

# May Day in New Westminster, British Columbia

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I'd like to share some observations with you in regard to an interesting traditional custom that takes place every May right here in New Westminster – May Day. The city has just celebrated the 135<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its occasion, making it the longest continuously running May Day in the British Commonwealth. This fact includes May Day celebrations in England, where annual May Days were interrupted by the two World Wars. Although New Westminster's May Day is principally a matter for folklorists, it has enough dance and music elements to warrant our attention. I grant that both the music and dance do not meet the criteria of great art, lacking theory-based tonal and visual structures on which to build castles of analytical insights. However, they do contribute hugely to the colour and lifeblood of the special event and the absence of either is inconceivable. In other words, the texts (i.e., music and dance) are simple, but their con-text (i.e., context) is rich and complex. To me, the May Day in New Westminster is a harbour of long-forgotten traditions and fertile ground for the study of the ins and outs of cultural memory.

I should begin by introducing you to the confusing fact that there are two May Days in the month of May. May 1st is well known among New Age enthusiasts who follow the Celtic seasonal calendar, and among organized labour. The other May Day is Whitsuntide, fifty days (i.e., pence-cost) after Easter. Because Easter wanders around the calendar, so too does Whitsuntide, usually falling in the latter half of May and even into June some years. Because this anomaly creates havoc with the engines of industry and commerce, Whitsuntide has been

pinned to the calendar, and renamed and re-fashioned as Victoria Day in Canada and Memorial Day in the USA. England has made it most clear with its Early Spring Bank Holiday in the first weekend of May, and its Late Spring Bank Holiday in the last weekend of May. Thomas Morley explained it best in his song "Now Is the Month [not day] of Maying" (1595), which makes it clear that the entire month is given over to celebratory days of May, depending on local custom and the date of Easter.

If you happen not to be familiar with the custom of May Day I recommend viewing a recent movie entitled *Bride and Prejudice*.<sup>1</sup> The heroine, Lalita Bakshi (Aishwarya Rai), dreams about a fantasy wedding in a perfect setting with an imaginary English heart-throb, Will Darcy (Martin Henderson).<sup>2</sup> The dreamy event in the mind of the movie director<sup>3</sup> is made up of the classic clichés of English culture – the rural village, Spring time, and its time-honoured celebration, May Day<sup>4</sup>. As the bride-to-be approaches the village in gossamer slo-mo, we see the Maypole with its attending children dancing around it, and, nearby, morris dancers.<sup>5</sup> The children hold ribbons attached to the Maypole, skipping around the pole in order to entwine it with the ribbons, as is the custom. Or so it is said. This practice is called plaiting the Maypole and it results in somewhat the same effect as a barber pole, except that the multitude of coloured ribbons represent the flowers of Spring, and not the red and white stripes signalling the blood-soaked bandages resulting from the blood-letting therapy of the barber.

My introduction to May Day, its Maypole, and its music and dance, came several years after 1986, the year I became a member of a morris dance team. In 1990 I had learned that the tradition of morris dancing climaxed on May Day, when morris teams around the world celebrated the day by dancing at sunrise in a remote park setting. By 'May Day' I am referring to the first day of May, allegedly a day sacred to the Celts, who called it Beltane. This slight fact will become relevant later in this paper. An example which happens to come from the Toronto morris community is described in detail in the excellent educational resource entitled *Let's Celebrate: Canada's Special Days*, by Caroline Perry.<sup>6</sup> In Vancouver, the Vancouver Morris Men also decided to 'dance up the sun' in a park adjacent to Stanley Park, following the custom that had been

widely accepted throughout the worldwide community.<sup>7</sup>

As I learned more about the modern-day custom that year I decided to coordinate a full-blown May Day celebration in 1991, but with all the bells and whistles, in addition to morris dancing. I used the template of many morris dance teams in North America, Australia, New Zealand and even England, but with some adjustments I felt were more authentic. We used a local park<sup>8</sup> that overlooked English Bay in Vancouver. I solicited the help of a female friend to be a May Queen, who dressed in an appropriate white dress in the style of Laura Ashley. We arrived before sunrise at 6 a.m. and danced in the dewy grass as the sun edged its way over Mount Seymour to the East. Fortunately it wasn't raining, a minor miracle given that Vancouver is situated in the infamous Northwest Coast Rain Forest. In later years we sometimes danced in the drenching downpour and never saw the sun. We sang songs that extolled May Day, mostly lifted from the Watsons' highly influential 1965 LP, *Frost and Fire*. And of course we hoisted a Maypole. I had learned that Maypole plaiting was an invention founded in 1881 by the famous Victorian art critic and social philosopher John Ruskin, who had been an instructor at Whitelands teacher training college in England, so I opted for ribbons flying from the top like a wind sock, following Thomas Hardy<sup>9</sup>. As the sun hoisted itself well into the morning sky, and we did our last dance, we adjourned to a coffee shop for breakfast, safe in the knowledge that we had encouraged the sun and Spring to well and truly begin. After a quick change of clothes, we went off to our various work places. During those first years we had no audience, except the occasional jogger. Perhaps I should quickly add that we did not for a moment believe that we were actually performing ritual magic, only that we were going through the motions in a silent acknowledgement and appreciation of Mother Nature.

The ideology of the event was ritual in tone, coloured by New Age philosophy, or so it seemed to me. For example, the dance is said to encourage the sun to struggle beyond its halfway point, Spring equinox, and bring about the growing season. The jingle bells on the legs of the morris dancers awake the seeds of the earth. Morris dancing men were said to bring fertility to the earth by their dancing, and fertility to women if they were kissed. This was an understanding and cant that I had inherited from the veterans of the Vancouver Morris Men, and from many other morris dancers whom I had met and read on the World Wide Web. Some morris dancers would probably beg to differ, claiming that there as many ideologies in May morning morris dance as there are dancers. But the public face of May Day and morris

dance was fairly uniform in its dedication to a neo-pagan interpretation, whether as a joke or in all seriousness, or both.

The Maypole is a central symbol in this alleged pagan ritual. The root of this modern-day belief traces itself back to the theories of Sir James Frazer (1854–1941), who had been a major voice in the latter half of the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> He interpreted Maypoles as a symbol of the tree spirit which had been venerated since ancient times. In truth, trees do figure in the pantheism of various religions around the world.<sup>11</sup> His problem, however, was that none of the English people in the working classes who were actively engaged in the celebrations involving the Maypole, including song and dance, claimed such a role for the Maypole.

Other commentators, following the example of Freud, saw the Maypole as a phallus, adding fertility to its symbolism.<sup>12</sup> Even though there is no empirical evidence to support either of these interpretations, they have become the accepted ones. As Georgina Boyes describes in her book *The Imagined Village* (Manchester University Press, 1993), the folk were unable to articulate or even appreciate the vestiges of their own, long-forgotten pagan roots, so it fell to the intelligentsia to do the job for them.

The Vancouver morris community has 'danced up the sun' every May 1<sup>st</sup> since 1991. It is proud of its May Day history stretching back over 10 years, although there are teams in England, the New Worlds of North America, Australia and New Zealand that claim to have observed May Day morn since the early 1970s.

So, imagine my surprise and confusion when I learned in 1995 that not one, but dozens of Maypoles were raised and 'danced' in the nearby city of New Westminster. Further, they had been raised and celebrated with dance and music for over one hundred years! I was incredulous. Not only that, the celebrants were children, not morris dancing adults, and their May Day celebrations took place in the afternoon, not the crack of dawn. The date for their Maypole activities was the third week of May nearest the Victoria Day long weekend, not the Celtic Beltane first of May.<sup>13</sup> If there was any Freudian interpretation or neo-pagan reverberations in the minds of the coordinators or parents who watched their children in delight, it was inconsequential and certainly not announced as such. Most significantly for me, there was no morris dancing to be seen – only social dances and choreographies around the Maypole. There were far more female than male dancers, which ran completely counter to the received wisdom of male fertility dancers in the guise of morris men. If a ritual was involved, it was more the ritual of a school outing that demands hyper-

organisation and coordination of children half crazy with excitement and delight. There was no sense of mature reverence and quiet pleasure in the silent workings of the sun and its increasing warmth.

One of my first forays into this topsy-turvy discovery was in 2002, when I attended a sunny afternoon May Day celebration in Queen's Park Stadium in New Westminster. I was in the company of about three hundred parents on bleachers on the north side, and some one thousand screaming grade school children in the east bleachers. After a fanfare played by a local high school, a procession made its way across the grass, heading to a large stage in the middle of the field. It comprised the May Queen and her escort, her maidservants, children, gentlemen, and an assorted band of beaming adults who represented the city, the school board, etc. I cast my mind back to the early morning May Days of the Vancouver Morris Men, witnessed by an old man and his dog and a few early morning joggers, amounting to no more than twenty or so adults. Before the stage stood about a dozen maypoles, circled by children, mostly girls in tidy white dresses. Before the 'dressing' of the poles, they performed folk dances, which were English Country Dances. Then four Maypole dances were accompanied by a Yamaha DX keyboard sounding for all the world like a Hammond B-3 Organ. The retired gentleman at the keyboard played jigs, reels, and slow marches, while the young people plaited and unplaited the poles in a variety of elaborate and complex weaves. The highlight of the social dancing portion of the program was a quadrille performed by gentlemen in their seventies and eighties who called themselves the Royal Lancers, in company with the May bridesmaids. This was followed by a few speeches, and then the fun truly began for the children. The rest of the day was given over to foot races, the well-known Sports Day in other school districts which had dispensed with the preceding May Day ritual. The children in the bleachers cheered and screamed for their school's representative in one race after another.

I spoke with a mother seated near me who was very proud of her daughter's participation. She told me that her child was the fourth generation in her family to do so. I later learned that the entire day has been in the stewardship of the elementary school system for decades. A large and aging folder is yearly passed from one elementary school principal to another within a circle of about twelve teacher administrators. The package contains bullet-proof directions and contacts for organizing the day with a minimum of effort and disaster. It also contains the music and the dance instructions. My next research project is to investigate the package, and I fully

expect to find surprises and delights that are pedestrian and commonplace to their regular users.

After the children tumbled back into their yellow buses, I marched down the street and headed to the Irving House Museum, named after a Fraser River paddlewheel steamship captain who had built himself a magnificent Queen Anne house overlooking the river. His house had been converted into a city archive and museum, and an alcove has been set aside within it, where the entire history of May Day has been meticulously documented and cherished items placed on display. What struck me about the display was not so much the content and arrangement as the fact that I had never seen or heard about a similar display anywhere else in Canada. A number of email queries to the museum in Victoria, BC, the St. George Society in Toronto and elsewhere confirmed this impression. Another walking excursion found me in the public library watching a VHS video produced by Archie Miller, one of the foremost historians of the area. He chronicled the history of New Westminster's May Day for their centennial celebration. A book has been published just this year, the first of its kind, entitled *Royal City: a photographic history of New Westminster, 1858-1960* (Surrey, BC: Heritage Press, 2005) which touches on the subject of New Westminster's May Day in the context of the city's history.

The common understanding in the community is that New Westminster's Maypole dancing and music was introduced by J.T. Scott and others in 1870, but unfortunately we have only an extremely sketchy biography to satisfy our curiosity on a number of points. However, we have a photo of the first May Day in 1877, held on the cricket grounds, and it has enough clues to suggest that dancing was involved. One can see the New Westminster Firemen's brass band at the ready, and a circle of gaily clad girls assembled near the Maypole, complete with a crown to signify its royal overtone. The photo is posed, as is standard for the time, so unfortunately we do not actually see them dancing around the pole. Neither do we know about the music.

All research trails for May Day music and dance in New Westminster ultimately lead to Beatrice Cave-Brown-Cave, an English émigré who arrived in New Westminster in 1913. She is a much-loved pioneer in the city and everybody who has crossed her path speaks highly of her. She lived till the grand old age of 104 and was honoured at the May Day ceremonies in 1983, at the age of 100. This honour was bestowed on her because she introduced English folk dances to the May Day ceremonies back in 1915. What particularly grabbed my attention is her record as one of the early graduates of the English Folk Dance Society founded by Cecil Sharp in England in

1911. She would have been in its fourth graduation class, or perhaps even earlier. Sharp had only recently found morris dance and social dance in the English outback, first in 1899, and then more systematically in 1907. A graduate of his school was required to be proficient at morris dances and country dances, as judged by Sharp and his associates. Sharp's concern at the time was flawless execution while maintaining an air of studied pleasure. "The true morris man is serious of countenance, yet gay of heart, vigorous yet restrained, a strong man rejoicing in his strength, yet graceful, controlled, and perfectly dignified withal". This is a statement one would expect of an Edwardian gentleman, and it would apply equally to sports as well. The odd situation in this description of male morris dance proficiency is that all of Sharp's graduates were women, most coming from the Chelsea Physical Training College.

Ms. (never Mrs.) "B" introduced Sharp's English Country Dances to the city's May Day, but not morris dance, presumably because Sharp never recommended it. She would have been keenly aware of morris dance because it was a requirement for certification as an English folk dance instructor by Sharp or his associates. She ran a folk dance studio with her sister, and taught morris dance presentations for multicultural festivals like Dances from Around the World, so she certainly did not neglect morris dance. That would help to explain the lack of morris dancing in New Westminster's May Day, but it does not contribute to our understanding of the origins of the Maypole plaiting dances. Dances for the purposes of plaiting the May Poles are not part of Sharp's legacy.

Another candidate for the source of Maypole music and dance in New Westminster is the American Elizabeth Burchenal (1877-1959).<sup>14</sup> She was a New Yorker who became deeply involved in a movement that concentrated on physical education for women, and for children in the form of playground activities. Rather than adapt male sports for women she created a physical culture based on folk dance. In 1905 she was hired to develop a physical training program in New York called the Girls' Branch. Three years earlier Ms. Burchenal had toured Western Europe and Great Britain, researching folk dances, just a couple of years after Sharp's discovery of morris dance and social country dance. Unfortunately we have no information about the details of her dance studies in England but she most certainly saw Maypole plaiting dances, because they figured largely in her adaptations for New York in 1910. Like another great morris dance pioneer, the English social activist Mary Neal, she concentrated her efforts on physical education for the disadvantaged, principally among the new

immigrants. Her efforts had a lasting effect in two areas. Her gender-specific Maypole dancing was adopted by the Seven Sisters Women's colleges, especially Vassar, in the twenties and thirties. They grafted the myth-making and free-form dance of Isadora Duncan onto their May Day dancers, resulting in ranks of miniature Greek goddesses marching and skipping around Maypoles in perfect formation. Another of her lasting legacies is the International Folk Dance craze that was huge throughout North America. There is even an International Folk Dance club here in Vancouver.

Unfortunately we have no record of the influence of Ms. Burchenal in New Westminster. Moreover, her forays into deepest, darkest England did not occur until 1902, well after the 1877 photograph of New Westminster Maypole dancers. Nevertheless, there are several recognisable elements of her adaptation, such as the white, sylphlike costumes of the May Queen and her entourage, which give one pause to consider the possibility. Further research in her folk-dance books of 1909, 1918, 1942 and later may reveal Maypole dance melodies that are found in the New Westminster school collection.

If we must look earlier than Cave-Brown-Cave and Burchenal for the roots of New Westminster's May Day and its music and dances, where do we arrive? We find ourselves in the midst of the Merrie England movement, with romantics like Sir Walter Scott leading the way *circa* 1808. This was a romantic and nostalgic throwback by the upper and middle classes in Victorian England, who envisioned the activities of the alleged folk of the English Renaissance as bucolic and carefree. The actual folk, or to put it another way, the rural population, in Victorian England still celebrated their May Day, but their efforts were perceived by the intelligentsia as corrupted when compared to the imaginary good old days. Thanks to the efforts of the Rational Recreation movement, the people's customs were purged of their rowdy nature and placed in the hands of educators, dancing masters, and stage choreographers, who presented a wholesome version acceptable for children to enact<sup>15</sup>. One of the culminating forces in the efforts to re-enact May Day was the inauguration of the first 'official' May Day celebration with the help of children, theatre coordinators, and school educators in the village of Knutsford in 1864. No doubt it was one of several that were occurring throughout England, but Knutsford's founding date makes it the first officially recognized Merrie England May Day.

The kind of dances which facilitate plaiting the Maypoles were set to appropriate music by Emily Hughes and published by Curwen (1898, 1907).<sup>16</sup> This initiative may have originated with John Ruskin,

the famous art critic and cultural animator mentioned earlier. It was he who developed the practice of Maypole plaiting in a school setting, but his idea was not original. Plaited Maypoles had already been used in theatrical productions that featured happy peasants in the midst of springtime frolics. This idea, complete with a Maypole, is readily seen in the ballet *La Fille mal gardée* mounted in Bordeaux in 1789 and reconstructed by Frederick Ashton in England in 1960. However, take note that the dates of the Curwen publication and Ruskin's initiative follow, rather than precede, the New Westminster date of 1877.

Perhaps J.T. Scott saw something resembling a Merrie England May Day pageant in England in the 1850s and brought his memories of it to New Westminster. As I said earlier, we will never know for certain, because we have no substantial information about Mr. Scott. What we do know is that Western Canada was settled by many educated middle-class Englishmen who left England in the late 1800s for adventure or for less auspicious reasons. I am thinking especially of the 'remittance men', the second and third sons of families who had no hope of inheritance and instead were sent off to the New World with a comfortable remittance sent to them each month. These men would have been all too familiar with the activities and motivations of the Merrie England movement among their educated peers.

The most telling evidence is one of the pieces of music used for the New Westminster May Day. It signals the coming-on of the celebrants in a grand procession and is entitled "Amo Amas", composed by a 'Dr. Arnold'. This person is likely Samuel Arnold (1740-1802), an English composer who was active at the same time as Haydn.<sup>17</sup> One of his specialities was music composed for special theatrical events in the new outdoor parks such as Vauxhall Gardens. These multimedia productions featured entertainments like May Day pageants.

As for the 'real thing', the May Day as it was celebrated at the vernacular level in England during the Victorian times and earlier, there is enough evidence to piece together a reasonable facsimile, and it does not match either the May Day of the morris dancers or the Merrie England May Days of New Westminster et al. It was essentially a rowdy festival held outdoors in a field, rather like a summer fair. It was announced by the raising of a flagpole with fresh cut flowers on its mast, in the usual 'nuts' or circular bouquets, presided over by a May Queen. It occurred in and around a day called Whitsuntide. The day was given over to dancing, sports, and booths filled with

food and games of chance. Morris dancers might be seen on the fair grounds, dancing for money. Citizens would celebrate the occasion, not by dancing around the maypole, hand in hand, but rather with social dancing resembling Country Dances and their successors.

For me, the interesting dynamic that is embedded within this convoluted story is the evolution of the custom as it twists and turns through history. We all know that nothing is more permanent than change. For me, the nature of the change is what I find interesting. It would seem that we have two conscious adaptations of a people's customs, and both of them are bowdlerized versions of the original activity. Have New Westminster and the Morris Community wandered so far away from the original template of May Day that they have become Cargo Cults of their own making? I suppose not. Each of these groups seems quite content with its interpretations. Rather than slavishly recreating the past, their hybrid customs serve the needs of their modern communities.

And what of organized labour's strident May Day? For them, the voice of the workers became paramount, so they dispensed with the festival and heightened the procession, defiantly displaying the new-found power of their class, thanks to their collective bargaining power. They looked outward to the ruling and middle classes, rather than inward to the celebration of themselves. Oddly enough, they chose May 1<sup>st</sup>, rather than the traditional late May date of Whitsuntide.

"The 1 May date is used because in 1884 the Federation of Organized Trades and Labour Unions, inspired by Labour's 1872 success in Canada, demanded an eight-hour workday in the United States, to come in effect as of May 1, 1886. This resulted in the general strike and the U.S. Haymarket Riot of 1886, but eventually also in the official sanction of the eight-hour workday. May Day is designated International Workers' Day. It is indeed a thoroughly international holiday - the United States is one of the few countries in the world where it is not an official holiday. In the 20th century, the holiday received the official endorsement of the Soviet Union; celebrations in communist countries during the Cold War era often consisted of large military parades and shows of common people in support of the government." (Wikipedia)

One will most certainly not see a maypole at an organized labour May Day, nor the frolic of a village festival. Perhaps they too have happily drifted into a Cargo Cult cul-de-sac, *née* evolutionary adaptation.

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## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> The movie is loosely based on the Jane Austen novel *Pride and Prejudice* (1813).
- <sup>2</sup> The sung text during the excerpt is:  
“Sorry Mr. Kholi, it [marriage with him] is not to be/ my heart is set on another you see  
The wandering soul I was meant to meet/ has finally come and swept me off my feet  
Now I dream of what it would be like/ to be an overseas bride dressed in white  
To have and to hold in the country/ and live in the land of her majesty.”
- <sup>3</sup> Gurinder Chadha, who also directed the very successful Anglo-Indian movie *Bend It Like Beckham* (2003).
- <sup>4</sup> Oddly enough, it is considered very unlucky in England and Canada to be wed in the month of May. See the *Oxford Dictionary of English Folklore* (edited by Jacqueline Simpson and Steve Roud), p. 382.
- <sup>5</sup> The morris dance team is Rutland Morris and the musician is Steve Tunnicliff, and they are performing a dance to the tune of “Highland Mary”. The shoot takes place in Turville, Buckinghamshire, the same location as the filming of *Chitty Chitty Bang Bang* (1968).
- <sup>6</sup> Toronto, ON: Kids Can Press, 1987, p. 131.
- <sup>7</sup> In keeping with the age of the internet, morris dancers around the world post the results of their pre-dawn celebrations on the web, beginning with New Zealand, and ending with Alaska, as the sun progresses around the world.
- <sup>8</sup> Trimble Park.
- <sup>9</sup> *The Return of the Native*, Penguin edition, page 452.
- <sup>10</sup> *The Golden Bough: a Study in Magic and Religion* (1890).
- <sup>11</sup> For example, dryads are female tree spirits found in Greek mythology.
- <sup>12</sup> <http://www.geocities.com/RainForest/Canopy/1956/maypole.html>.
- <sup>13</sup> This is likely a hold-over of the old day of recognition, if not holiday, called Empire Day, conducted by schools on the Friday (or thereabouts) before the Victoria Day long weekend.
- <sup>14</sup> Linda J. Tomko, “*Fête Accompli*: Gender, ‘Folk-dance,’ and Progressive-era Political Ideals in New York City,” in *Corporealities: Dancing Knowledge, Culture and Power* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), pp.155-76.
- <sup>15</sup> Exactly the same process occurred for Christmas and Hallowe’en celebrations.
- <sup>16</sup> The Curwen books or notes are not to be found in Ms. B’s archival holdings. It will be interesting to compare Ms. Hughes’ material with Ms. Burchenal’s compilations in the near future.
- <sup>17</sup> The piece is found in Walter Shaw’s book on *Maypole Dances* (Curwen publication: 1910).

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## Treasures from Our Archives

### *Fifteen Years Ago*

*Bulletin* 24.4 (Winter 1990). Articles by Vladimir Simosko on “World Music Appreciation: 2000” and by Bill Sarjeant on “The Archives of the Canadian Society for Musical Traditions and the Folk Music Collections of the University of Calgary Library” were featured in this issue; Howard Kaplan’s song “The Farmer’s Carol” and Ian Robb’s “Song for the New Year” struck a seasonal note. Another song, Farrell Boyce’s “Penman’s Combinations”, was included, as was a review of Edward Ives’ book *Folksongs of New Brunswick*. The issue also carried obituaries of Barbara Cass-Beggs and Helen Creighton.

### *Ten Years Ago*

*Bulletin* 29.4 (December 1995). Pete Seeger’s essay “Pop, Rock and Coca-Colonization”, first published in 1972, led off the issue; Bob Bossin’s songs “Sulphur Passage” and “Look What’s Become of Me” accompanied an extensive interview with Bob on his musical heritage, current thoughts and former Stringband days. Other songs were Ian Robb’s “They’re Taking It Away” and a number of political parodies from Alberta’s Common Front. Numerous items were reviewed, notably *Tall Are the Tales: Newfoundland Stories and Recitations* and recordings by Paul Haslem, Tzimmes, Kyp Harness, Tanglefoot, Richard Wood, James Keelaghan, Len Wallace, Stewart McIsaac, Bill Gallaher & Jake Galbraith, Jiggery Pokery, The Immigrants, and Friends of Fiddlers’ Green.

### *Five Years Ago*

*Bulletin* 34.4 (December 2000). The centerpiece of this issue was an interview with Calgary blues musician Johnny V. Mills (“Johnny Vee”), conducted by George W. Lyon. (This was George’s and my [JL] last issue as co-editors.) Also included were an essay, “Making an Effort”, by Lindsay Schonfelder, Vera Johnson’s song “Just Like You”, and fiddle tune “A Mabou Strathspey in D”. An extensive news column, some letters, an edition of the festival directory and a plethora of reviews made up the balance of the issue.

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