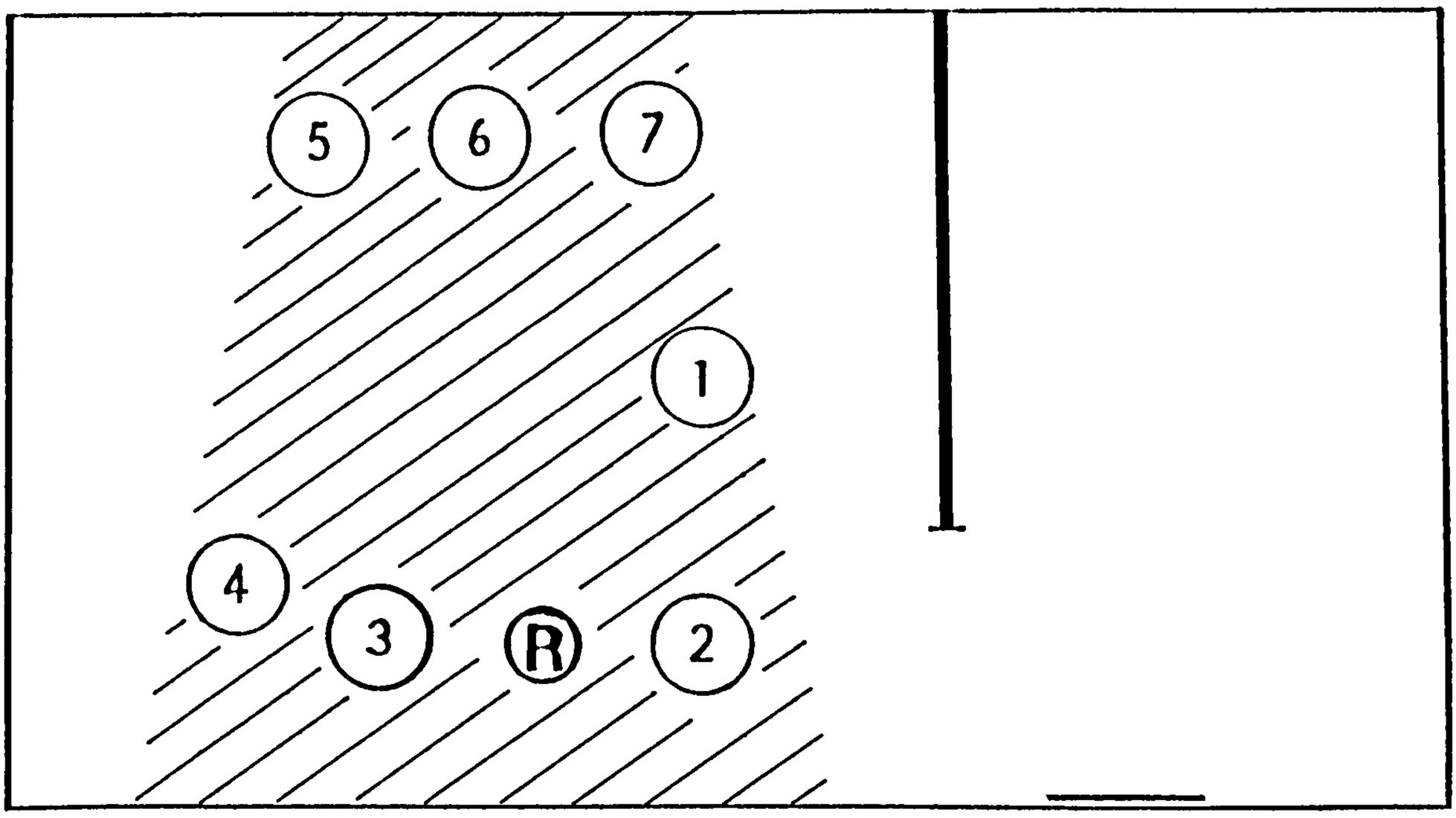
Context: INFORMAL

MIXED

(Tape one example D, Tape two example A)

SPACE:

4.69 The singing took place in the sitting room of the Smith family trailer as shown in fig. 31. All were seated except Fred. The sitting area became the Singing Territory and the SP area. The MC area was situated to the right of Fred, who marked the B (band



1 : Fred (Standing)
2 : Louie
3 : Rita
4 : Nancy
5 : Pearly
6 : Minty
7 : Johnny

R : RESEARCHER

Performance area

Fig. 31 The 'sitting area' of Mr. & Mrs. Smith's trailer.
Green Street Green site, Kent, 1981

or musical accompaniment) area since he played his guitar as accompaniment to almost every song. There was no NSP area as everybody present sang.

NON-IMMEDIATE CONTEXT:

4.70 The family had previously encountered gaujo collectors and a gaujo, Cecily Taylor, was currently working on the biography of Jasper Smith. Mrs Taylor was apparently recording the 'old' songs, paying for them and telling the Smith family not to record them for anyone else. Minty had suggested that (R) made contact with Mrs Taylor but (R) found Mrs Taylor did not wish to communicate with (R). Michael Yates had previously recorded both Jasper and Minty Smith singing the 'old' songs and a record had been produced on the Topic Records label. The Smith family were convinced that 'old' songs were valuable to the gaujo collector and that, therefore, the collector

would pay for them.

SITUATIONAL CONTEXT:

4.71 (R) had been directed to Minty Smith by Levi Smith of the Powerscroft Road site, Footscray and arrived at the site at about 4.30pm. Two Gypsy men directed her to Minty's trailer and Minty just happened to be outside. After talking to both her and her daughter, Louie, who seemed quite suspicious and reluctant to discuss singing, (R) spoke to Louie's son, Fred. He, then, invited (R) into the trailer and pointed at a steel-strung guitar with the high E-string missing and invited (R) to play him a song. Her performance of "The streets of London" brought Louie and Minty back into the trailer and when the song was finished Fred took the guitar and started to sing. The trailer became crowded as Minty, Louis, Fred, and (R) were joined by Rita, Pearly, Nancy and

Johnny. Fred positioned himself in front of (R), who was holding the microphone, and his mother and stood serenading both women. He sang each song with guitar accompaniment thus limiting his gestures to facial expression. Fred's first six songs, which were sung in a Country and Western style and included some yodelling, were followed by one contribution from each woman begining with Minty's performance of "I've left my mother". Minty, sitting opposite (R) between Pearly and Johnny, leaned forward and stared directly in front of her as she sang. Louie then sang her song and checked with (R) to see if she should continue. She impersonated a Country and Western singer with her voice and by holding the microphone. Rita, who was slightly mentally-handicapped, took the microphone from Louie and sang "Unloved, unwanted". She closed her eyes whilst singing and held her head slightly back. Pearly took the microphone from Rita

and sang "Make believe you love me one more time". She, like her mother, impersonated a Country and Western singer with her voice and asked her for help when she could not remember the words. Louie followed Pearly continuing the impersonating style with "You said that I'd be happy with a baby on my knee". Nancy, whose turn had been taken by Louie, then gave her contribution of "A group of young soldiers". She sang at first without much expression and then at the end of her song she tilted her head backwards and slightly to the side. Fred, who had faced each singer while playing the guitar as accompaniment to previous songs, moved back to his serenading position and sang another song, "I'll do as much for you someday". Minty sang a further two songs which she told the group were her last. The second of which was the same song as that previously performed by Nancy.

4.71 Fred continued with three more serenading

songs, the second of which, "Brutiful(Beautiful) dreamer" he knelt to (R) as he sang the last line. Rita took the microphone again and sang "Try being lonely". As before she was followed by Pearly, who sang "They say you found somebody new" and, once more, had a problem remembering the words. Minty who had supposedly sang her last, continued with the animated singing of "Still I love him" and "Bread and Marmalade". She sat on the edge of her seat as she sang and throughout the second song she slapped her thighs on certain words. Fred continued the animated spirit by his story-telling song, "The Brute". He used body movement (he was almost dancing at one point), the guitar accompaniment and his facial expression to heighten the tension of the story. Minty continued with "Buttercup Jo" still sitting on the edge of her seat but rocking in time with the song. Louie then got everyone to sing with her in

"I've been a ride (wild) rover" followed by Fred "There was an old woman who lived in the wood". The Country and Western impersonation was dropped during the performance of these two songs by both Louie and Fred. Johnny, who had joined in with the group songs, then offered his first solo song, "Hard-boiled eggs". Minty finally sang her last song, "Now if you go home to your mother's house" and then sat back in her seat. Louie returned to her Country and Western impersonation to sing, "It wasn't God who made Honky-tonk angels" and then was joined by Pearly, also singing in Country and Western style, as they sang the final song together "I gotta be a mummy for one day".

4.72 The singers and their respective contributions are as follows:

Fred: Barbara Allen

Fred: The day I were ridin' number 9

Fred: It were down in the town they called Empire

Fred: I'm casting my love song

Fred: Love song of the waterfall

Fred: Your cheatin' heart

Minty: I've left my mother

Louis: I have the invitation that you sent me

Rita: Unloved unwanted

Pearly: Make believe you love me one more time

Louie: You said that I'd be happy with a baby on

my knee

Nancy: A group of young soldiers

Fred: I'll do as much for you someday

Minty: Sure if I had the wings of a swallow

Minty: A group of young fellows

Fred: I got rid of the shack in the bombway

Fred: Brutiful (Beautiful) dreamer

Fred: Bluebird, sing a song

Rita: Try being lonely

Pearly: They say you found somebody new

Minty: Still, I love him

Minty : Bread and Marmelade

Fred: The Brute

Minty: Buttercup Jo

Louie + all: I've been a ride (wild) rover

Fred + all: There was an old woman and she lived

in the wood

Johnny: Hard boiled eggs

Minty: Now, if you go home to your mothers home

Louie: As I sit here tonight the jukebox playing

Louie/Pearly: I've gotta be a mummy for one day

4.73 Table Two shows the number and type of singing from each contributor. Everybody present, with the exception a small child who was seated for

SINGERS	TOTAL SONGS	SOLOS	DUETS	LED	GROUP
Fred:	13	11	0	1	1
Minty:	9	7	0	0	2
Louie:	6	3	1	1	1
Rita:	4	2	0	0	2
Pearly:	5	2	1	0	2
Nancy:	4	2	0	0	2
Johnny:	3	1	0	0	2
total songs:	31	28	1	2	2

TABLE TWO:

PRIVATE SINGING BY SMITH FAMILY: indicating the type of singing and number of songs made by each contributor.

most of the time either on the floor or on Johnny's knee, participated by singing. The singers represented three generations; Fred was Louie's son, Louie was Minty's daughter-in-law. Fred and Pearly were in the 16-24 age-group, Louie, Rita, and Nancy were in the 25-40 age-group and Johnny was in the 41-60 age-group and Minty, in the 61-80 age-group.

4.74 All three singing roles were evident in this context: Novice, Participating and Specialist. Pearly was the Novice, Fred and Minty were the Specialists and everyone else, the Participating Singers. Fred played a guitar accompaniment almost throughout the singing as well as contributing 12 of the 30 songs. He entertained and encouraged others to participate. Minty, at one point, stated that she was not, now, a Singer, (a Specialist singer), "don't laugh at me... because I can't sing" and declared after three songs that wouldn't sing anymore, but irrespective of her

comments, she contributed a further four songs. Pearly was unable to sing a song without stopping and asking for help from her mother. A Novice is encouraged to perform rather than prevented from singing.

4.75 Thirty songs were performed by seven singers (excluding (R)'s introductory song). The roles played during the singing are represented by the Role/Action model in fig. 32.

4.76 The MC role was not played, initially, but as the singing developed, Johnny took it on. He announced only the two Specialists of the group and then he did not introduce the singer but invented a title for the singer which he shouted immediately after the song. Fred and Minty were announced as "Mr Duncan Smith", "Mr Harkey", and "Mr Feathers"; and as "Barbara Allen, old Barbara Allen", "old Mr Kid Leather" and "Mrs Cats"; respectively. Louie took the

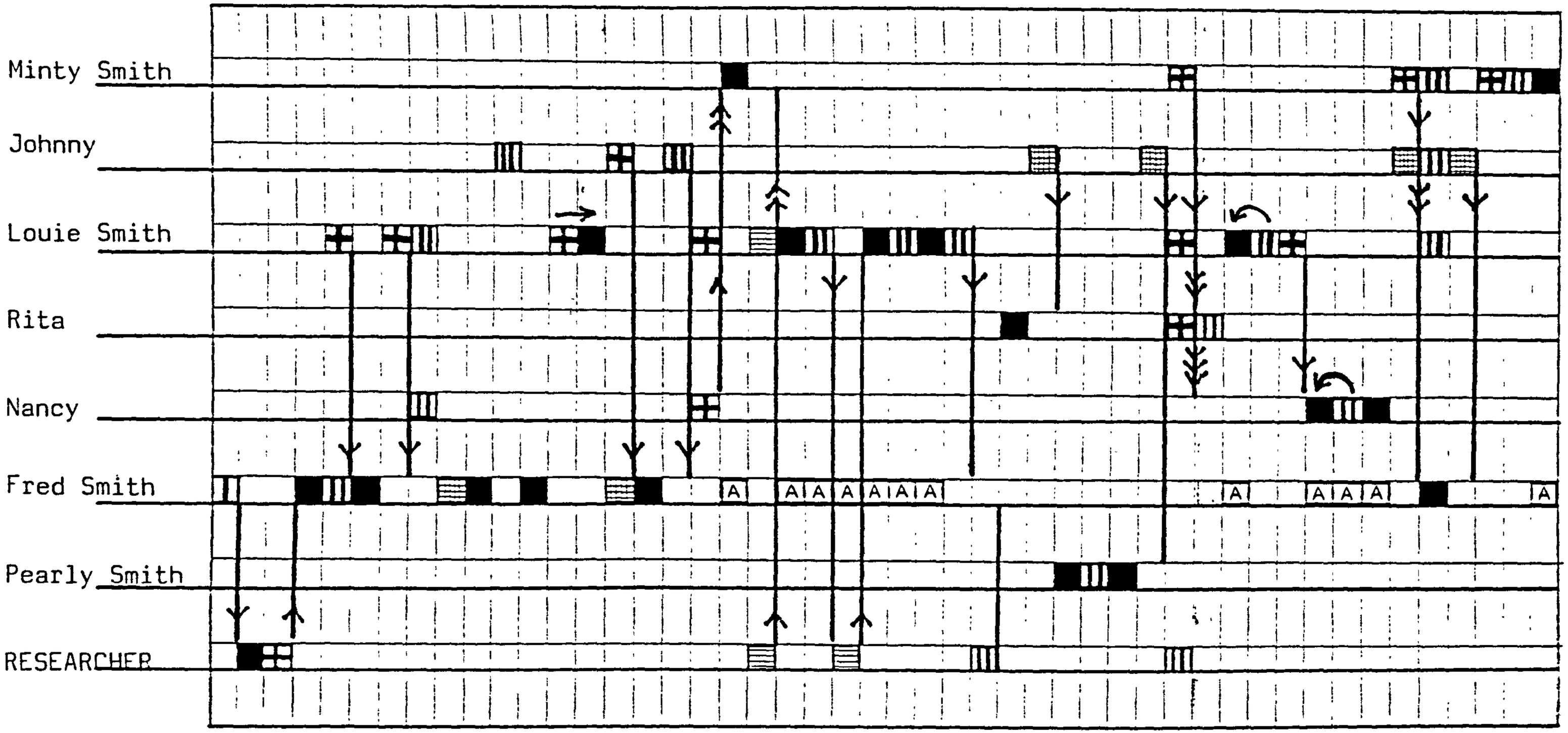


Fig. 32 Role/action diagram of private singing by Smith family.

Kent, 1981

Continuation....

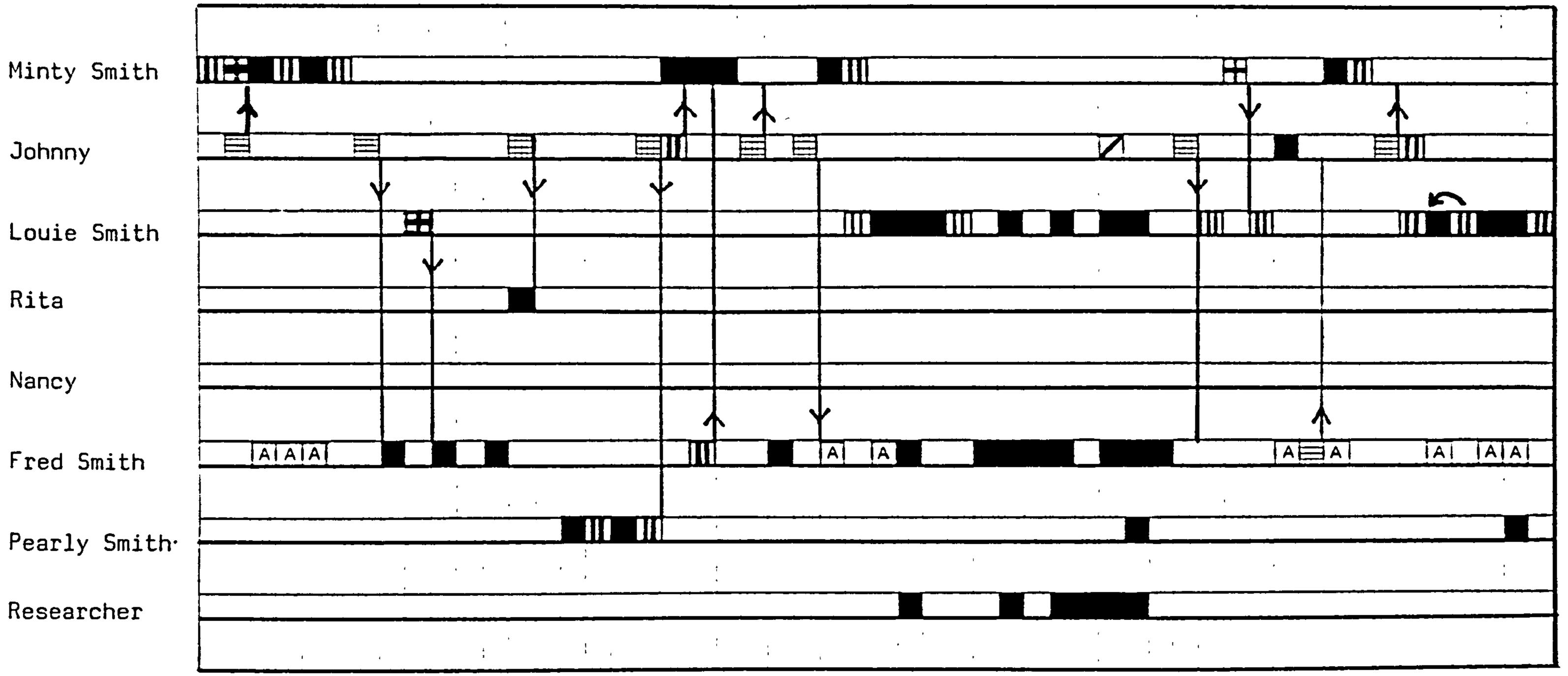


Fig. 32 Role/action diagram of private singing by Smith family.
Kent, 1981

role of MC just once when she requested silence, "shut up, mush" (mush = anglo-romani for man/mate/bloke).

4.77 The C role was played by almost everyone present. There were three types of comment; the first, the singer's evaluation after or during the performance eg Louie felt that she was rushed through her song by Fred's guitar accompaniment: "he played his thing too fast"; Pearly asked for help during her song : "what's the next bit, love?"and "what's the rest, mum? and "I don't know no more"; Louie, who had started singing and then discovered that she didn't really know the song and felt she was singing it for Nancy: "I don't know it, Nance, unless you have a bash at it"; secondly, those directed at (R) eg. Fred asking if the tape was running: "Ready?"; Louie asking for encouragement or validation: "no good, is it?" and "Alright, lovely?"; Minty's

statement that she had finished singing: "that's the lot, today, my darlin'"; and, thirdly, that directed at the group about the singer or the song eg Johnny's remark "its a very romantic place for it!"; and Louie's comment on a particular performance, "That was good!".

4.78 The RES and SUP roles were not played. However, the REQ role was as popular as that of the Commentator, with sung requests from Louie for "It wasn't God who made Honky-tonk angels" by singing "it's a shame that all the blame's on us nobby-takers" and the first lines of "your cheatin' heart". Singers also volunteered to perform, eg Louie: "I'll give you a couple of chords from here, love, give us the mic', here"; Pearly who was eager to participate: "can I have another one"; Rita when she was determined to take a turn: "listen, leave it to me" and Minty who insisted that she would not

continue after her next song: "one minute I'll sing you one more and thats that". Johnny made requests for singers or songs mostly to Fred or Minty: "urry up..ready"; "granny, granny"; "Minty Smith";"Go on,Nance, our Nance"; "Ready Fred, go-on Fred" and "Fred's going now, quick Fred".

SONGS:

4.79 The songs would have been selected as appropriate for the context, which was guided to a certain extent by Fred and to a lesser extent, by Minty. The songs most often expressed the pangs and the disappointments of love and marriage. However, song subjects included war, nostalgia, the joy of roving, humour and two stories: "The Brute", with a moral about not judging strangers, and "The woman in the wood", a story of a mother's murder of her child and her punishment.

CHAPTER FIVE:

GYPSY SINGING: SOME CONCLUSIONS

GYPSY SINGING: SOME CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Singing, which occurs particularly when Gypsy family or friends are brought together by a special occasion, is considered a worthwhile activity for all community members. Gypsy singing has various functions including that of ritual, bonding device, and value system; means of community and individual expression; and means of personal transcendence. Singing is guided and regulated by determined social constructs and is not, as first appears, a succession of impromptu song performances by impromptu singers.

5.2 Song performances do not occur on an ad-hoc basis neither are singers called indiscriminately; they must take place in an appropriate context and at an appropriate time: the Novice singer would not be invited nor expected to perform in the formal context

at the Midland Hotel, Appleby (Case studies 1&2) but would be encouraged to contribute in the middle of a singing session in an informal context as in the Smiths' trailer (Case study 5). Each performance is sub-consciously evaluated and classified by listeners (as 'appropriate' or not) at the context in which they occur, eg the wider community at Appleby Fair (CS 1&2) or family and friend at Thistlebrook site (CS 3), and as a consequence, the singer also becomes evaluated and classisfied in a particular singing role.

5.3 Gypsy singing has two sets of social constructs; the first directs singing as a private activity and the second, as a public activity.

5.4 In the private or informal context, the singer is with members of his or her nuclear family, familiar extended family members and/or with friends: his or her micro-community (mi-com). The main functions of a singer in this context are to

entertain, to encourage interaction by participation, and to provide opportunity for practising performance.

5.5 In the public or formal context, the singer is with both members of the mi-com and the wider, less familiar, Gypsy public: or the macro-community (ma-com) so this function changes; he or she must still entertain and encourage interaction but no longer needs to provide the opportunity for practice. This is the ultimate role, therefore, the public singer must be competent since he or she is representing the mi-com and, therefore, has a particular status and inherent responsibility.

GYPSY SINGING IN A PRIVATE OR INFORMAL CONTEXT:

5.6 The singer in a private context may be

Specialist, Participating or Novice, however, the Specialist will be the most competent player of the functional role described above. The mi-com are able to relax with each other and hence a more flexible and negotiable set of social constructs applies to the singing. Greater risks are taken with regard to musical genre, performance style, new or half-remembered repertory, and old or half-forgotten repertory for the mi-com, (in a private context), are more tolerant and appreciative of its singers. Each member is encouraged to contribute by singing and/or by playing any of the other roles. All members, (excluding young children, who must be invited to contribute by an adult), are entitled to self-expression in song and to opinions about song performance. Singing in a private context, thus, develops singers and singing roles by providing the opportunity to perform in a receptive environment.

This builds the confidence of the inexperienced singer and demonstrates how the more experienced singer performs. It provides a practical education in singing. Potential public singers are continually assessed and classified according to their singing-context experience, competence of performance, animator capabilities and repertory. When a particular performance is especially appreciated, both the performance and singer are attributed an internal and an external value, which may be quite different; a performance may be valued in a family context (internal) but not at a public house (external). Therefore, a song performance must have a high external value and its singer must be regarded as competent, before it becomes appropriate for public performance. A bond of association between singer and song performance is formed in the private context and this becomes established in the mi-com when that

singer performs it (on their behalf) in a more public context. The singer does not own the song, but rather, owns the 'right to public performance' of that song. Thus, in a private context the same song may be performed by two or more members, eg Kate and Kit (CS 4), Nancy and Minty (CS 5) and Abram and Minty (Tape two: I and J); and in a public context it may not. The relationship between singers and song performance then, differs according to the context.

5.7 The mi-com in any private context is usually mixed in terms of gender whereas in a public or formal context there is more likely to be either separation or polarisation of the sexes. The Case studies illustrate (see action/role diagrams and Table Three) that certain roles are played only by men, even when in mixed contexts eg the role of Supporter is played only by men and when no men are present, it is

SINGER	SS	PS	NS	M	F	MC	COM	REQ	RES	SUPP
Minty	x				x		x	x		
Johnny		x		x		x	x	x		x
Louie		x			x		x	x	x	
Rita		x			x		x	x		
Nancy		x			x		x	x		
Fred	x			x		x	x	x		
Pearly SMITH FAMILY			x		x		x			

SINGER	SS	PS	NS	M	F	MC	COM	REQ	RES	SUPP
Wally		x		x			x	x	x	
Mr Moore		x		x		x	x		x	
Mary Moore		x			x		x	x	x	
Billy MOORE FAMILY				x		x	x	x	x	

SINGER	SS	PS	NS	M	F	MC	COM	REQ	RES	SUPP
Kit		X			X		X	X	X	
Kate		X			X	X	X	X	X	
Rose					X	X	X	X	X	
Len				X				X	X	X
Bill HILDEN/COOPER FAMILIES				X				X	X	

TABLE THREE:

PRIVATE SINGING: roles in relation to gender.

redundant; and the role of Master of Ceremonies is played only by men when there is one or more male singer. However, if men are present but do not perform, then it is acceptable for a woman (or women) to play, (or share) the MC role (as Kate and Rose in CS4). The most frequently played roles in a private context tend to be those of Commentator and Requester and these are played by almost everyone present. Song performance requests can also be made by beginning the song of another singer present. This may only be done in an informal context, and is a device for encouraging or motivating the singer, who normally performs the song, to continue the song since the requester knows only part of the song. Mary Moore (CS.3), Kate Hilden (CS.4) and Louie Smith (CS.5) use this method to request Mr Moore, Kit Cooper and Fred Smith to sing a particular song, respectively and only Mary fails in her attempt.

GYPSY SINGING IN A PUBLIC OR FORMAL CONTEXT:

5.8 The public singer is likely to be the 'best' Specialist or Participating singer that happens to be present (Singers CS 1&2) and has status in a singing context with both mi-com and ma-com. This status, because of the social nature of singing, consequently affects the singer's social life outside the singing context, eg people will purchase the singer a drink to show appreciation after the performance, ("Three pints of Guinness for me", Jimmy , CS.1); and people will recognise, acknowledge or talk to the singer. In effect, he or she will become a 'personality' or ' celebrity ' among the ma-com and this will give prestigous advantage to the mi-com; they will have the opportunity to participate in the other specialist

roles of Commentator, Supporter, Master of Ceremonies and Requester and will be able to publicly express their pride in 'their singer'. Thus, the value attributed to a public song performance becomes identified and associated with its singer and the mi-com.

5.9 The particular song performed becomes a symbol of the recognition and reaffirmation of that value for singer and both mi-com and ma-com. Several bonds of association are formed by the singing; those between: song performance and singer; singer and mi-com; singer and ma-com; and mi-com and ma-com. These bonds create feelings of both membership and ownership among those involved in the singing; the singer is a highly valued member of the mi-com because he or she owns the song performance; the mi-com is a highly valued group of the ma-com membership because it owns the singer. The ma-com is a highly valued

group (in society) because it owns the mi-com.

5.10 The bond between singer and song performance is often fixed before public performance so that certain songs are expected or requested by listeners. However, if the singer performs a song which has not specifically been requested then the bond between singer and that specific song is formed with the singing. This bond is so strong that it is not only unacceptable but unthinkable for anyone else to perform the same song as a previous singer in a public context. Furthermore, if a singer of a particular song is known to be present, other singers will deliberately avoid performing this song, even if it is part of their repertory. If a song is performed twice, it will be done so by the same singer, as a recapitulation or encore eg Kathleen "The Way we were" (CS.2).

5.11 In Case studies 1 and 2 (see Table Four)

ROLES:	SS	PS	GS	MC	COM	REQ	RES	SUPP	BAND
MALE	5	7	0	20	9	13	16	12	5
FEMALE	7	5	9	6	3	2	22	0	0

TABLE FOUR:

PUBLIC SINGING: roles in relation to gender.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS:
SS=SPECIALIST SINGER
PS=PARTICIPATING SINGER
GS=GROUP SINGER
MC=MASTER OF CEREMONIES
COM=COMMENTATOR
REQ=REQUESTER
RES=RESPONDER
SUPP=SUPPORTER

both contexts are restricted according to gender and, therefore, certain roles tend to be more defined in each. The male context is characterised by a strong MC role and frequently activated Responder, Requester and Supporter roles, whereas the female context is characterised by a very dominant Responder role with only minimally activated other roles; the most frequent of which are MC and Commentator. There are no Supporters, as one would expect and only two initial Requesters. A further difference is that of the performance style; the male singers stand in a particular location (SP area) to perform their contribution, with the exception of the first and last singers, and all the performances are solo whereas, the women all remain seated when they perform and they sometimes sing in twos or larger groups. The male context, thus, seems to have a greater emphasis on personal status, and also, by the means of the role of

Supporter, a competitive spirit; and the female context, a greater emphasis on group expression and appreciation. However, both groups have their 'personality' performers and these are the Specialist singers.

SONG PERFORMANCE:

5.12 The song performance is the most important feature of Gypsy singing since it offers a potential route to social status, inside and outside the singing context. It is in the interests of both singer and mi-com to produce effective and appropriate song performances. The song may be regarded as secondary, however, since it is no more and no less than the raw material of the singer. It may be crucial or dispensable according to the singer's purpose; particular songs serve particular roles. It may be

essential for one singer to keep singing a song, if the performance continually 'captivates' the listeners or if it hastens the social bonding process of less familiar listeners through their nostalgic rememberance of its previous performance.

5.12 In a public context, the singer normally has just one opportunity to perform unless, that singer has already established a reputation with the listeners, therefore, the public singer will have skills and techniques that enable him or her to form and develop a relationship with them as quickly and effectively as possible. These skills and techniques are demonstrated by the song performances in Case studies 1 and 2 and illustrated in Table Five a) & b).

SINGERS NAME	BILL	NORMAN	PADDY	MOLLY	MATT	ISAAC	PETER	SONNY	JIMMY	DAVE	CATHY	MARY (1)	MARY (2)	JOSIE	KATHLEEN	MAGGIE	KATIE	PATSY
MALE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓								
FEMALE											✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
PHYSICAL MOVEMENTS (to and from SP area)		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓									
SEATED	✓									✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
STANDING		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓									
COMMENTRY				✓	✓			✓	✓									
SILENCE			✓												✓			
STRONG WORD EMPHASIS				✓	✓				✓				✓	✓				
SONG REGULATION:																		
SPEED	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓				✓			
VOLUME	✓		✓		✓			✓		✓					✓			
PITCH	✓		✓															
BATON GESTURE			✓	✓	✓				✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
HEAD				✓	✓				✓									
ARMS			✓		✓				✓				✓	✓				
HAND					✓							✓						
FOOT				✓	✓										✓			
BODY			✓		✓				✓				✓	✓	✓	✓		
OTHER GESTURES													✓	✓	✓			
CLICK FINGERS					✓											✓		
BANG TABLE												✓	✓	✓				
CLAPPING													✓	✓				
ARMS OUTSTRETCHED		✓	✓			✓	✓		✓				✓	✓	✓		✓	
PALMS UP						✓	✓								✓			
PALMS BACK			✓										✓	✓			✓	
PALMS SIDE		✓																
ARMS RAISED		✓	✓			✓	✓		✓				✓	✓	✓		✓	
EYES CLOSED								✓			✓				✓			
EYES FOCUSED			✓	✓	✓					✓			✓	✓				
EYES UNFOCUSED		✓						✓	✓									
HEAD TILTED BACK			✓			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓				✓			
USE OF PROP		✓	✓	✓		✓			✓		✓	✓						

TABLE 5 (a)

SINGERS NAME	TOTAL NO. OF SINGERS	MALE	FEMALE	% SINGERS	% MALE	% FEMALE	NO. OF SPECIALIST SINGERS	% SPECIALIST SINGERS
MALE	10	10	0	-	-	-	3	50 *
FEMALE	8	0	8	-	-	-	3	50 *
PHYSICAL MOVEMENTS (to and from SP area)	8	8	0	44*	80*	0	3	50 *
SEATED	10	2	8	56*	20	100*	3	50 *
STANDING	8	8	0	44*	80*	0	3	50 *
COMMENTRY	4	4	0	23	40	0	3	50 *
SILENCE	2	1	1	11	10	13	1	17
STRONG WORD EMPHASIS	5	3	2	28	30	25	3	50 *
SONG REGULATION:								
SPEED	11	9	2	61*	90*	25	5	83 *
VOLUME	6	5	1	33	50*	13	2	33
PITCH	2	2	0	11	20	0	0	0
BATON GESTURE	9	4	5	50*	40	63*	5	83 *
HEAD	3	3	0	17	30	0	3	50 *
ARMS	5	3	2	28	30	25	2	33
HAND	3	1	2	17	10	25	3	50 *
FOOT	2	2	0	11	20	0	2	33
BODY	7	3	4	39*	30	50*	3	50 *
OTHER GESTURES	3	0	3	17	0	36	1	17
CLICK FINGERS	2	1	1	11	10	13	1	17
BANG TABLE	3	0	3	17	0	38	1	17
CLAPPING	2	0	2	11	0	25	0	0
ARMS OUTSTRETCHED	9	5	4	50*	50*	50*	2	33
PALMS UP	3	2	1	17	20	13	1	17
PALMS BACK	4	1	3	23	10	36	0	0
PALMS SIDE	1	1	0	6	10	0*	0	0
ARMS RAISED	9	5	4	50*	50*	50*	2	33
EYES CLOSED	4	2	2	23	20	25	2	33
EYES FOCUSED	6	4	2	33	40	25	2	33
EYES UNFOCUSED	3	3	0	17	30	0	0	0
HEAD TILTED BACK	7	5	2	39*	50*	25	2	33
USE OF PROP	7	5	2	39*	50*	25	4	67 *

TABLE 5 (b)

* Dominant Devices

5.13 Gypsy performers use gestures in song performance to facilitate their relationship with the listeners. Many singers use parts of the body, a hand-held prop, or indeed, the whole body to make baton movements for word or musical emphasis eg Head baton (Molly), Foot baton (Molly), Hand baton (Kathleen), hand baton with prop (Mary (1), arm baton (Mary(2) and Josie), body sway (Paddy, Matt, Jimmy, Maggie and Kathleen). The arms are often slightly outstretched or when nearing the end of a song, fully outstretched thus inviting the listener to accept and draw near to the singer. The palms are either turned so that they face upward (Kathleen), to the side (Norman) or to the back (Paddy). Desmond Morris's work on gestures implies that these indicate; palms up: an imploring gesture begging the listener to agree; palms to the side: the reaching hand of the negotiator; palms to the back: embracing an invisible companion or

idea, pulling the listener metaphorically closer. (MORRIS, D. (1977:56-59) Manwatching (London: Johnathan Cape Ltd)). Singers, also, use their eyes in performance for effect, to guage reaction, or for support from co-singer or listener.

5.14 They regulate speed, pitch, volume, word emphasis and sound/silence for both story effect and listener control, to signal what is happening to the listener in order to get the desired response. Table Five a) demonstrates the most dominant devices used by singers according to their gender; men use their physical location, regulation of song speed and volume, head movements and often the use of a prop of some kind, usually a glass; women, however, use baton gestures and body sway; both tend to use their arms in an outstretched position. The Specialist singer particularly uses baton gestures with head, hand and whole body (Table Five a)& b)).

5.15 The act of impersonation is also found among Gypsy singers, eg Norman CS1, Mary(2) and Josie CS2, Fred, Louie and Pearly CS 5.

5.16 It seems that certain songs which, in these Case studies, happen to be contemporary BBC top 40 chart singles and American Country and Western songs invite the singer to impersonate the celebratory singer. These music genres are familiar to Gypsy listeners, otherwise the impersonation would fail. Popular song personalities fade as they are replaced by others, however, certain songs remain as part of the Gypsy singer's repertory and so the personality no longer becomes impersonated, (since he or she may not be remembered), rather the ethos of the performance is impersonated eg 'My Guy',Puppy Love, "Paper Roses', "The way we were", "Honky tonk angels".

5.17 The last example is one of a Country and Western performance style which is common to many

Gypsy singers. Twenty-eight of the 128 songs recorded in the fieldwork were C&W songs performed by the Gypsy yodeller and the tear-jerking, whining singer. The C&W ethos appeals to the Gypsy, as to many urban populations, and commercial recordings of the most popular singers, such as Jimmie Rodgers, have long been available. It is likely that most Gypsy singers have learnt both tunes, lyrics, accent and vocal style from such recordings.

5.18 Gypsy song performance, then, consists of various communications to the listener including the following:

indicators so that listeners know how to respond

indicators of status and membership

indicators that singer is interacting with

listeners

communication of Personality of singer

or impersonation another singer or singer-type

communication of Singing competence

Song message

SONGS PERFORMED BY THE GYPSY SINGER:

5.19 Gypsy singers describe what they consider as 'good songs':

"A good song? A good song tells a story"

Len Smith, West Malling, Kent

"A good song is an old song, one that's got a story.."

Kate Hilden, Green st Green, Kent.

"A good song is a good story"

Betsy Whyte, Stirling.

"..a good story with a good tune."

Jim Penfold, Battersea, London

Accordingly, the Gypsy singer gives precedence to

the dramatic details which convey the situations or story. Rhymes are sometimes avoided and certain words or phrases become confused because they sound alike. Song lyrics are also confused but are still performed eg Tape Two, example H:"If you love me as I love you", Tape Two example K an improvised song,"The Fly song" and sometimes the songs are mixed up in the performance eg Levi Smith Tape Two example F, "Two convicts deserters". Gypsy culture is predominantly non-literate, two similar sounding words can, and often are confused, eg "I yeard" instead of "I heard", "brutiful"- "beautiful", "drillin'" - "dwellin'" etc. All information in Gypsy life must be gleaned from transient sources, whether news, route directions or song stories. For the Gypsy singer, if the story has been told, then, the song has been sung. The singer re-creates the song with every performance.

5.20 Finally, songs are chosen because they

appeal to a wide range of simple and fundamental values. The lyrics deal directly and sentimentally with life's situations (Tape two:B). The directness about 'real world' living with its violence, jealousy and unfaithfulness is often countered by a nostalgic vision of home, mother and sweetheart. Furthermore, the songs allow direct expression of dissatisfaction, resentment, loss and self-pity (Tape two: M) whilst upholding the 'true' values of love, family, friendship and children. They are often moralistic.

THE FUTURE:

5.21 Will Gypsy singing occur in the future? The popularity of Video and television has increased among Gypsies and many spend their leisure time this way. However, Gypsy youth engage in singing as both Novices and Participating singers, so it is likely that

singing will continue even if the amount of time spent singing is reduced to solely special occasions (Tape two: G and E).

5.22 Gypsy singing, therefore is a traditional activity which engages the community. It is a communal ritual which facilitates the social bonding process and as such must be valued as a rare opportunity to view singing in this role, in a living context, in England, today.

APPENDICES:

I. A-Z SONGS

II. GYPSY SINGERS

III. TABLE OF REFERENCES

IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY

V. DISCOGRAPHY

VI. ANGLO-ROMANI

SINGER: Levi Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Powerscroft site, Footscray, Kent
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 5.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Record
GIVEN TITLE: All around the water tank.

All around the water tank waiting for a crane
I'm a thousand miles away from home
Just sleepin'...

SINGER: Minty Smith/ Louie Smith
GENDER: Female/ Female
LOCATION: Green st Green site, Kent
AGE-GROUP: 61-80 / 25-40
DATE: 12.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Television
GIVEN TITLE: Any time you're feeling lonely.

Any ole time you're feelin' lonely
Any ole time you're feelin' down blue
For when you're feelin' down hearted
That's the time that I'll be thinkin' of you
But when they say that you want me to come back again
That's the time I'll come back to you

(Louie continued)

Any time your downhearted
That's the time I'll be thinking of you
Any ole time you say you want me back again
That's the time that I'll come back to you

SINGER: Minty Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st Green site, Kent
AGE-GROUP: 61-80
DATE: 12.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Are we to part like this, dear.

Are we to part this way, dear
Are we to part this way
Is to be me of you
Don't be afraid to say
Everything's over between us
I'll never pass me by
For you and me
Friends will be
For the sake of the days gone by

Just a few years ago it was nothing like this
Everything was gay and true

Are we to part like this, Bill
Are we to part this way
Is it to be me of you
Don't be afraid to say
Everything's over between us
I'll never pass me by
For me and you
Friends will be
For the sake of the days gone by

SINGER:Louie Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st Green site
AGE-GROUP: 25-40
DATE: 4.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Record
GIVEN TITLE: As I sit here tonight, the jukebox playin'

As I sit here tonight the jukebox playin'
The tune about the wild side of life
Too many times married men still think
they're single
And it makes a lot of good girls to go wrong

It's a shame that all the blame's on us women
As they say that only human love's the same
From the start most every heart should be broken
When there is always a man to blame

SINGER: Ms Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Powerscroft site.
AGE-GROUP: 16-24
DATE: 5.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Record
GIVEN TITLE: As I sit here tonight, the jukebox playin'

As I sit here tonight the jukebox playin'
Concerned about the wild side of life
As I listen to the words you are singing
It brings memories when I was a trusting wife

It wasn't God who made Honky tonk angels
As you said in the words of your song
Too many times married men think they're still single
And has caused many a good girl to go wrong

They say that all the blame is on us women
It's not true that only men feel the pain
From the start most every heart that's ever broken
Was because there always was a man to blame

SINGER: Betsy Whyte
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Cowan Centre, Stirling
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 10.9.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: The braes of Yarrow

Oh there was a lady lived in the east
You could scarcely find her marrow
She was wanted by nine gentleman
And a plough-boy lad from Yarrow

This plough-boy and nine gentlemen
Sat drinking wine on Yarrow
And they made a pact between themselves
That they'd fight for her tomorrow

Oh will ye tak a gun, a gun
Or will ye tak an arrow
Or will ye tak a gay broadsword
For to fight for him tomorrow

I'll neither tak a gun, a gun
Nor will I tak an arrow
But I will tak a gay broadsword
For to fight for him tomorrow

Now three he slew and three withdrew
And three lay deadly wounded
And her brother John came (swily?) on
And pierced him through the middle

Go home, go home you false young man
And tell your sister Sarah
That her true love John lies dead and gone
On the (dammy) dales of Yarrow

Oh mother dear I dreamt a dream
And I hope it's not for sorrow
That I was bakin' (heathered dells)
On the dammy dales of Yarrow

Oh daughter dear I can read your dream
And I read it all for sorrow
For your true love John is dead and gone
A bleedin' corpse on Yarrow

Her hair it was three-quarters long
And the colour of it was yellow
She wrapped it round his middle small
And she carried him forward from Yarrow

Oh mother dear you have seven sons
You could wed them all tomorrow
But you'll be wedding me in a higher degree
To my poor ..... on Yarrow
(incomprehensible on tape)

Oh mother dear will you make my bed
And make it long and narrow
For if he did die for me this night
I will die for him tomorrow

SINGER: Minty Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site.
AGE-GROUP: 61-80
DATE: 12.4.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Bread and Marmalade

Now its once I was a mothers little baby
Marmalade I was very fond to have
I says mum give me sixpence
So as I can go to Barnet fair
She says don't spend it all on stick George
Patronize the best show that's there

The first thing I saw was a lady in a tent
All tattooed, in I paid and in I went
She had France and Germany across the shoulders
Russia on the way to waist of spades
I says good luck to the British Navy
And I gave her all me bread and marmalade

Out one night I see me dear Louie
Here she spilled underneath a shady tree
She says oh Georgie, Georgie give me something
Something what would never fade
Something that I could go to bed and dream on
So I smacked her up me bread and marmalade

SINGER: Minty Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site.
AGE-GROUP: 61-80
DATE: 4.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Record
GIVEN TITLE: Buttercup Jo

Now it's do you know my little girl
They call her arral Mary
She works all day as busy as a bee
Oh down on Jones's dairy

Oh don't she make those dumplings nice
My word I'd like to try 'em
And prove myself as a country man
Although I come from Fareham

Oh them they call me baking fat
Turn up tops in green
I'm fresh as a daisy grows in the field
And they call me Buttercup Jo

SINGER: Jim Penfold
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Battersea, London
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 9.3.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Can you rocker Romanes. (Goose Fair)

Can you rocker Romanes
Could you dukker a rai
Can you rocker Romasa
And pukker as good as I

Mandi poovs in a varda in the middle of a cosh
Sootis in a varda vie didas stranga bosh
Dias was a-dukkerin' the geroes in a ten
Sootis in a varda pestas neria wren

The gavver hatched along one day
to put us on the drom
But when they dikked how many there was
They turned around and run

SINGER: Fred Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Green st green site.
AGE-GROUP: 16-24
DATE: 4.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Record
GIVEN TITLE: The day I were ridin' number nine

The day I were ridin' number nine
Left my trail and left my home
I hear alone the lonesome whistle blow
Just like a kid acting smart
I went and broke my darlin's heart
Because I were too young to know
But they put me on the judgin' main
They locked me to a ball and chain
I hear alone the lonesome whistle blow
But I'll be locked here in my cell
Until my body's just a shell
And my hair turns water and snow (whiter than snow)
Well I did not see that girl of mine
Lord I'm ..... for Caroline
I hear alone the lonesome whistle blow

SINGER: Minty Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site.
AGE-GROUP: 61-80
DATE: 12.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: The early bird and the worm

She was a dear little dicky bird
Chip, chip, chip she went
Sweetly she sung to me
'Till all my money was spent
She went all day
For we parted on Conry Term
She was one of the early birds
And I were one of the worms

SINGER: Minty Smith/ Louie Smith
GENDER: Female/ Female
LOCATION: Green st green site.
AGE-GROUP: 61-80/ 25-40
DATE: 12.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: The Fly song

Now you might be very clever, by
You might be very fly
You minda get your match one day
If you only wait for I

For what you done was clever
Oh I cried me middle net
But you might a humble one or two
But you will not humble me

Flies on the diddycoys,
Flies on the Gypsy girls...
... if they don't get no crop
    we won't get nothing to eat
... this little pony what I've got
    has fell down and cut both knees
and the other cattle has got the
foot and mouth disease

(Louie Smith continued)

So I won't care for him
And he don't care for me
So let the flies have a go at the Gypsy girl
And the Gypsy girl have a go at the flies

SINGER: Gypsy boy
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Milton Keynes
AGE-GROUP: 10-15
DATE: 12.7.83
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Give an Irish girl to me

My name is Pat O'Connor
From England here I came
I just came o'er the other day
To learn my proper name
I left the girls behind me
As plain as you can see
For all these girls throughout this world
Give an Irish girl to me

Now 'M' stands for Mary
And 'J' stands for John
'P' stands for Paddy's land
The land where I was born
Now 'S' stands for shamrock
As plain as you can see
For all these girls throughout this world
Give an Irish girl to me

SINGER: Paddy
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Midland Hotel, Appleby
AGE-GROUP: 25-40
DATE: 7.6.82
SONG SOURCE: unknown
GIVEN TITLE: Give an Irish girl to me

My name is Pat O'Connor
To England here I came
And I just came o'er among you
To learn my proper name

I left the girls behind me
They was so fair you see
Out of all the girls throughout this world
Give an Irish girl to me

Now 'M' it stands for Mary
And 'J' it stands for John
And 'P' it stands for Paddy's land
The land where I was born

And 'S' it stands for shamrock's bloom
Only then could I agree
But of all the girls throughout this world
Give an Irish girl to me

I took a trip to Germany
It was just the other day
To see some of them smiling girls
I heard all people say

But they had not that smiling face
Only then could I agree
So I told them keep them German girls
Give an Irish girl to me

Now two came to in pity
I sing my own little song
And I'll sing for you some other time
When around this way I come

For I'm going to that dear noble place
You all know where I mean
For of all the girls throughout this world
Give an Irish girl to me

SINGER: Len Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Windmill Lane site, West Malling, Kent
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 14.3.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Gone home to her mother

On a bright and sunny day
when the young wife ran away
From her husband who had
filled her heart with pain
On the table laid a note
these simple words she wrote
Goodbye I hope we'll never meet again

To her mother she returned for the
home that she had yearned
For all the love for him she'd had had failed
But he sold her heart at last
with repentance for the past
But her mother met him at the door and says

She was happy 'till she met you
The fault is all your own
If she wishes to forget you
Please leave her alone
She has come to her old mother
Because there is no other
She'll be happy in her home sweet home

But the husband with a sigh
you can't take her from my side
The law forbids you part her, we are wed
But the mother then said nay,
and sadly turned away
And once again to him she firmly said

She was happy till she met you
The fault is all your own
If she wishes to forget you
Please leave her alone
She has come to her old mother
Because there is no other
She'll be happy in her home sweet home

SINGER: Nancy Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 25-40
DATE: 4.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: A group of young soldiers

A group of young soldiers in a camp
Talking of sweethearts they knew
For all will be glad, for that one Irish lad
Who was sad and downhearted too

One of the boys said won't you join us
Do you love someone too
Proudly he said as he lifted his head
He said yes, I'm in love with two

One have hair of silvery grey
And the other have hair of gold
One is young and brutiful (beautiful)
The other is old and grey

For one is my mother, God bless her, I love her
And the other is my sweetheart

SINGER: Minty Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 61-80
DATE: 4.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: A group of young fellows

Now a group of young fellows was in camp one night
Talking about sweethearts they had
Oh sat in one fellow he's quite a young lad
And he looked downhearted and sad

Oh Ted will you join us with his comrades
this night
Surely there's someone love you
Oh the lad shook his head and softly he said
By chance I am in love with two

One have hair of silvery grey
The other best of all
One's young and brutiful (beautiful)
The other's best of all

Oh wondering how long I'd see you here
Wondering how I'd be
One is my mother, God bless her, I love her
The other one's my sweetheart

SINGER: Johnny Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 4.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Hard-boiled eggs

Oh now its I don't care for pictures
that my wife hangs on the wall
And the neighbours and relations
I would love to read 'em all
Now in she brought her mother
'ats where as she would go
Oh its take me to an empire
on a couple of rusty pegs
But oh that mother see 'em all
we love her hard boiled eggs

Now when I start drinking liquor
I drink a lot too much
Didn't I get my right name
and didn't I live in France
As a rainbow to an empire
on a couple of rusty pegs
But oh that mother see 'em all
we love her hard boiled eggs

Now when I start drinking liquor
I drink a lot too much...

SINGER: Norman
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Midland Hotel, Appleby
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 7.6.82
SONG SOURCE: unknown
GIVEN TITLE: Honky-tonk angels

You wouldn't read my letters if I wrote you
And you ask me not to call you on the phone
But there's one thing that I want to tell you
So I wrote it in the words of this song

I didn't know God made Honky tonk angels
And I might've known you'd never make a wife
You gave up the only one that ever loved you
To go back to the wild side of life

Now the glamour of the game of life has lured you
To the places where the wine and liquor flows
Where you wait to be anybody's darlin'
And forget the truest love you'll ever know

I didn't know God made Honky tonk angels
And I might've known you'd never make a wife
You gave up the only one that ever loved you
To go back to the wild side of life

SINGER: Louie Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 25-40
DATE: 4.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Record
GIVEN TITLE: I gotta be a mummy for one day

I go to see my little girl each Sunday afternoon
And I 'ate the words that she will say
She'll ask me when I'm coming home
I'll answer pretty soon
That I gotta be a mumma for one day

She's much too young to realise
Why mummy can't come home
And that her daddy wanted things this way
It breaks my heart to walk away
To know that she would stay
As I have to be a mummy for one day

SINGER: Len Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: West Malling
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 14.3.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: I could have had you for a lifetime

I could have had you for a lifetime
But I waited a little too long
I played the game that's not very smart
I took your kisses darlin' someone took your heart
Well I know that I have done the right things
Well I know now it was too long
I could have had you for a lifetime
But I waited just a little too long

SINGER: Kit Cooper
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 61-80
DATE: 14.3.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: I walk the floor

I walk the floor and without my shoe(s)
You've learnt your lesson right down in the blues
Cigarette you loves each one after another
I give her love song on the .... day she deserve it

I walk the floor and without my shoes
I learnt your lesson right down in the blues

SINGER: Levi Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Powerscroft site
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 5.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Record
GIVEN TITLE: I was hangin' round town

I was hanging round town just spendin' the time
Out of a job not earning a dime
A fighter steps up and he says I support
You're a drunk fighter by the looks of your clothes
For you figures me right, I'm a good one a claim
Do you happen to have any bad ones to tame
Said I've got one but a bad one to buck
A-flowin' good riders have had lots of luck

For I gets my saddle and off to the range
Out in the oscar house standin' alone...

SINGER: Sonny
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Midland Hotel, Appleby
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 7.6.82
SONG SOURCE: Unknown
GIVEN TITLE; If I had my life to live over

If I had my life to live over
I would still fall in love once again
For I would still want to roam
Oh to the place oh they call home
Oh where happiness it will never will end

But I'm with you when those few days are over
And we'll walk oh down those lanes we once knew
For if I had my life oh to live over again
For I would still fall in love with you

SINGER: Minty Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 61-80
DATE: 12.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: If you love me as I love you

Now if you love me as I love you
What cares what the whole world do say
Ask me no angels in days gone by
You ask no questions now why should I
I don't care what you used to be
But I know what you are today

Sweethearts today who've took the wrong way
And why should we foolish to part
If you took notice what your mother say
You wouldn't be down like you are
So I don't care what you used to be
But I know what you are today

Now if you love me as I love you
What cares what the whole world do say
Ask me no angels in days gone by
You ask no questions now why should I
I don't care what you used to be
But I know what you are today

SINGER: Kate Hilden/ Kit Cooper
GENDER: Female/ Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 25-40/61-80
DATE: 14.3.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: I'll go with him wherever he goes

Once I was married and I had a fine life
And I had me enough money to take me through life
I met a young woman we went on a spree
And she taught me to smoke and to drink whisky

Now when I was single I had a plaid shawl
Now I am married I got none at all
Still I love him, can't deny him
I'll go with him wherever he goes

He bought me a new hankie in red white and blue
Down in the ole feed mills I tore it in two
Still I love him, can't deny him
I'll go with him wherever he goes

SINGER: Fred Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 16-24
DATE: 4.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Record
GIVEN TITLE: I'm casting my love song

I'm a-casting my love song oh a-way out on the sky
And I'm casting my love song on the stars
I'm casting my love song a-way out on the sky
And I'm hoping I reaches there on time

I'm casting my love song way up in the blue
And I'm hoping I reaches there on time
I'm casting my love song a-way out in the sky
And I'm casting my love song on the stars

..... yodel .....

SINGER: Minty Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 61-80
DATE: 12.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: I"m going to marry a far better boy

..... to his own mother and I hope he will enjoy
For I'm going to marry a far better boy

Oh let him go, oh let him go
Let him go, let him whip, let him tear
For he's gone back to his own mother
And I hope he will enjoy
I'm going to marry a far better boy

For he sent to me a letter
And I tore it up in two
I told him I did not want any more to do with him
I told him he could carry on with another
And I hope he will enjoy
I'm going to marry a far better boy

SINGER: Gypsy boy
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Milton Keynes
AGE-GROUP: 10-15
DATE: 12.7.83
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: I'm nobody's child

As I was slowly passing an orphan home one day
I stopped for a moment
to watch those children play
A little boy was standing
and when I asked him why
He turned around with eyes I could not see
and he began to cry

I'm nobody's child, nobody's child
No daddy's kisses, no mummy's smiles
I'm just like a flower growin' in the wild
(- miss, I don't know none...)

SINGER: Levi Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Powerscroft site, Kent
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 5.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: I'm nobody's child

As I was slowly passing an orphan home one day
I stopped there for a moment
just to watch the children play
Alone a boy was standing and when I asked him why
He turns his head the other way and he begin to cry

I'm nobody's child, I'm nobody's child
Nobody wants me I'm nobody's child

When people come for children
to take them for their own
They all seem to pass me and I am left alone...

SINGER: Gypsy boy
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Milton Keynes
AGE-GROUP: 10-15
DATE: 12.7.83
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: In Dublin's fair city,
in Dublin's fair town

In Dublin's fair city, in Dublin's fair town
There was this lady her name was Miss Brown
She were goin' wid de sailor for twenty long years
And after that twenty she called him a name
... up you little .... oh I think your ...
He reached for a pen knife and tore her in three
He buried her body down by the blue sea

And the next morning the captain shouts out
There must be murder my ship won't sail out
I buried my lover down by the blue sea
..."he sang it wrong a minute a-go"
..."shhhh"

In Dublin's fair city, in Dublin's fair town
There was this lady her name was Miss Brown
She were goin' wid de sailor for twenty long years
And after that twenty she called him a name

Rise up you little Molly Bunt
I think you're gonna die
He reached for a pen knife and he tore her in three
He buried her body down by the blue sea

Early next morning a captain shouts out
There must be murder my ship won't sail out
I buried my lover down by the blue sea

SINGER: Gypsy boy
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Milton Keynes
AGE-GROUP: 10-15
DATE: 12.7.83
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: In Dublin's fair city,
where the girls are so pretty

In Dublin's fair city where the girls are so pretty
I first put my eyes on sweet Molly Belone
She died of a fever and nothing could save her
And that was the end of sweet Molly Belone

SINGER: Kit Cooper
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 61-80
DATE: 14.3.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: It happened on a Monday night

It happened on a Monday night
we mauled myself in glorcky
We all went out a squaggin lone
a crackie that was narkry!
Three yoggers roosed upon us
when a squirch began to rattle
We would've been taken low
if we all stuck to the battle

With me rol-diddle-day fol-de-diddle-la-dy
with me row-dow-day

For it happened on one Monday night
we mauled myself in glorcky
We met a little mush in the wood
and instead was very darklie
Three yoggers roosed upon us
when a squirch began to rattle
We would've been taken low
if we all stuck to the battle

With me rol-diddle-day fol-de-diddle-la-dy
with me row-dow-day

SINGER: Fred Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 16-24
DATE: 4.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: It were down in the town

It were down in the town they call Empire
Where most of their fighting were done
Where a young Irish soldier got shot by
He got shot by an old blackintenion gun

As he turns to his comrades there beside him
These were the words that he said
Won't you bury me out on the mountain
Where the old battle that were won

Won't you bury me out on the southside
Facing the rising sun
So we buries him out on the mountain
Where the old battle were won
So we buries him out on the southside
Facing the rising sun

SINGER: Fred Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 16-24
DATE: 12.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: It were down in the town

It were down in the town they call Empire
Where most of their fighting were done
Where a young Irish soldier got shot by
He got shot by an old blackintenion gun

As he turned to his comrades there beside him
For these were the words that he said
Oh won't you bury me out on the mountain
Where the old greatest battle were won

On won't you bury me out on the south-side
So I can see the black rising sun

SINGER: Wally Fuller
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Thistlebrook site, Greenwich
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 18.5.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: It's holiday time

Oh now it's holiday time again my boys
It's holiday time again
So come along boys lets make a noise
It's holiday time again

... yodelling chorus ...

Now if you're 'avin a party boys
Wherever you may be
Always mix yourself along with jolly company
Now you find someone looking blue
Much joy to him you'll bring
By filling up me glasses boys
and gittin' em all to sing...

SINGER: Minty Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 61-80
DATE: 4.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: I've left my mother

Oh its I've left my mother
I've left my father
I've left my brothers and sisters too
I've left 'em all, all my kind relation
I've left 'em all for to come with you

Although it is freezing
Although it's pleasing
Though it is pleasure
It's not very new
It's like a start on a cold winter's morning
Fades away like the morning's dew

SINGER: Joe Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Powerscroft site
AGE-GROUP: 16-24
DATE: 5.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Just a little guy called Joe

In a little land of property
somewhere across the sea
There's a little guy who's waiting
and he looks a lot like me
His hair is like the raven
or the wings of a crow
I'm not sure what they named him
but I'm sure they call him Joe

Just a little guy called Joe
like so many more I know
Left all alone somewhere across the sea
I want him to have my name
Little Joe is mine to claim
This little guy called Joe belongs to me

His mother died to give him life
the night my orders came
I wanted to be with him
but war is an evil thing
Now he won't recognize me
but I've got to let him know
He means much more to someone
than just a little guy called Joe

SINGER: Rita Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 25-40
DATE: 4.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Record
GIVEN TITLE: Just try being lonely

Suppose you wanted someone
The way that I want you
Just imagine your body,
mind and soul broken in two
Walk the floor each night,
shed tears you can't conceal
Just try being lonely
and you know just how I feel

I saw you with your new love
And oh how it hurt me so
Honey, how you looked to be so happy
As you passed by
I hurried round the corner
So you wouldn't see me cry

Suppose you wanted someone
The way that I want you
Just imagine your body,
mind and soul broken in two
Walk the floor each night,
shed tears you can't conceal
Just try being lonely
and you know just how I feel

SINGER: Jimmy Dolan
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Midland Hotel, Appleby
AGE-GROUP: 25-40
DATE: 7.6.82
SONG SOURCE: Unknown
GIVEN TITLE: Kennedy

An Irish lad from Dundoon town
the Atlantic he would cross
He parted with his family
at the quayside at New Ross
His mother smiled and held her tears
as Irish mothers do
She said goodbye God speed you son
my blessings go with you

And so a lad named Kennedy
he parted o'er the sea
Just another immigrant
or so it seemed to be
Little did he realise
that through him one fine day
By destiny a Kennedy would rule the USA

He got a job a-later on
when he moved out of town
He met in with this Irish lass
and soon they settled down
He sonned two more reet Irish lads
His grandson done the same
He married a rose of Boston girl
Fitzgerald was her name

Another generation passed
another world-wide war
Then Fitzgerald Kennedy became a senator
He fought that great election
in that land so far away
When the people named him President
our Irish hearts were gay

Now the great John F to Europe came
in nineteen-sixty-three
And everywhere he went they cried
"we want John Kennedy"
He visited the ole Erin's Isle
where many years before
An Irish lad from Dundoon's town
sailed from old Erin's shore

Now a bullet from a rifle,
John F Kennedy was dead
The news had stirred a silence
as the world was told his dead
A widow tends his graveside
with two orphans by her side
He fought for peace and freedom
and for this he lived and died

SINGER: Kit Cooper
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 61-80
DATE: 14.3.82
SONG SOURCE: Record
GIVEN TITLE: Lay the blanket on the ground

I took the blankets from the bedroom
We'd go walking once again
To the spot down by the river
Where the dark fires began

Cos we are married
We go sleep around
To a spot down in the moonlight
We lay the blanket on the ground

SINGER: Len Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: West Malling site
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 14.3.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Little Nell

In a quiet country home in an evening all alone
Lived a lonely father and his daughter Nell
As she played around his knee
like a child in childish dreams
Awaiting for the story he had to tell

Won't you tell me of the past
and poor mama then she asked
Won't you tell me what she looked like long ago

She was as sweet as a blossom on the clover
And better than the evening sunset glow
I never will forget how much I loved her
When your mother took my name long long ago

We were married Nell and I
And in many ways we tried to make our home
a home of happiness
Her poor soul so sweet and cute
made me love her more I'm sure
And even God himself he blessed our happy home
So the best of friends may part
she grew nearer to my heart
Your mother was the only girl I loved

She was as sweet as the blossom on the clover
And better than the evening sunset glow
I never will forget how much I loved her
When your mother took my name long long ago

SINGER: Levi Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Powerscroft site
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 5.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Love is like a barrolet

Love is like a barrolet
with the strings around my heart
It's now for ever and ever,
put your lips agin mine
Make your life...

SINGER: Pearly Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 16-24
DATE: 4.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Record
GIVEN TITLE: Make believe you love me

.....as life goes on
This old world will keep on turning
Don't say a word without tomorrow
Lay your head upon my pillow
Lay your warm and tender body close to mine

I hear the whisperin' of the raingrops (drops)
Blowin' soft against the window
And make believe you love me one more time
For the good times

SINGER: Jim Penfold
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Battersea, London
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 9.3.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Mandi went a-kannying

When Mandi went a-kannying
up to the raikers kher
The kennies they were jassing
they were jelling everywhere
I curd a kenny in a gon
and dabsed it on my back
Pillies a cost abori poov
cos mandi's jelling back

I diks a gav mush on his bike
and the gavver he dik me
So mandi started prastying as fast as he could be
I hatched down in a bori ditch
the gavver couldn't dik
But baden then me chuckers then the mandi dikked

I curled me chuckers in some khin
cause gen laid everywhere
Couldn't hatch out of the bori ditch
the gav mush was still there
I sitted all the rati I was a pretty sight
Covered from shera to chuckers
with sooty in all the night

(khinder)

SINGER: Matt Howard
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Midland Hotel, Appleby
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 7.6.82
SONG SOURCE: Unknown
GIVEN TITLE: Master McGrath

In sixteen-sixty-nine was the date of the year
When the Waterloo sportsmen
with their dogs did appear
That was the date England challenged them all
With Rose of old England against Master McGrath

On the twelth of December the day of renown
McGrath and his keeper they left Leggin' town
A gale on the Channel it soon brought them all
On the thirteenth they landed
on fair Britain's shore

Now as dog and man landed in big London town
A lot of great nobles they all gathered round
But one skittish sportsman he gave a 'ha ha'
And is that the great dog you call Master McGrath

Now McGrath he looked up
and he wagged his old tail
Informing Lord Lurgin I know what he means
Informing Lord Lurgin I don't feel one stir
For they'll curse the day they met Master McGrath

Now its Rose stood uncovered
she was the great English pride
Her keeper and master they stood by each side
The hare was let out, the crowd gave a 'ha ha'
There goes Rose of old England
against Master McGrath

Now as McGrath and Old Rosie
they both galloped on
Rosie says to McGrath
what has brought you from home
You should have stayed on your Irish domains
And not come to gain laurels
on these Albion plains

Now McGrath says to Rosie I know we've got bogs
But you'll find in Ireland
we're good men and dogs
Lay down to your work, give me none of your jar
Take that bend up your
nostril says Master McGrath

Now the hare she led on with a beautiful view
And as swift as the wind do
the green grass she flew
Rose took the first turn according to law
The second bend it was given
to our Master McGrath

Now the hare she led on just as swift as the wind
McGrath he passed Rosie left Rosie behind
Jumped on the hares back and held up his old paw
Said the cup goes to Ireland with Master McGrath

SINGER: Gypsy boy
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Milton Keynes
AGE-GROUP: 10-15
DATE: 12.7.83
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: My dear old mother

I had a dear ould mother
Who was very kind to me
Everytime I was in trouble
She sat me on her knee
One night while I was sleepin'
Upon my feather bed
An angel came down and told me
My dear ould mother was dead

I woke up in the morning
To see if this was true
Mother's gone to heaven
Above this world of blue
Now children obey your parents
And do as you are told
Cos if you lose a mother
you lose a heart full of gold

SINGER: Kate Hilden
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 25-40
DATE: 14.3.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: My mother's ring

There's a dim spot in my land I am longing to see
The old lady's fair grave like Heaven to me
Where my dear aged mother
she lived there all alone
And my brothers and my sisters
in a nice happy home

I had no money when my mother died
(Kit: She's right)
She put a kiss on my hand and she bid me goodbye
And the ring my father bought her
she gave it to me
It's had bright better years from her
than gold would ever be

SINGER: Stan Draper
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Startled Saint Public House, West Malling
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 12.3.82
SONG SOURCE: Record
GIVEN TITLE: Now and then, there's a fool such as I

Pardon me if I'm sentimental
When we say goodbye
Don't be angry at me should I cry
When you're gone we will dream
A little dream as years roll by
Now and then there's a fool such as I

Now and then there's a fool such as I
Over you, you taught me how to love
And now you say that we are through

I am a fool but I love you dear
Until the day I die
Now and then there's a fool such as I

SINGER: Gypsy boy
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Milton Keynes
AGE-GROUP: 10-15
DATE: 12.7.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: The night was dark

The night was dark and the fight was ended
The moon shone down on O'Connell's (....?)
I stood alone where brave men perished
These men have gone, they've gone to rest

And the first I met was a dear brave soldier
Fightin' for... **(INTERRUPTION)**

The night was dark and the fight was ended
The moon shone down on O'Connell's land
I stood alone where brave men perished
These men have gone, they've gone to rest

And the first I met was a dear brave father
Searchin' for his only son
I said old man there's no use searchin'
For off to Heaven your son has gone

The old man cried with a broken heart, then
Bendin' over I could hear him say
I knew my son he was too kind-hearted
I knew my son he was never ill

The only son I ever had died in Dublin
fightin' for his country free
He fought for Ireland and Ireland only
With the hat and shamrock of green white and gold

Well the last I met was a dyin' rebel
Bendin' over I could hear him say
I knew my son he was too kind-hearted
I knew my son he was never ill

The only son I ever had died in Dublin
fightin' for his country free
He fought for Ireland and Ireland only
With a hat and shamrock of green white and gold

SINGER: Levi Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Powerscroft site
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 15.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Now everybody said you'd let me down

Now everbody said you'd let me down
Darlin' I'm ashamed to take you round
Makes no difference what you used to be
Oh darlin' I could never be ashamed of you
Whether you were restless yesterday
Now together we can find this brighter way
For in my heart I know that you come true
Oh darlin' I could never be ashamed of you
Whether you've been cheated in the past
And praps your memory could last ...

SINGER: Levi Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Powerscroft site
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 15.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Oh, darlin' I am gettin' older

Oh darlin' I am gettin' older
Things are fading fast
Oh yes my darlin' will be as you be
So young and fair and true to me
Oh yes my darlin' I am older ...

SINGER: Mary Moore
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Thistlebrook site
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 18.5.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Old Shep

When I was a lad and old Shep was a pup
Over the meadows we'd stray
Just a boy and his dog we were so full of fun
We grew up together that way

I remember the time at the old swimmin' pool
When I would have drowned without doubt
But old Shep was right there to my rescue he came
He jumped in and helped pull me out

As years they did go and old Shep he grew old
His eyesight was fast growing dim
One day that the doctor looked at me and said
I can do no more for him Jim

He came to my side and looked up at me
And put his old head on my knee
I just shot the best friend a man ever had
I cried till I scarcely could see

Old Shep he has gone where the good doggies go
No more with old Shep will I roam
If a dog has a Heaven there's one thing I know
Old Shep's got a wonderful home

SINGER: Len Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Startled Saint, West Malling
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 22.8.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Old Shep

When I was a lad and old Shep were a pup
Over the meadows we strolled
Just a boy and his dog we were so full of fun
We grew up together that way

I remember the time at the ole swimmin' pool
When I would have drowned without doubt
Old Shep was right there to my rescue he came
He jumped in and helped pull me out

As the years roll along ole Shep he grew old
His eyes were past growing dim
And one day that the doctor looked at me and says
I can do no more for you

Well his hands they were tremblin'
I picked up my gun
And aimed at ole Shep's faithful head
Well I just couldn't do it I thought I should run
And I cried till I scarcely could see

Old Shep he has gone where the good doggies go
No more will I roam with old Shep
But if a dog has a Heaven there's one thing I know
Old Shep's got a wonderful home

SINGER: Matt Howard
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Midland Hotel, Appleby
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 7.6.82
SONG SOURCE: Unknown
GIVEN TITLE: O'Rafferty's pig

...his manners disgraced the very worst animal
Drippin' and slippin' all over his snout
The monkey broke loose there was such a commotion
And women were screamin' and men turnin' pale
Runnin' and jumpin' collidin' and bumpin'
And everyone making calamity's day

They got the ole pig in the corner
Got on his back and run into the tree
At twenty past seven he's almost in Heaven
The night that O'Rafferty's pig got away

His watch on the floor lay splintered and broken
Kneeling on the floor calling Doctor Lamonte
When Paddy O'Toole said man don't be a fool
It's a hamourous horror and joiner you want

He stood on the side of a green grocers barrow
Right into the grocers yon next to McGar
He fell in the butter and slid in the gutter
And that's how he kept slipping out of her hand

He shot on the corner near Council McDuffy
A man of long standing and lofty ideas
The pig had collided, McDuffy backsided
Down went the standard of forty-five years

Now .....through a shop window
in pickles and jam and red herrings she lay
She had eggs and tomatoes all over her garters
.....laughter.....

Now Paddy McPickle the heavy weight champion
Run at the pig with a big rollin' pin
He struck it a blow, which hit Mrs Maloe
Which shifted her bust from right under her chin

SINGER: Mary Moore
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Thistlebrook site
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 18.5.82
SONG SOURCE: Record
GIVEN TITLE: Paper Roses

I realised the way your eyes deceived me
With tender looks that I mustook (mistook) for love
So take away the flowers that you sent me
And send the kind that you remind me of

Paper roses, paper roses,
Oh how real those roses seem to be
But they're only imitation
Like your imitation love for me

I thought that you would be the perfect lover
You seemed so full of sweetness at the start
But just like a big red rose that's made of paper
There isn't any sweetness in your heart

SINGER: Kate Hilden
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 25-40
DATE: 14.3.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Play me a serenade

Oh play to me me Jimmy
When the moon shines above
Oh play me your serenade
The song I love

Beside your caravan
.....by?
I'll be your.... gal
Lets both unite

Oh play to me Gypsy
Let the moon shine above
Your song will be on me
And lingering on

SINGER: Kate Hilden
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 25-40
DATE: 14.3.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Poor little Joe

Out in this wide world was poor little Joe
And his eyes cast to Heaven as his mother laid low
And you could see by the pale face
he had wanted for free
And he was singing he wished himself dead

SINGER: Kit Cooper
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 61-80
DATE: 14.3.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: riding along on a freight train

I'm riding along on a freight train
I'm bound nobody knows where
I ran off from home just this morning
And my heart were heavy with guilt

I quarrel with my poor old dear father
Because of the things what he done
He calls me a drunkard and a gambler
Not fit to be called his son

I cursed and I swore at my father
I told him I weren't t'were no lie
I packed all my bags in a bundle
And went to tell mother goodbye

My poor mother broke down a-cryin'
Oh son, oh my son do not leave
Your dear mothers' heart will be broken
And all my life long I'll grieve

She kissed me she called me her darlin'
And around me her arms she did throw
I'll never forget that morning
When I said mother dear I must go

As I ride along in this free car
My dear mothers' voice I could hear
She's cryin' oh son do not leave me
As more in my thoughts to bear

She kissed me she said me my darlin'
Don't leave my arms she say
She's cryin' my love do not leave me
No more this part we will have

SINGER: Abram Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 25-40
DATE: 12.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Record
GIVEN TITLE: The river of no return

So there is a river on the river of no return
Sometimes its peaceful and sometimes wide and free
I lost my love is a traveller
on the river of no return
Wail-a-ree I can hear my lover calling for me

SINGER: Minty Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 61-80
DATE: 12.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Record
GIVEN TITLE: The river of no return

I lost my true lover in the river of no return
Some say its peaceful
and the others say its not worthwhile
So I lost my true lover on the river of no return
Gone for ever and never return no more
Wail-a-ree, wail-a-ree
Oh gone and never return no more

SINGER: Kate Hilden
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 25-40
DATE: 14.3.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: The Romani Rai

I was born in an old Gypsies wagon
All pitch-ed and painted in gold
But someday I'm gonna get married
And have me a wagon on my own

I've met the Romani Rai,
I'm a true diddicoy
I've slept in the tent
and I've never paid no rent
And believe me
that's why they call me a true diddicoy

SINGER: Kate Hilden/ Kit Cooper
GENDER: Female/ Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 25-40/ 61-80
DATE: 14.3.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: The Sailor cut down in his prime.

Up in the city three women were standing
One to the other you can hear them three say
There goes a young sailor his money I squandered
And now I have brought him to his silent grave

Was it not cruel ? I could not have told him
Was it not cruel ? He could have healed it in time
He could've took pill of caution
or kyre and white (harbry?)
And now he's a young man cut down in his prime

(Kit and Kate continue singing different words)

SINGER: Fred Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 16-24
DATE: 12.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: She taught me to yodel

I went across to Switzerland
Where yodel-do-ee-dee
Tried to learn to yodel
With my yodel-la-dy
I climbed the big high mountain
On a fair and sunny day
And then I met the yodelling girl
And could not get away

She taught me to yodel .....

She said just you take a deep breath
And you count one, two, three
And then you meet the yodelling girl
Play the Switzerlee
This is how to yodel .....

SINGER: Gypsy boy
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Milton Keynes
AGE-GROUP: 10-15
DATE: 12.7.83
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: A soldier boy came home one night

A soldier boy came home one night
To find his house 'thout a light
He went upstairs to go to bed
And suddenly a thought came to his head
He went into his mother's room
To find her hangin' from the stool
He got a knife and cut her down
And suddenly he found a letter on the ground

Oh dig-nn-dig-nn-die-n-die
put my leese in her quick
Of dig-nn-dig-nn-dig-n-dig
and put me leggie in her quick

SINGER: Kate Hilden
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st Green
AGE-GROUP: 25-40
DATE: 14.3.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Summer times a-coming

For the summer times a-coming
And the flowers are sweetly blooming
All round the road I shall surely go
And around the purple heather

SINGER: Minty Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st Green site
AGE-GROUP: 61-80
DATE: 4.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Sure if I had the wings of a swallow

Sure if I had the wings of a swallow
I would travel far over the sea
By the old rocky road I would follow
Although in so nearest to me
When the sun goes to rest
I would build a sweet nest
And the place I love best
In the dear little town
In the dear little town
By.the old County Roan
That would linger right down in my heart
It is never so grand and its my fairer land
I care not for one thing of all
Like the black sheep of all
I'll come back to you all
Little girl, in the Home County Town

SINGER: Minty Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st Green site
AGE-GROUP: 61-80
DATE: 12.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: She's an old fashioned lady

She's just an old fashioned lady
With an old fashioned way
For the smiles when she's welcome to me
An old fashioned bedside
Where she kneels and prays
For the trial of a long day its true

Though she wears no fine clothing
Nor no silk nor gay
For there's something that makes her divine
For the angels above
Told the world how to love
There's an old fashioned mother of mine

SINGER: Peter
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Midland Hotel, Appleby
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 7.6.82
SONG SOURCE: unknown
GIVEN TITLE: There goes my heart

There goes my 'eart, there goes the one I love
There goes the one I wasn't worthy of
There goes my 'appiness with someone new
There goes somebody else in place of you

Goodbye romance that couldn't last somehow
I had my chance but that's all over now
Whoever thought that she would pass me by
There goes my 'eart and here and here am I

SINGER: Levi Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Powerscroft site
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 5.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: There's a cloud in my valley

For there's a cloud in my valley of sunshine
Once I told you I found somebody new
For there's a cloud in my valley of sunshine
When I hope the sunshine bring you back once more
Can't we fall in love again all over
Won't you take me in your arms just like before
For there's a cloud in my valley of sunshine
When I hope the sunshine bring you back once more

SINGER: Len Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: West Malling
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 14.3.8
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Those ninety-nine blues

Lord these ninety-nine blues
They ain't no fancy dreams
And if you had two lives to live
You'd know just what I mean

When the judge read the verdict
Lord them years would knock me down
He says boy you've got two sixes
And they're all upside down

They carried me to the jail house
I fell down across my bed
I couldn't sleep for cryin'
I wished the Lord I were dead

It ain't the days I've been here
It's the days I have to stay
For all your friends I ever had
They've shook hands and they've gone away

My good gal told me
The day I had this can
She said you've made your bed of sorrow
Now sleep on it like a man

Ninety-nine and ninety-nine
Makes one hundred and ninety-eight
Lord that's more years, pretty mama
Than you can figure out on your slate

I don't know what else
Is in the world to lose
Cause I've lost everything
Except these ninety-nine blues

SINGER: Louie Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st Green site
AGE-GROUP: 25-40
DATE: 4.3.81
SONG SOURCE: record
GIVEN TITLE: Those wedding bells will never ring for me

I have the invitation that you sent me
You wanted me to see you change your name
I couldn't stand to see you wed another
But dear I hope you're happy just the same

Wedding bells are ringing in the chapel
They should be ringing out for you and me
If I were only someone else you're walking
Those wedding bells will never ring for me

I planned a little cottage in the valley
I even bought a little band of gold
I thought someday I'd place it on your finger
But now the future looks so dark and cold
And home alone I hang my head in sorrow
For wedding bells will never ring for me

SINGER: Jim Penfold
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Battersea
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 9.3.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Tonight as I lie in my trailer

Tonight as I lie in my trailer
Listening to the lorries go by
What will become of the Gypsies
When it is their turn to die

Will the father up yonder in Heaven
Have a place that we might call our own
Or will we have to live like the gorgio
Or can we continue to roam

Will there be any wide open spaces
With lands that just dwindle through
Will there be any police and council
Who will tell us to travel on through

Will God in his mighty great wisdom
Have a land that we might call our own
Where we can travel for ever
In a land which everyone owns

A life for the Gypsy's not easy
He has not a place he calls home
But will it be different in Heaven
In a place which everyone owns

Do the birds sing out in Heaven
Do the trees still look the same
Does the wind blow across the meadow
Will there be such a thing called rain

I know it is different in Heaven
Cause Lord Jesus told us so
There will be no such thing called bondage
In this land which everyone owns

SINGER: Kit Cooper
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 61-80
DATE: 14.3.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Twenty-one years

my dear
You're sending me to Dartmoor to serve out my years

Six months were gone by, babe
I wished I were dead
I'm in a dirty ole jail-house
With a pole for my bed

It's raining it's hailing
The moon tells no light
Oh baby, please tell me
Why you never write

It's good .....
Say you'll be true
Don't trust no one woman
You'll bleed if you do

Don't trust no new woman
No matter what kind
For twenty one years
Is a mighty long time

SINGER: Mr Moore
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Thistlebrook site
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 18.5.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Twenty-one years

Oh the judge said stand up lad
And dry up those tears
You're sentenced to Dartmoor
For twenty one years
Oh dry up your tears babe
And kiss me goodbye
The best friends must part babe
So must you and I

I hear the train comin'
So be there at nine
To take me to Dartmoor
To serve out my time
I look down the railway
And plainly I see
You're standing there wavin'
Your goodbyes to me

Six months has gone by babe
I wished I were dead....

SINGER: Gypsy Boy
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Milton Keynes
AGE-GROUP: 10-15
DATE: 12.7.83
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Twenty-one years

I had a long stockin'
I fill it with lead
I hit an old woman
Right over the head
A copper came over
I answered my name
I answered my name
With a bicycle chain

The judge said stand up son
And dry up your tears
You're going to borstal
For twenty long years
My momma was cryin'
My father was too
My sister was laughin'
And so was the school
There was bars on the windows
There was bars on the doors
There was bars by the piss pot
There were never before

When I get out of borstal
I'm goin' down town
To get that old woman that got me put down
When I get out of borstal
I'm goin' down town
To get that old woman that got me put down

SINGER: Levi Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Powerscroft site
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 5.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Two convicts deserters

Oh once two convicts deserters
Inside of a prison cell
For the story of my livelihood
To each other we did tell

For said one unto the other
The older of the two
Said I have a wife, a darlin' wife
And a baby daughter too

For I came home one evening
After working hard all day
For I found my house where the light is out
Where my wife she'd runned away

For I took up a-drinkin'
What more was I to do
But I've got mixed up with bad companions
And I've camed a burgular too

For I set out one evening
To rob a mansion grand
With the tools in my pocket
And the revolver in my hand

For I crept in through the window
I hear a faint voice cry
For I fired a shot, oh that was my lot
For I'd shot my own dear child

For our lord how I suffered
No human voice can tell
But the only shelter I have got
Is in this prison cell

SINGER: Kate Hilden
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 25-40
DATE: 14.3.82
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Two gypsies in a cell

There were two Gypsies in a cell
And the young one prads the other
my story I will tell
As I came home that night
after working hard all day
I went up to my wagon and my wife she'd ran away
I went off a drinkin' what more could I do.....

SINGER: Rita Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 25-40
DATE: 4.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Unloved unwanted

Unloved, unwanted, I've never been so blue
I know that I should leave but I don't want to
She's in your heart, I wear your ring
Are you contented with kisses that we knew

Unloved, unwanted, it's the life I live with you
I know that I should leave but I don't want to

SINGER: Minty Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 61-80
DATE: 12.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Person
GIVEN TITLE: Wally O'More

Wally O'More I'll run away with you
Wally O'More I want you for sure
You are my baby I'm going crazy
Say that you'll be mine
Queen of the (so) ciety
Make up your mind
Wally, Oh Wally O'More

SINGER: Molly
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Midland Hotel, Appleby
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 7.6.82
SONG SOURCE: unknown
GIVEN TITLE: When I was young and in my prime

When I was young and in my prime
I was courtin' Betty Gray
A big strappin' lump of a woman
She stood about two foot three

Her father was a mean old crater
He had plenty of gold and land
He raised up a gruff, the dirty ole pig
When I asked for his daughters hand

I resolved there and then for my Molly's sake
That her and I would elope
A ladder I borrowed from Mickey O'Brien
Twenty yards of good strong rope

I put the latter up to Molly's boudoir
That's French for a woman's bed
The ladder broke at thirty feet
And she landed on me bloody head

Well I slung her into the horse and cart
Off to the ole clergy we set out
I found Father Davie in McCarthy's pub
With his head in a bottle of stout

He looked at me with his bleary ole eyes
He eyed Molly up and down
I'll finish it if you give me two more drinks, son
And I'll only charge you a half-a-crown

Do you take this darlin' lump of a girl
For your lawful wedded wife
And will you feed her cabbage and bacon and spuds
For the rest of her natural life

... (not clear) ... her ole legs
Will you guard her from the chill
When she turns over at night
and snores like an old pig
..... (drowned with laughter) ....

Well I've been married for twenty years
And I only regret one day.
That was last Thursday she started to cry
She said she was going away

I flung her into the horse and cart
She landed like an old sack
I took her back to her father
I said here Sam Price (laughter)...

SINGER: Betsy Whyte
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Stirling
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 10.9.82
SONG SOURCE: unknown
GIVEN TITLE: Whistle whistle auld wife

Whistle, whistle auld wife
And I'll give you a hen
I wouldn'a whistle for you wife
Although you gie me ten

Whistle, whistle auld wife
And I'll gie yoo a coo
I wouldn'a whistle for you wife
Although you gie me two

Whistle, whistle auld wife
And I'll gie you a puck
I wouldn'a whistle for you wife
Can you give me a pluck

Whistle, whistle auld wife
And I'll give you a pound
I wouldn'a whistle for you wife
I've .....

Whistle, whistle auld wife
And I'll gie you a man
A-whipper, whapper whipper-whap
I'll try the best I can

SINGER: Minty Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green
AGE-GROUP: 61-80
DATE: 12.3.81
SONG SOURCE: person
GIVEN TITLE: Who breaks a heart

Oh is that a rose what fades away
Now we have got to part
Who takes the sorrows and takes all the joy
When a man goes on his way
For who breaks a heart like a child breaks its toys
Its a man everytime its a man

So who makes the blunders the whole world forgive
Why should we suffer as long as we live
So who breaks a heart like a child breaks its toys
Its a man every time its a man

SINGER: Traveller girl
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Stirling
AGE-GROUP: 10-15
DATE: 10.9.82
SONG SOURCE: unknown
GIVEN TITLE: Who's gonna shoe your feet

Who's gonna shoe your pretty little feet
Who's gonna glove your hands
Who's gonna kiss your red rosy lips
When I am in a far off land

(That means when your mum and dad are not there)

Oh you know that a crow is cold cold black
And turns to purple blue
And my darlin' then I'll stop loving you
It is then you will know I'm through

I will love you 'till the end of time
Until rocks dissolve by the sun
And my darlin' when I stop loving you
Tis then you will know I'm done

(repeat last verse)

SINGER: Abram Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Green st green
AGE-GROUP: 25-40
DATE: 12.3.81
SONG SOURCE: person
GIVEN TITLE: Why did you give me your love, dear

So its why did you give me your love, dear
When it lasted for only a day
Why did you teach me to love you
Like the flowers that falls for the rain

You'll be sorry someday, dear
But now you have left me alone...

SINGER: Gypsy Boy
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Milton Keynes
AGE-GROUP: 10-15
DATE: 12.7.83
SONG SOURCE: person
GIVEN TITLE: Won't you please make the winter go quickler

It's snowin' out here in the gloamin'
I sat here and watched it all night
The kers will be filled when we waken
Look out the fields deep and white
Well the snow makes me t'ink of me darlin'
I hated the snow and the cold
And he lies in a grave here in Ireland
With his headstone just one year old
Won't you please make the winter go quicklier
So the flowers around him can grow
I can't stand the thought of my darlin'
Layin' there in the deepenin' snow

Little Jimmy climbs up on my knee now
Sayin' mummy what causes the snow
And I tell him 'bout wonderful daddy
Who cares for us all down here below
And I hold him so tight and I kiss him
He kisses back, doesn't know
That the kiss was meant for his daddy
Layin' there in the deepenin' snow

SINGER: Minty Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green site
AGE-GROUP: 61-80
DATE: 12.3.81
SONG SOURCE: person
GIVEN TITLE: You go home to your mother's house

You go home to your mother's home
I'll go home to mine
How can I go to my mother's home
In that shame and disgrace

Oh he took hold her gently white hand
And he gently throws her in
To see how she swum oh to see how she float
She's floating down by the tide
Oh where is mind having a watery grave
Oh she ought to be my bride

SINGER: Isaac
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Midland Hotel, Appleby
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 7.6.82.
SONG SOURCE: unknown
GIVEN TITLE: You'll never know just how much I love you

You'll never know just how much I love you
You'll never know just how much I care
And if I try I still couldn't hide my love for you
You ought to know dear, haven't I told you so
A million or more times
You went away and my heart went with you
I speak your name in my every prayer
And if there's some other way
to prove that I love you
I swear I don't know how
You'd better know if you don't know now

SINGER: Kit Cooper
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st green
AGE-GROUP: 61-80
DATE: 14.3.82
SONG SOURCE: person
GIVEN TITLE: Your cheatin' heart

Your cheatin' heart will make you weep
Your cryin' eyes will go asleep

The sleep won't come to your night room
Your cheatin' heart will tell on you

When I ..... like the pourin' rain
..... tossed around and I call my name
We walked the floor and when I do
Your cheatin' heart will tell on you

SINGER: Louie Smith
GENDER: Female
LOCATION: Green st Green site, Kent
AGE-GROUP: 25-40
DATE: 4.3.81
SONG SOURCE: Record
GIVEN TITLE: You said that I'd be happy with a baby on my knee

You said that I'd be happy
with a baby on my knee
There he's in my arms and
your slippin' around on me
You said that you would be unwise
when you call me on the phone
For it was too late to be delayed
I could see the break of dawn
As I hear the juke box playin'...

SINGER: Len Smith
GENDER: Male
LOCATION: Startled Saint, West Malling
AGE-GROUP: 41-60
DATE: 22.5.82
SONG SOURCE: person
GIVEN TITLE: You've paid for what you've learned

Days are blue, I'm lonely too
Why did you go away
Gi-days were here when you were near
I miss you more each day
So please come back to the one that loves you
And long for the touch of your hand
Why stay away when you know it don't pay
For I love you sweetheart, I understand

There's no use denying each day I've been cryin'
And prayin' for your return
So please come back to the one that loves you
For you have paid for what you've learned

Well, we all make mistakes like everyone do
Sweet'eart I will forgive
I still love you and you know I do
Sweet'eart I always will
So please come back to the one that loves you
For you have paid for what you've learned

GYPSY SINGERS RECORDED DURING THE FIELDWORK:
(in the same order as they appear in the A-Z songs)

NAME:		AGE-GROUP:	GENDER:
Levi Smith		41-60	M
Minty Smith		61-80	F
Louie Smith		25-40	F
Ms Smith		16-24	F
Betsy Whyte	(S)	41-60	F
Jim Penfold		41-60	M
Fred Smith		16-24	M
Gypsy boy	(I)	10-15	M
Paddy	(I)	25-40	M
Len Smith		41-60	M
Nancy Smith		25-40	F
Johnny Smith		41-60	M
Norman		41-60	M
Kit Cooper		61-80	F
Sonny		41-60	M
Kate Hilden		25-40	F
Wally Fuller		41-60	M
Joe Smith		16-24	M
Rita Smith		25-40	F
Jimmy Dolan	(I)	25-40	M
Pearly Smith		16-24	F
Matt Howard		41-60	M
Stan Draper		41-60	M
Mary Moore		41-60	F

NAME:	AGE-GROUP:	GENDER:
Abram Smith	25-40	M
Peter	41-60	M
Mr Moore	41-60	M
Molly	41-60	M
Traveller girl (S)	10-15	F
Isaac	41-60	M

.....

KEY:

(S) = SCOTS TRAVELLER

(I) = IRISH TRAVELLER

TOTAL SINGERS: 30 ENGLISH: 25 IRISH: 3 SCOTS: 2

MALE: 19 FEMALE: 11

AGE-GROUP:	10-15	16-24	25-40	41-60	61-80
TOTAL:	2	4	7	15	2
MALE:	1	2	3	13	0
FEMALE:	1	2	4	2	2

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I am a Romany	FSA-60-100
Jeannie Robertson	FSA-60-067
Songs of the Travellers	FSB-60-031
Sweet Primeroses	FSA-30-042
The Stewarts of Blairgowrie	FSA-60-182
Tinker's talk	FSD-60-462

TOPIC RECORDS:

A Travelling Songster	12TS304
Jeannie Robertson	12T96
Songs of the Open Road	12T253
The Bonny Green Tree	12T359
The Roving Journeyman	12T84
The Travelling Stewarts	12T179

ANGLO-ROMANI SONGS:

Jim Penfold's two Anglo-romani songs (Tape two:C and D) and Kate Cooper's "It happened on a Monday night" all deal with poaching or the avoidance of confrontation with gaujo or non-gypsy law. Anglo_romani consists of anything from 100 to 1,000 jargon words. In this jargon -the phonology, morphology and syntax are that of English, but of the words about 90% are Romani the others being taken from cant and slang. They cover the basic human needs as well as words relevant to Gypsy life. Anglo-Romani is not used as an everyday means of communication by the majority of Gypsy families and is not used by parents when talking to their young children, who usually pick it up when hearing it spoken to a third person. They don't begin to use it until they start to work alongside their parents. Anglo-Romani appears to have

four main functions:

as part of a register used by certain trades or professions eg horse-dealing;

for identification purposes;

in songs and oaths;

as a secret language, used for example when in trouble with authorities or police.