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‘Many Useful Lessons’, Cecil Sharp, Education and the Folk Dance Revival, 1899-1924

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Abstract:
Cecil Sharp became the dominant figure in the movement to revive English folk dance in the early years of the twentieth century. This paper explores some of Sharp's ideas and motivations using three distinct types of source material, published writing, film and inspection notebooks. These different types of evidence are investigated to give a rounded view of Sharp’s project within the cultural climate of his day, particularly his idea of providing a ‘healthier’, educationally positive and racially rooted alternative to commercial popular music and its associated dance forms.

How possible is it to understand an artistic and social movement many years after those who participated in it have died? Such understanding as we attain will always be partial, incomplete and mediated by our own attitudes, presumptions and prejudices. If the search for a full understanding is unrealistic, that does not mean that there are not better and worse accounts of the past. In this paper, three distinct types of evidence will be examined to try to illuminate and understand something of Cecil Sharp's ideas about folk dance and his contribution to dance education in schools and the wider society. As Allison Thompson recently wrote about Cecil Sharp’s world, ‘Like the gas lamps that illuminated it, that world is now so far removed from us that many of its beliefs and aspirations are hard for us to comprehend’.¹ I have not produced the final word on Sharp's work in this field but I hope that by a close and inter-related reading of the sources I will produce some new insights.

Cecil Sharp (1859-1924) was an English musician, folk song and folk dance collector, and music and dance educator. His influence on both school and adult education was considerable. He was instrumental in fundamentally altering the music and dance
performance repertory in elementary schools through his tireless zeal in influencing significant educational policy makers and through his work as an inspector of teacher training. Sir Charles Trevelyan called him, ‘one of the greatest educational influences of the time’. Through the creation of The English Folk Dance Society (1911), Sharp had a very significant influence on adult education and established an enduring institutional base for the folk dance revival.

Sharp was a highly opinionated and controversial figure who tended to divide opinion creating both enemies and loyal supporters. Remembering him from the safe distance of the 1950s, the singer Steuart Wilson described him as ‘more than an enthusiast – he was a fanatic, entirely devoted to his job and seeing it with a single vision which made him an impossible co-worker for some people’. The core of his belief was the need to develop an ‘English National School of composition’. This, he argued, needed to be based on folk music. From 1903, the collection and dissemination of English folk music became the most urgent task for him. He sincerely believed, once great but now fallen on bad days, ‘English music is capable of resuscitation’. One thing he was sure of was that ‘the present vogue of training English musicians to lisp in the tongue of the foreigner can have no beneficial outcome’. Popularisation was a key aspect in the founding of a national music:

When every English child is, as a matter of course, made acquainted with the folk songs of his own country, then, from whatever class the musician of the future may spring, he will speak in the national musical idiom.

Sharp saw himself playing the role of a musical Bishop Percy whose Reliques had inspired the Romantic poets. In some ways, Vaughan Williams was Sharp’s Wordsworth.
Although Sharp was one of the significant articulators of ideas of essential Englishness in his generation, his was a singular voice within that movement.\textsuperscript{10} Recently, Robert Colls has set Sharp in a wider context of the development of ideas of Englishness, in an interesting and stimulating way. Such ideas influenced people on the left and right of politics. Sharp was a Fabian who liked to shock people with his radical outbursts. He has been seen by different observers as a man of the left and of the right, progressive and authoritarian, pro-Boer but against women’s suffrage.\textsuperscript{11} I am not particularly impressed with the idea that Sharp’s vision constituted a sort of leftist alternative English patriotism; his romantic nationalism was, at heart, deeply conservative.

Interest in Sharp’s work has been intermittent since the publication of a biography in 1933 but is active today. His work poses significant questions about intentions, motivations, methods, and ideas of national identity, which are still key issues. The publication of two books in the 1990s has greatly increased the range of material to consider in respect of Sharp’s work. Gordon Cox’s \textit{Music Education in England, 1872-1928} devotes a whole chapter to Sharp in the context of changing ideas and practices in music education and Georgina Boyes’ \textit{The Imagined Village: Culture, Ideology and the English Folk Revival} has a lot to say about Sharp’s work as a populariser and adult educator. A slightly earlier work, Dave Harker’s \textit{Fakesong: The Manufacture of British ‘Folksong’ 1700 to the Present Day}, criticised Sharp from a late twentieth century Marxist perspective. Recently there have been signs of a revisionist approach to Sharp’s work, notably in the writings of Christopher Bearman. In this essay, I do not intend to detail the controversies that have surrounded Sharp, although
it is important to recognise their existence and I have written on them elsewhere. Rather, I wish to try to understand more about a vital aspect of Sharp's work.\textsuperscript{12}

Relatively little of the recent writing on Sharp has been about what is arguably his most important contribution: his work as a prime mover in the revival of English folk dance.\textsuperscript{13} In this article I wish to consider some of the motivation behind Sharp's interest in folk dance and understand some of the values he held and promoted through this activity. I will consider three types of evidence:

- Sharp's published and manuscript writings on folk dance and particularly his pamphlet \textit{Folk Dancing in Schools}, his book \textit{The Dance: An Historical Survey of Dancing in Europe}, written with A P Oppé, and the first two volumes of \textit{The Country Dance Book}, 1909 and 1911.\textsuperscript{14}
- A Kinora film of Sharp and three others (George Butterworth, Helen Karpeles and Maud Karpeles) dancing Sharp's interpretation of a seventeenth century social dance 'Hey Boys Up Go We' and four morris dances, probably made in 1912.\textsuperscript{15}
- Sharp's field notes made during his period as an Occasional Inspector of Teacher Training for Folk Dance and Folk Song.\textsuperscript{16}

By examining and relating these three different types of source material, we can obtain a much better perspective on, and understanding of, Sharp's ideas and work. In particular, Sharp's inspection field notes allow us a relatively direct access to his modes of thought.

\textbf{Cecil Sharp as Teacher and Dancer}
Sharp became a schoolteacher in 1893. This is important because thereafter much of his artistic activity was directed towards creating materials that would be suitable for use in schools as well as among adults. He saw the education system as a 'natural' outlet and market for his products. As early as 1902, he produced *A Book of British Song for Home and School* largely for a school market. In 1905, we find him embroiled in controversy with The Board of Education and The Folk Song Society (of which he was a relatively new but extremely energetic and forceful member) over a list of 'folk songs' that would be used in schools. Some of these were not folk songs at all according to Sharp's definition and he wrote his most important theoretical work, *English Folk Songs - Some Conclusions*, to demolish the sort of argument the Board had put forward. This work provided a basis for the Sharpian orthodoxy that has dominated thinking in the field for decades.

After this poor start in his relationship with the Board of Education, Sharp did slowly build better relations with this body, mainly through the success of his educational work (notably at Chelsea College and at the Stratford-upon-Avon festival in the years before 1914) his energy and through the cultivation of influential post holders. Due almost certainly to the war, it was not until 1919 that Sharp was employed as an Occasional Inspector, a part-time HMI, for the sole purpose of inspecting the training of elementary school teachers in folk dance and folk song. This position gave him both a significant contribution to his income, which had never been particularly secure, and a post that carried official status and recognition for the work he had undertaken. Although he inspected singing at the training colleges he visited, the focus of his attention was folk dance.
Sharp's development into the central figure of the folk dance revival had a slow start. The Sharp mythology, well on the go in his lifetime and oft repeated since, tell of two life altering events. The first was seeing the Headington Quarry morris dancers on Boxing Day 1899 and the second was hearing John England sing, 'The Seeds of Love' in the garden of his friend Rev. Charles Marson in Hambridge, Somerset in 1903. The latter marks the start of sustained activity as a song collector whereas the former seems to have had little immediate impact on Sharp, only growing in significance six or seven years after the event.

The early development of the folk dance movement and educational uses of folk dance owed more to the work of the social worker and feminist, Mary Neal than to Sharp. She was the prime mover in the modern use of folk dance through her inner-city London working girls’ organisation, the Espérance Club, itself part of the wider universities and social settlements movement. The story of their collaboration, struggle for supremacy through rival organisations and Sharp’s ultimate victory of has been brilliantly told by Roy Judge. Christopher Bearman, Sharp’s modern champion, interprets Sharp’s gaining of ascendancy as due to the creation of an effective ‘open organisation with a democratic structure’ which he contrasts with ‘Neal’s inadequate approach to organisation’ and failures of vision. Crucially, what Sharp got from Neal was an idea of the popular potential of folk dance and the possibility of the creation of a mass movement based around the activity. Their approaches to the ways the dances should be taught and performed was rather different and this was one cause of bitter personal rivalry. Neal brought traditional dancers to London so that the girls of her Espérance club could absorb their style; Sharp made use of some key ‘traditional’ performers (notably William Kimber of Headington) but believed that dancers should
learn from trained teachers, correctly trained that is by Sharp. Neal thought Sharp a pedant, Sharp thought Neal ‘quite incurably inaccurate’. Sharp’s winning of the directorship of the Stratford-upon-Avon School of Folk-Song and Dance from Neal (1911) was the crucial moment from which Sharp’s hegemony of the movement can be dated. In 1911, Sharp set up The English Folk Dance Society as a base from which to direct the folk dance revival. He gathered around himself a group of like-minded and able people to spread the gospel of folk dance.

Sharp’s enthusiasm for traditional display forms of dance, such as Morris and Sword dancing, remained strong for the rest of his life. However, he soon tired of the social dances he notated from tradition, feeling that they were very similar and repetitious, existing as they did only in one formation, the longways set. In stark contrast to his adamant belief about the superiority of the traditional, oral product expressed in *English Folk-Song - Some Conclusions*, Sharp began to interpret the dances published by the seventeenth century music publisher, John Playford, and teach and publish these for popular use. 'Hey Boys Up Go We' in the Kinora film is one of these interpretations.

The problem of accurately interpreting historical dances from brief written instructions is formidable, many would say impossible. Even if we can sort out what the words mean in terms of basic movements, we remain ignorant of many aspects of the dance, the body hexis, the mannerisms, the habits, the disposition, in short the style. Film can give insight into such things. We are lucky to have one short piece of film showing Sharp dancing but he had no film of seventeenth century dancers performing. The act of interpreting ancient dance instructions is exactly that, an act of interpretation. We
have signifiers, in the case of Playford’s collections a single melody line of music and some brief indications of movements in what we could describe as coded descriptions. But what do they signify exactly? Was the melody played accompanied or unaccompanied? If accompanied how was it harmonised and what combination of instruments was used? What do dance instructions such as ‘The 1. man take his own wo. and the 2. wo. by their hands, and they go round till they come into their own places, the 2. man standing still’\textsuperscript{26} actually mean? Can there be any hope that a reconstruction based on an interpretation of these sorts of descriptions is in any way an accurate reproduction of the original?

Even when collecting from 'the field' Sharp mediated what he saw and what he was told through his perceptions and his self-developed system of notation. In many cases, his versions of dances were assembled from the memories of old men who had not danced for years. The act of revival is in many ways an act of re-invention. Even if the impossible were attained and one could make the perfect facsimile of a seventeenth century dance or a mid-nineteenth century morris, the context in which the dance is performed has altered therefore its meaning has altered. Sharp invented his version of folk dance, his take on the materials and ideas that came his way, his appropriation of elements to form into what he saw as a coherent style. He could claim that his collected and interpreted dances had the sanction and legitimacy of tradition and history. A 1920 article praising Sharp’s work asserted that folk dance’s ‘roots strike deep into the foundations of our national feelings and expression’.\textsuperscript{27}

The act of salvage could itself be seen as heroic. A 1912 writer in \textit{Country Home} described Sharp as 'indefatigable in his efforts to re-establish this heritage which has
been nearly lost to us’ and the inscription on the wall of Cecil Sharp House in London says: ‘This building is erected to the memory of Cecil Sharp who restored to the English people the songs and dances of their country’.  

28 The verb ‘restore’ can mean an activity that produces something that has little in common with the original object, as in much church restoration. Sharp’s interpretations of Playford dances have more of the quality of an ‘invention of tradition’ than something that had continuity.  

29 The researches of Roy Judge point to the period 1906-1909 as the key period of transition; the time when Sharp’s interest moved from an almost sole concentration on song to accommodate dance as a central interest.  

30 English Folk Dancing in Schools

The Country Home writer quoted above asserted that English traditional dances, songs and games had gradually been dying out: ‘choked by an unsympathetic system of education and by the restless hurry of modern life’.  

31 Sharp made strenuous efforts to make the education authorities more sympathetic to the inclusion of folk dancing and folk singing in schools. The 1909 Board of Education decision to include folk dancing in the school curriculum and Sharp’s ongoing rivalry with Neal focused his mind and motivated his action in promoting the educational use of folk dance. In some ways, he was pushing at an open door, for there was a tendency among some key position holders to increase the significance of the aesthetic in popular education.  

32 As far back as 1905, Sharp had proposed that education should be one of the chief areas where the use of folk material could be introduced. In his 1907 Conclusions, Sharp was clear about the role that schools could play in re-founding a national
musical culture. Not all his colleagues in the folk music and dance movement shared Sharp's views. Frank Kidson, for example, thought it would not help the cause of popularising traditional material to have it associated with schools and children.\textsuperscript{34}

Sharp had other ideas.

In \textit{Folk-Dancing in Schools}, Sharp identified three sorts of English folk dance, the morris, the sword and the country dance. He celebrates the virtues that their practice can transmit and makes a strong argument for their use in schools:

The introduction of folk dancing into the curriculum of the elementary and secondary school may be upheld on the following grounds:

1. The practice of an art stimulates feeling and develops the imaginative faculty, thereby counteracting any ill effects which may result from an excess of brain-work.

2. Dancing promotes physical culture in an easy and efficient manner; easy, because, being presented as an amusement, it is pleasurable; efficient, because physical actions performed under the stimulus of emotion, naturally and unself-consciously, are less calculated to produce a stiff, wooden and mechanical bearing than those that are executed, in response to the word of command, for the sole purpose of developing the body.

3. Properly taught, dancing, though a recreation, inculcates the valuable lesson that discipline and restraint are needed in play no less than in work.
In the folk dances of their own nation children have a form of artistic expression which must, from their very nature, be especially suited to them.\textsuperscript{35}

This opening statement gives a fascinating insight into key aspects of Edwardian aesthetic and social thought; it constitutes an attempt to address what were seen as some key problems of the age. Sharp’s first numbered point is centrally about the compensatory nature of art and addresses ideas of what constitutes balance in the curriculum. To Sharp an Art is something which is ‘at once beautiful, expressive and imaginative, and which demands careful and reverent handling’.\textsuperscript{36}

Sharp’s second point has behind it the widespread social concern about physical fitness, most often recognised in times of war and impending war, and the perceived inadequacies of systems of drill generally practiced in schools in the second half of the nineteenth century.

In his third point, Sharp quickly scotches the idea that including dancing in the school curriculum might lead to indiscipline. On the contrary, dancing is perceived to teach that discipline and restraint extend into leisure.

The fourth point is an expression of Sharp’s romantic nationalism somewhat ambiguously worded. Does ‘from their very nature’ refer to the children or the dances? If Sharp is referring to the children then English children will have a natural affinity for dances produced by their race (a word he uses unhesitatingly in \textit{Conclusions} and elsewhere). If ‘their very nature’ refers to the dances, it is because they carry some
characteristic of the nation that suits them to the children of the nation. It hardly matters which, the point is clear enough, the products of the race are the best material for educating the race. Here Sharp is articulating ideas of essential, elemental Englishness.

The case for the physical and artistic benefits of the three forms of folk dance is developed in the rest of the text. The Morris Dance, traditionally performed by men, is best suited for children of ten or twelve and upwards as well as adults and is not a dance for beginners. Its movements are, vigorous--at times almost violent--and make considerable demands on the agility and endurance of the performers. These strenuous actions must, however, be executed quietly and gracefully, without apparent effort or sign of physical distress. Drill and discipline, too, are needed in order that the dancers shall keep their lines even and maintain the prescribed distances from each other.

Later he describes the dominant note of the Morris as 'Vigour under control' and adds that the expert morris dancer knows how to hit 'the right mean between freedom and reserve, forcefulness and ease, gracefulness and dignity'.

In the Sword Dance, another traditional male dance, the complexity 'is one of evolution or figure rather than of step'. It is less exacting than the Morris.
It is essential that the dance should be performed smoothly and easily, without fluster or excitement…the complicated movements must be made without jostling.

In such a dance, economy of motion is all-important…\[^{40}\]

The Sword-dancer must be nimble on his feet, neat in his movements, deft in the manipulation of his hands, and, above all, keep his wits about him, so that he may co-ordinate his actions with those of his fellows. Some of the dances are so long and the movement so continuous that the performers must be thoroughly fit if they are to go through them without flagging.\[^{41}\]

We clearly see the perceived character-building and health-enhancing potential of the dance-forms behind these injunctions.

The beauty of the country dance, Sharp asserts, 'lies in its figures and evolutions, which are many and varied'.

To remember these, and the order in which they follow one another in each dance, and to "time" them neatly with the music is the art of country dancing and one which calls for quick intelligence, plenty of common sense and a keen feeling for rhythm.

The dominant characteristic of the country dance is 'gay simplicity'.\[^{42}\]

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by means of which many useful lessons may be taught -- in grace of manner, in the simple and unaffected courtesies between men and women, or boys and girls, in the art of moving easily and naturally, and in maintaining a "fair presence" and a dignified bearing. The ever-changing figures require an active and retentive memory; every movement is rhythmical; while the sober gaiety which pervades the dance creates just that fresh and wholesome atmosphere that is wanted in the school.\textsuperscript{43}

Folk dance, according to Sharp, would teach what people using modern education language would call transferable or transposable skills and dispositions. Of the three types of dance, Sharp felt that the Morris was obviously the most valuable, 'a stimulating physical and artistic exercise'. Its practice could help the individual acquire 'complete control over the limbs'. The country dance could promote 'simple and unaffected courtesies' between the sexes but the Morris was traditionally a man's dance. During the revival, however, it had been 'freely danced by women'.

No great violence, however, will be done to tradition so long as mixed teams are barred, and the dance is performed by members of one sex only. None but the pedant, indeed, would prevent women from participating in such a beautiful and wholesome exercise merely because it has not been customary in the past.\textsuperscript{44}

Sharp did draw the line, however, at those dances 'in which such essentially masculine actions such as the "Galley" or the "Kick-Jump" occur', and added that women 'must remember that at its best a woman's Morris can only approximate to the
dance as performed by men." Sharp was never really at ease with women dancing the Morris, but it was with women that the Morris revival started and women played an important role in sustaining it. In his biographer's words 'he bowed to the inevitable'.

No such permissiveness over gender matters extended to the Sword dance, which Sharp declares, 'is traditionally a man's dance and is not a suitable one for women; the movements are too distinctively masculine. But for boys or men it is an excellent dance'. Sharp thought that the sword dance could attract those who thought dancing was a female activity: 'no boy will object to dance with a sword in his hand'.

In tune with the progressive educational thought of his day, Sharp felt that, 'in the process of education, the quickening of the artistic sense is at least as important as muscle-building'. But art was not just about amusement; if that were its sole end then, citing Ruskin for support, Sharp asserts that such art would be inferior and probably harmful. If dancing in school was permitted to 'degenerate into a disorderly romp', then it would not 'stimulate the emotions or discipline the emotions', but would do as much harm as good.

There are other dangers that Sharp asserts must be studiously avoided. Both 'drawing room steps' and 'the posturing and mannerisms of the theatre', introduced into country dances, 'are greatly to be deprecated'. Sharp wrote, 'anything savouring of the languors of the eighteenth century Court or Assembly Room is altogether alien to the spirit of the dance'. Cultural life in England was in a decayed state:

Dancing in England has in the course of the last century or more fallen upon evil days. It is only necessary to think of the cake-walks and skirt-
dances of the Music-hall, the "turkey-trots," "bunny-hugs," "kitchen-lancers," and other abominations of the drawing-room, to perceive the depths to which it had descended, and to realise, moreover the danger which a debased art may easily become to the social life of the country.  

But traditional dance, he believed, had a spirit, an essence, that could counter this debasement.

Sharp is clear that what is being attempted is 'something more than a reformation'. Indeed, he comes close to admitting that folk dance is, in some ways, an invention and what the folk dance revival constitutes is 'an attempt to establish what to the present generation is practically a new art'. Why then is this 'practically new art' able to produce these positive results? Sharp is in emphatic mood as he tells us:

Now, the study of every art should be centred at first upon those forms that have sprung spontaneously and unselfconsciously from the unlettered folk. For in these we have something that is indubitably sincere and genuine, a sure foundation upon which to build. Hence the importance in the present revival of concentrating first of all upon our native dances. A great deal of preliminary work, i.e. in the collection and publication of existing folk-dances has already been accomplished. The pressing need of the moment is to disseminate the knowledge thus acquired.

It is difficult, Sharp argues, perhaps impossible to explain in words 'the charm and distinctive character of a dance' that often resides in 'delicate nuances and subtleties'.

The need is clear: 'skilled, well-trained, teachers to supplement and interpret by practical demonstration the written description'. Dance forms which (echoing Herder, the Grimms and a century of romantic writing) previously 'sprung spontaneously and unselfconsciously from the unlettered folk' now required 'the necessary instruction' by 'qualified teachers' in order to be practised. Given the debased state of dancing in England, where are these teachers to come from? The answer was, Sharp’s own organization, The English Folk Dance Society.

Nor was it only the dance that would be able to help in the healing process, the music of the dances also had benefits – if the listener could achieve a sort of prelapsarian state of innocence.

The music of the people appeals primarily…to the emotions rather than to the intellect. Consequently, if the listener would enjoy to the full the fare that is here spread before him, he must put off the habit of the critic, divest himself of preconceived notions, seek not to analyse what he hears nor compare it with the art music of the concert-room, but prepare himself to receive impressions that are at once simple, direct, and elemental in character. If he can adopt this attitude, he will enjoy a sumptuous feast of melody, rich in invention, of varied quality, fresh and ingenuous, music moreover which, by reason of its racial origin, will touch him in a heartfelt, intimate way to which he is, in all probability, quite unaccustomed.\(^5\)

We note that, in Sharp’s view, it is the consonant racial origin of the music that makes it possible for the music to touch the listener in a heartfelt and intimate way.
I have given significant space, and used a lot of quotation, to represent Sharp's views. The danger of not doing so is to risk falling into caricature. I have no doubt that Sharp, a man of his age and historical circumstances, held these views sincerely and passionately. We are also clear that it is Sharp's historically constituted imagination that imbued what he termed 'folk dance' with redemptive and, almost, mystical power. That he eventually persuaded significant gatekeepers of English education to include instruction in folk dance in the courses of teacher training establishments and the school curriculum is an indication that his views were not out of tune with many of his contemporaries. That folk dance, in its revived and mediated form, became a popular recreation, if ultimately rather limited in scope, indicates that there were many willing to follow where Sharp led.

It is also important to remember Folk Dance in Schools was written during, and as part of, a bitter struggle over the leadership of the folk dance movement with his former collaborator, Mary Neal. Sharp’s ideas were defined against what he saw as the erroneous and inadequate methods of Neal. In addition, Sharp the teacher could see the potential of the education system as a vehicle for conveying his own ideas and methods, whereas for Neal, the philanthropic social worker and women’s rights campaigner, after-work girls clubs were her customary milieu.

The Kinora Films

If you have encountered a Kinora film, it will have been down the peephole of a 'What the Butler Saw' machine. A succession of still photographs is rapidly displayed so that the eye and brain have the impression of seeing movement, somewhat jerky and flickering movement, but coherent movement nevertheless. In 1912 Sharp had Kinora
films made of five folk dances: one country dance (‘Hey Boys Up Go We’), three solo Morris dances or ‘jigs’ and one double-jig (a dance for two people). The films were copied to video and published in 1983.\textsuperscript{53}

We must assume that the performances captured in these moving images represent, in some ways, the Sharpian ideal of good folk dancing. Being contemporary with the ‘Folk-Dancing in Schools’ pamphlet, we must see these rare moving images as something approximating to the pamphlet’s visual equivalent. If we wish to see Sharp’s words turned into movement then here is the only place we can look.

The Kinora film shows Sharp as a solidly built middle-aged man, active but past his prime of life, a marked contrast to the young and handsome George Butterworth. At the time of the film Sharp would have been about 53, Butterworth about 27. Maude Karpeles was also about 27.

The performances of the morris jigs by George Butterworth, Maud Karpeles and Helen Karpeles, are technically very secure. The performance of the country dance is not technically perfect. At one point Sharp and Butterworth bump into each other, this causes hilarity and Sharp doubles up with laughter. The dancers regain their composure and the dance continues. We, so often, have the impression of Sharp is as a driven zealot, a man who did much of his work in spite of ill health and precarious finances, that this moment of lapse and humour come as a welcome surprise. We laugh with him, he is clearly enjoying himself and however prim the basic demeanour of the dancers, it is clear we are witnessing an activity that is to be enjoyed.
But what, exactly, is the dance that Sharp, Butterworth and the Karpeles sisters are performing? It is called ‘Hey Boys Up Go We’ and it is Sharp’s interpretation of a dance from Playford’s collection.\(^{54}\) It appears to have all those qualities of phrasing, accuracy, neatness and ‘gay simplicity’ that we will see in the next section are key aspects of Sharp’s aesthetic. In terms of the morris dances, we have no contemporary film of traditional dancers to compare the performances with directly.\(^ {55}\) George Butterworth is a graceful and elegant, if some might say restrained, dancer who appears to have learnt from watching as well as interpreting instructions. The Karpeles sisters perform efficiently and with a certain sense of style.

What we see before us ties in with the description and evaluations of folk dance in Sharp’s published writings. The intention in making the films was probably educational, it is assumed that Sharp saw a potential in the moving image for an accurate communication of movement and gesture far more effective than written instructions\(^ {56}\). After all, he had struggled with interpreting Playford’s instructions into living dance.

How do these performances compare with what we know of traditional performances of country dances and morris dances? Sharp believed that, ‘although the country dance originated with the unlettered classes it has not always been their exclusive possession’.\(^ {57}\) In a certain way, he was right. The term ‘country dance’ had been used to describe types of dancing ranging in social context from the barn and kitchen to the fashionable assembly rooms of spa towns sometimes to the royal court itself. It is to be remembered that higher social ranks have in various societies made play by dressing down and affecting rustic behaviour, to act somewhat outside the norms of
polite society, an elite form of the carnivalesque. The country dance, danced by elite groups, has something of this quality.

We can make a helpful comparison with language here. The same language, English, was spoken in different contexts, farms, assembly rooms and courts. Yet if we suggest that the English spoken in the assembly room was the same as that spoken on the farm we gain some idea of how empty is such a notion of sameness. Differences of vocabulary, syntax, accent and grammar are readily apparent and act as markers of social difference. If the novels of Jane Austin indicate one social milieu for country dance, then descriptions of dancing booths at fairs and rural merry-makings inform us of quite another.

Mary Neal, Sharp’s rival, had a particular contemporary view of what Sharp achieved with his dancers: ‘The atmosphere, the movements, the general style of the dancing is not that inspired by the peasant mind, the uncultured, unlettered artist of the field; it is rather the adaptation of this by the cultured musician’.58 Writing in the 1980s, Douglas Kennedy, a supporter who succeeded Sharp as the leader of the folk dance movement, felt that Sharp’s interpretations of the seventeenth and eighteenth century published dances were ‘founded on the country dances he had “collected” in the country’ (Kennedy’s inverted commas). He reported that in the 1930s Mary Neal told him ‘that she was sure the EFDS style was our [that is Sharp’s, Kennedy’s and the EFDS’s] invention’.59

Some recent writers have pushed this line even further. Georgina Boyes concludes that ‘… the Folk Revival opened up a liberating, broader field of physical expression to
I think it is telling that contemporaries, with an alternative vision of what the folk dance revival could be, made similar points.

Sharp articulated something like a social-cultural analysis of the process of revivalism, saying publicly at Stratford-upon-Avon that he had but one aim: ‘to ensure the transference of the songs and dances from one class to the other without hurt or harm’. The audience cheered him for this. In *The Country Dance Book II*, he even articulated a class theory of what he perceived as the decline of the country dance:

> During this same period [the early eighteenth century], too, the Country Dance of the village green, the farmhouse, and the dancing booths of the annual fairs, was slowly invading the parlours and drawing-rooms of the wealthy, competing in attractiveness with the Minuets, Courantes, Gavottes, and rapidly gaining favour with the upper classes. It is, no doubt, true that the dance had never been the exclusive preserve of any one class; but in the early days of its history, it was regarded by the educated less as a rival than an agreeable alternative, a refreshing contrast to the more formal and conventional dance of polite society. So long as the Country Dance was so regarded, it suffered little or no injury by transference from cottage to castle; but when, as time went on, it challenged, on its own merits, the supremacy of the drawing-room dances, the dance was at once subjected to an enervating influence which, paralysing its powers of resistance, ultimately led to its corruption. The decline was hastened when, as was inevitable, it attracted the notice, and fell into the hands of, the professional dancing master. He sought to embroider upon it the fashionable steps of the day, to stifle it with the artificial graces and genteel posings of the drawing room until, in a short
time, of the freshness, spontaneity, and "gay simplicity" of the people's dance very little remained.\(^6\)

In tune with the romantic ideology he espoused, we see here a notion of peasant vigour corrupted by fashion and artificiality. Sharp's imagined history may have little empirical evidence to back it, but quite clearly he held notions of class differences in dancing style.

Some popular ballad material dating from the early eighteenth century points to there having been considerable stylistic differences in dances performed by different social groups in different social contexts. E P Thompson drew our attention to the eighteenth century distinction articulated by Henry Fielding between 'the people of fashion' and ‘the people of no fashion’. Forms of 'country dance' were practiced by both: the fashionable at 'courts, assemblies…balls &c', the low people at 'hops, fairs, revels &c'.\(^6\) In ‘A Ballad of the Courtier and the Country Clown’, a series of partly comic oppositions is presented, including dress, language and recreations which express differences between the court and the country:

Your Masques are made for Knights and Lords
And Ladies that go fine and gay;
We Dance to such Musick the Bag-pipe affords
And trick up our Lasses as well as we may.

...

You Dance Courants and the \textit{French} Braul
We Jig the Morris upon the \textit{Green},
And we make as good sport in a Country-Hall
As you do before the King and the Queen\(^6\)

The song 'Joan to the May-Pole' is even more explicit about the differences between elite and rustic dancing:
Lately I went to a Masque at Court,
Where I see Dances of ev'ry sort;
There they did Dance with Time and Measure,
But none like Country Dance for Pleasure;
There they did Dance, just as in France
Not like the English lofty manner;
And every She must furnished be
With a feather'd knack, when she sweats, for to fan her.

But we, when we Dance, and do happen to sweat
Have a Napkin in hand for to wipe off the wet;
And we with our dances do jigg it about,
Not like the Court, which often are out;
If the Tabour do play, we thump it away 65

Such songs produced, one infers, for a largely urban and literate public, play on images of silly rustics; but it is interesting that differences in dancing style are noticed.
The images of the non-fashionable country dance they suggest are not exactly 'Vigour under control'.

Sharp’s view of the morris dance was that it ‘may very likely have been an elaborate quasi-religious ceremony’. He asserted that the qualities it derived from its ceremonial origins had never been lost. ‘As practiced today it is, as throughout its history it always has been, a formal, official dance, performed only on certain days in each year, such as Whitsun-week, the annual club feast, wake or fair-day.’

Sharp’s romanticization hit new heights when he likened morris men to guild members. ‘The village Morris-men, moreover, are few in number, especially chosen and trained, and form a close society or guild of professional performers. Admission into their ranks is formal and conditioned.’ There was much use of the word ‘guild’ in Sharp’s time, invoking a link with an idealized medieval society.
There is a great irony in Sharp’s revival of morris dancing as a tool in national cultural regeneration. The decline of Cotswold morris dancing, in the second half of the nineteenth century, had been associated with what Chandler described as ‘the unwillingness of young men who remained in the area to become associated with a cultural form increasingly at odds with acceptable social behaviour’. Chandler gives plentiful evidence as to why this was the case.  

Having documented the carnivalesque and sometimes-unruly character of much morris dancing prior to its decline in the later nineteenth century, Chandler sums up the character of the revival in this way:

After two-and-a-half centuries of recurrent, often annual activity, by 1900 morris dancing as a performing art was defunct in all but a handful of South Midland communities. When it surfaced less than a decade later, respectability had finally triumphed. But this revival was fraught with contradictions. Contextually it had become an altogether different phenomenon, practised across the nation in colleges and schools as a middle-class pursuit, by persons whose sensibilities would have been ruffled by the rough and tumble habits of the old Dancers of the South Midlands. In form and content, it represented the ultimate triumph of ‘antiquity’ over actuality. 

In order for the revived dance forms to fulfil the role that Sharp placed upon them, their performance needed to be policed. What was perceived as good practice had to be encouraged and poor practice improved and brought in to line. It is in this area that
Sharp's inspection notebooks offer a crucial source for our understanding of the man and his work.

**Sharp's Inspection Notebooks**

If *Folk-Dancing in Schools* is a sort of public manifesto about what should be done to establish folk dance in the education system and why it should be there, and if the Kinora films were intended to be a public demonstration of the thing itself, then Sharp's inspection notebooks are of a different order. They are essentially personal documents, aide-memoirs of visits made and performances seen. It is true that from them Sharp had to write general reports for the Board of Education on the standard of dancing and dance instruction in the teacher training colleges, but such reports were not reproductions of his field notes. We both expect and get a candour from these notes that is not present in more public declarations. Sharp is, after all, looking at where his work has gone once he has let it loose upon the world, its misinterpretations as well as good practice. At times, he sees dancing he does not like, including performances influenced by his rival, Mary Neal.

The entries in the notebooks generally take the same form. Sharp records the time he arrives. He notes his observations on the dancing he sees and any singing he hears students perform. He often does some practical dance instruction and he usually gives a talk about folk dance. He interviews some key staff, often the dance instructor and the principal of the college, usually recording comments about their attitudes and reactions. He usually comments on his lunch and refreshments and states the time he leaves.
In the course of observing dancing, he makes negative and positive comments about what he sees. A great deal of what Sharp saw he did not like, but he enthusiastically welcomed what did please him. The language of his comments is of particular interest as Sharp is recording his honest and personal reactions to the dancing. We can be sure that these notebooks are for his eyes only because of the nature of the documents, their origin and purpose. An analysis of the descriptive terms he uses, read in conjunction with his published words and the Kinora films can get us as close to understanding his thoughts and feelings about folk dance, as an educational medium, as it is possible to get four fifths of a century after his notebooks were written.

It is possible to categorise his comments into positive and negative terms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative terms</th>
<th>Positive terms</th>
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<tr>
<td>affectation(s)</td>
<td>no affectation/ free</td>
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<td>attituding</td>
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<td>afraid to give themselves</td>
<td>accurate</td>
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<td>away</td>
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<td>bent knees</td>
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<td>life and artistry</td>
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<td>ducking of heads</td>
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<td>wholesome</td>
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lack of co-ordination with music
lacked grounding in fundamentals
lacking in dance and care
lacking in phrasing
lacking spring and life
leggyness
little aesthetic appreciation
little or no idea of dance
kicking up heels
matter of fact
mild
mincing steps
no rhythm
not enough attention paid to the music
not greatly influenced by the music
not jolly enough
not much dance in any of it
straight up and drilled unmusically and in too drilled a manner
usual faults
very dull and ragged
very feeble
very gymnastic
want of more practice and time
weak in crucial movements and in dancing
without much finish or neatness of movement
without any spirit or go wrong

Here are some comments, in context, to give a less fragmented view of the way Sharp wrote:

Saw Brighton Camp - very rough and rowdily performed...The dancing was really very good at bottom but lacking in any evenness, or repose or phrasing.\(^7\)

Dancing very correct, good technique, absolutely perfect, dull - indeed the whole thing was like a machine - never seen anything like it...\(^7\)
They danced very well but too smartly and too militarily and with little aesthetic appreciation. Corrected one of the minor technical faults and then tried to get them to dance it more quietly and hide their cleverness.  

I found the usual physical faults, [i.e. they had been taught by a physical training teacher] formal arms, leggyness...and a complete lack of artistry. Technique rather slovenly.

Country dances...done with every imaginable ogling and attituding...and fancy steps, quite the worst I have yet seen because so deliberately and carefully taught.

...all very good, thoroughly wholesome and free from affectation - not very finished dancing of course... 

Saw Peascods thoroughly badly done - not a single spring from beginning to end; thoroughly genteel crawling, slimy and unpleasant,

The set then to do Rufty Tufty which they did thoroughly badly, the worst dancer of the lot being Miss Parkinson (Chelsea)! 

Perfectly done from a technical point of view but all too athletic and matter of fact...
Both negative and positive comments encapsulate Sharp’s vision. It is possible to see something of the structure of Sharp’s thought by analysing the comments, their structure and logic.

Sharp’s thought can be categorised around four central ideas: ‘accuracy’, ‘aestheticism’, ‘healthiness’ and less clearly ‘straightforwardness’. I am not saying that these are the only possible ways to relate the ideas and there are obviously some ambiguities and areas of uncertainty. I do feel, however, such a grouping is in line with Sharp’s public writings and assists our understanding of other evidence. We can best understand Sharp’s position as a sort of middle way between two poles, deficiency and excess. I will consider the four central notions which, I feel, are present in Sharp’s ideal of how traditional dance should be performed.

**Aestheticism.** Sharp believed that folk dance was an art form, a point he makes clear in much of his writing. He was very concerned that folk dance taught by PE teachers who lacked musicality, would go badly wrong and one area of difference between him and Mary Neal was that he did not feel that her approach stressed the aesthetic aspect of folk dance sufficiently. Sharp was primarily a musician acculturated in the Western classical tradition. He was a rebel, wanting to help found a nationalistic school of composition based on the collection of folk music, nevertheless, he accepted as axiomatic many of the assumptions of the Western classical tradition.
Aspects of musicality that related to dance were of prime importance to Sharp. Dancers who paid insufficient attention to, or could not co-ordinate with the music, or could not phrase properly were criticised. On the other hand, dancers who were ‘too straight up and drilled’ or ‘stiff and military’ or ‘very gymnastic’ were equally decried. Sharp’s ideal centred on ideas of the artistic and the musical, and dancers were praised who demonstrated ‘phrasing and understanding’.

**Accuracy.** If aestheticism was a central value in Sharp’s ideas, then accuracy was almost its equal. Much as his theory of folk song had stressed variation and selection, yet he seemed to think there was an absolutely right way to do each dance. That which he did not like, he would describe as degenerate (a term resonant from the discourse of eugenics). He described the Ilmington dancers Mary Neal brought to London as ‘uncouth as well as untraditional, and it will be most mischievous for them to be presented to the public as typical of the genuine dancers’.⁸¹

Sharp had a wider range of critical invective related to inaccuracy than any other area. On one level these related to simple incompetence, lack of knowledge and experience, e.g. ‘not sure of the figures’, ‘want of more practice and time’; on another the problem seems to relate to poor teaching: ‘lacked grounding in fundamentals’, ‘technique rather slovenly’ and ‘weak in crucial movements and in dancing’. Perhaps also related to what Sharp perceived as poor teaching are what can be best describe as misuse of body parts: ‘bent knees’, ‘kicking up heels’, ‘pointing toes’, ‘raising knees’, ‘ducking of heads’, ‘formal arms’. Clearly, such
actions did not fit within his perceptions of the proper ways to do the country
dancing. A term he uses repeatedly and which we have some difficulty in
understanding is ‘crawling’. He writes of a ‘crawling step’, ‘gentle crawling’ and ‘the
step was the worst crawl I had ever seen’. I feel it is most likely to refer to what is
perceived as poorly articulated or lazy dancing. Another group of words relate to
Finally there are those words which relate to a sense of properness or neatness:
‘crudely done’, ‘untidy’, and ‘without much finish or neatness of movement’. As Roy
Judge concluded, ‘Sharp’s vision focused upon accuracy’.\(^{82}\)

In terms of excess related to accuracy, we clearly enter a field that also relates to
aesthetics. It is valid to ask whether one can have an excess of accuracy.
Nevertheless such terms as ‘fancy steps’, ‘too fast’, ‘too militarily’ and ‘too smartly’
might indicate that such a category is a reasonable conjecture.

**Healthiness, naturalness and unselfconsciousness.** A complex of ideas related
to healthiness, wholesomeness, liveliness, strength and unselfconsciousness was
present in Sharp’s thought about folk dance. Some poor dancing was described as
‘reserved’, ‘mild’, ‘very demure’, ‘frightened’ and ‘dull’. Dancers who seemed
unwilling to commit themselves fully could be described as ‘afraid to give
themselves’ and ‘divorced of spirit and go’. Excess seems outweighed by deficiency
in this area, but I think it is possible to detect excess in such terms as ‘too athletic’,
‘very gymnastic’ and the wonderful ‘slimy and unpleasant’. 
Sharp never seems to question the notion that the trainee teachers he saw ought to be able to dance and that it is a good thing that they did dance. He sometimes comes across members of staff, in the training establishments, who are indifferent or opposed to folk dance, preferring other forms of physical activity including his *bête noire*, Swedish drill. Given that many of the trainees he saw were in religious establishments and often came from ‘respectable’ working class backgrounds; they may not have been comfortable exhibiting themselves in dance. Even when dancers are of the same gender, there are, inevitably, sexual elements to dance, for dance is the body on display in movement. I think it is in this area of the social attitudes of students and lecturers that one must seek for an explanation of his reports of dancers ‘afraid to give themselves’.

In Sharp’s thought, freedom from the excess of affectation is a key idea. Folk dancing should be straightforward, there was no need to add affectations that simply detracted from the dancing and introduced unwanted elements. It should not however be ‘too matter of fact’ or ‘indifferent’, straightforwardness was compatible with ‘spring and life’ and the dancers should demonstrate commitment and engagement.

The inspection notebooks represent the personal, if sometimes cryptic, thoughts of Sharp on the folk dance performances he saw. They illustrate his thinking and his values. They show him as a man of his times tuned into, and attempting to address, some of the key issues that faced educationalists in the first quarter of the twentieth century. They demonstrate both authoritarian and progressive elements of his character. Above all, Sharp’s articulated thoughts express a notion of how human
beings ought to be in the world. He at once believes in accuracy and artistry, in jolliness and control, in an art form that has the capacity to teach ‘many useful lessons’.

Ultimately, we can only get a fuller sense of what Sharp means by his educational propaganda, his dance teaching and his somewhat gnomic inspection notebooks, by knowing what he has set himself against. In a number of passages Sharp declares himself against cosmopolitanism. His ideas are most fully revealed in a passage from *The Dance: An Historical Survey of Dancing in Europe* which was written with A P Oppé, an art historian and Principal Assistant Secretary of the Board of Education 1905-38, and published in the year of Sharp’s death, 1924. I will quote it at length to give the passage its full force. Sharp and Oppé are here describing changes in dance styles in the twentieth century:

Hitherto, European dancers had looked to their own folk-dances for fresh material; now, and for the first time, their eyes were turned to America. The first dance to challenge the Waltz was the Turkey-trot, now known as the one-step, hailing from San Francisco; then came a South American dance, the Argentine Tango, first to Paris and later to England, but this, owing to its executive difficulties and the bizarre, theatrical character of some of its movements never succeeded in establishing itself in Europe, although it left its mark on subsequent developments. The Boston-Waltz was the third dance, also from the American Continent, and this together with the One-Step and the
Tango are the basic forms from which the many varieties of drawing-room dances have been derived...³⁶

These dances, popularly and collectively known as Jazz, came to us heavily charged with negroid characteristics, presumably contracted in the Southern States of North America, and associated with a very distinctive type of syncopated, or ragtime music. The sawing movements of the arms, the restless, vibratory shakings of the shoulders and the close embrace, the merciless tom-tom rhythm and the clatter of the music, all of which may be traced to negro influence, have since been considerably modified, and dancers now effect a far more restrained and dignified style than that which characterised the dance in its earlier form. Had it not been for the unsettlement of mind, manners and habits, which followed in the train of the Great War, and the fact that at the moment this was the only available dance with which to satisfy the craze for dancing, which set in after the Armistice, it is permissible to doubt whether a dance of so inferior, and in its early forms so objectionable a type, would have gained a foothold in this country. Truth to tell, there is but little to be advanced in its favour and much that can be charged against it. Looking back over the long series of social dances, from the fourteenth-century Basse-dances to the nineteenth century Waltzes and Quadrilles, one can but marvel what the Jazz has to do in such company. It is, moreover, the only dance of the series associated with music other than of the first order.³⁶
In some ways this builds on what Colls has called ‘a deep reservoir of nativism, officially endorsed’ but the shift in Sharp’s thinking from an English romantic nationalism to a more European perspective is notable. It is interesting that Sharp and Oppé go on to discuss the recent ‘remarkable’ revival of folk-dancing in Scandinavia and Germany as well as Britain. ‘The variety, the artistic wealth, the beauty of the dances and their tunes, and the high technical development that many of them display, have come as a revelation to the present generation.’

The beauty of the native and other European dances and their tunes is contrasted with the previous paragraph’s grotesque movements and the clattering music that are the result of ‘negro influence’. The idea that revived folk culture was a bulwark against what was perceived as the inferiority of commercially provided popular music is a common one among folk revivalists of the period. Sharp’s aim was the rebuilding of a native dance culture based on his recovery of the tradition of morris, sword and social dancing. He believed that the second half of the seventeenth century was ‘the moment when the dance was at its apex of development’, that is the earlier period of John Playford’s *The Dancing Master*. Sharp had busied himself working on Playford’s collection, interpreting the dances according to his ideas. In part, Sharp’s ideas derived from his experience of traditional dance and in part were an expression of his own social ideals and beliefs. He passed on the results of his work to teachers, children and adults who were inclined to take part in the folk dance revival.

**Conclusion**
The study of artistic movements of the past is difficult. We can read words of past controversies but those words resonate differently to us than they did to their original readers. It is easy for us to miss the points made or to place too much emphasis on relatively unimportant things. Considering different types of evidence takes us closer to a better understanding even if a full understand escapes us.

The consonances found between the three forms of evidence discussed in this essay resonated with wider educational and social issues in England in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Allison Thompson accurately concluded that ‘one reason for Sharp’s own success in controlling and expanding the English Folk Dance Society was that he tapped into the general sensibilities of the Edwardian period’. 90

Taking a wider view, the folk dance movement, and the folk revival generally, can be interpreted as a response to a series of social and cultural crises, a reaction to problems of modernity including urbanisation, the commercialisation of culture, problems of public behaviour and war. The revivalists felt they could pour balm on the problems of the present, could make life in England better through ‘the cheerful and sociable art of folk-dancing’, 91 somehow in tune with itself because what was being saved from extinction and revived were authentic products of the race.

Sharp’s relative success was because he was able to present folk dance in terms of addressing pressing social and educational concerns of his day. It is significant that he did so by a process of putting the movement firmly under middle class (male) control and making sure folk dance ‘expressed’ middle class aspirations and values. It is also significant that this was done mainly by rejecting the idea of direct learning
from traditional performers, who might be performing a ‘degenerate’ tradition’, in favour of ‘safe’ teachers, i.e. those trained by Sharp. The activities of Sharp and his followers were legitimated by a claim to tradition and that tradition was interpreted as a product of the race. It is also clear that Sharp saw the music of the folk dances as of the first order, a healthy antidote, an aesthetic alternative to contemporary popular music with its ‘negro influence’. Folk dance was perceived as an antidote to commercialised popular music, as increasingly the public’s ‘eyes were turned to America’. The ghost of the racial other stalks the seemingly innocent world of revived country dancing on the village green. In the short term, Sharp’s revival of folk dance had considerable local success and, as a minority pursuit, continues to do so. It proved no match, however, for public enthusiasm for music and dance ‘heavily charged with negroid characteristics’. 92

4 Sir Steuart Wilson, ‘Cecil Sharp: A Man of Zeal’ The Musical Times 100, 1401, (Nov 1959) p.584
5 Cecil Sharp, English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions (London: Simpkin, 1907).p.129
6 Ibid. p.132
7 Ibid. p. 132
8 Ibid. p. 133

9 Ibid. pp.133-134


13 Exceptions here are: Derek Schofield, “‘Revival of the Folk Dance: An Artistic Movement”: The Background to the Founding of the English Folk Dance Society in


15 *Kinora Reels* 933, 934, 935, 937, 939 (Garland Films, Sheffield, 1983).


17 Fox Strangways, *Sharp*, p. 28.


31 Astbury, ‘School of Folk-Song and Dance’, p.197.


34 London, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, Cecil J Sharp MSS. Correspondence, Kidson to Sharp 29th December 1910

35 Sharp, *Folk-Dancing in Schools*, p.3.

36 Sharp, *Folk-Dancing in Schools*, p.4.


38 Sharp, *Folk-Dancing in Schools*, p. 5.


42 Sharp, *Folk-Dancing in Schools*, p.10.
There are later films of traditional Morris dance teams but nothing from the pre-
First World War period, Kimber continued to dance and play for many years after
Sharp’s death, but as the regular dancer for Sharp’s lectures from 1909 he would
always defer to Sharp’s views on matters of accuracy. See William Kimber,
Absolutely Classic: The Music of William Kimber (London: EFDSS, 1999), CD. and
booklet and Dan M Worrall, The Anglo Concertina Music of William Kimber (London:
EFDSS, 2005).

Interestingly he did not like the Edison phonograph for song collecting although
arguments were made for its use by Percy Grainger; see Percy Grainger,
"Collecting with the Phonograph," Journal of the Folk Song Society 3 (1908).


58 Quoted in, Judge, ‘Mary Neal’, p. 569.


60 Boyes, 1993, pp. 112-113.


66 Sharp, Folk-Dancing in Schools, p. 6.


Most of the colleges Sharp visited were in provincial urban centres, some in London.

Sharp MSS, Inspection Note Books, Bristol University TC 28th February 1923.

Sharp MSS, Inspection Note Books, Culham’s Men’s College, March 9th 1923.


Sharp MSS, Inspection Note Books, Furzedown TC Streatham Hill, 22nd January 1920.

Sharp MSS, Inspection Note Books, Sheffield Municipal TC, 24th February 1920.


Sharp MSS, Inspection Note Books, Sheffield City TC, 6 October 1921.

Sharp MSS, Inspection Note Books, Lincoln TC, 7 October 1921.

Judge, ‘Mary Neal’, p. 663, Chandler, Ribbons, Bells, pp. 219-221.

Judge, ‘Mary Neal’, p. 578.

Sharp, Some Conclusions, pp. 135-136.

http://www.britac.ac.uk/fellowship/archive.asp?fellowsID=1850, British Academy Fellows Archive, consulted 10 May 2004

The term ‘drawing-room dances’ was widely used in England because of a translation of the book, La danse des salons by C Cellarius as, The Drawing Room Dances (E. Churton, London, 1847).


88 Sharp and Oppé, *The Dance*, p.32.

89 Sir Hubert Parry, ‘Inaugural Address to the Folk Song Society’, *Journal of the Folk Song Society*. 1, 1 (1899); Sharp, *Some Conclusions*, p. 137.

90 Boyes (ed.), *Step Change*, p. 167.


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