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THE USE OF VIDEOTAPING IN FOLKLORE FIELDWORK: SOME PROBLEMS IN THE TRANSCRIPTION OF A CHILDREN'S GAME

by

© E. A. VERRALL

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the Degree of

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ABSTRACT

The description and assessment of a folklore event depends upon a recording of that event which is as exact and full as possible and which is influenced as little as possible by the presence of the recorder. Videotape recording, with its capability to record both sound and movement, affords the means to obtain an exact and full record of an event available for immediate recall. The purpose of this study was to determine whether or not videotape recording could be used effectively to collect folklore material and whether that material could be presented in a form acceptable for publication and analysis. The event chosen to be recorded was a game played by certain children in St. John's, Newfoundland which they called Chestnuts.

The research methods employed were experimental because at the time the study was made, the use of videotape in research had just begun and no guidelines were available. Three types of recording situation were devised using VTR equipment of varying degrees of complexity to determine the capability and potential of a variety of equipment, to establish the latitude of technical competence necessary to operate different types of equipment, to test the range of technically acceptable material which could be used as research data and to learn, if possible, to what degree the recording equipment influenced the event being recorded. The first situation employed movable and moderately sophisticated VTR equipment in an indoor setting; the second recording employed portable equipment in a field situation and the third was a full television

studio recording. The first two situations were unstructured and the last, partly structured.

A major difficulty in reducing the material to acceptable printed form arose for which three methods of transcription were devised: two forms of descriptive commentary (differing in the degree of detail), a game summary and a supplementary photo record. These are presented as part of the study.

To demonstrate the fullness of the material collected by videotape, the game played by the children who were videotaped is described in detail. For comparison, descriptions of the game from printed sources are presented in historic context.

It was found that the videotape recorder is a versatile device with much potential for use in folklore research. Even the least sophisticated equipment can meet a diverse range of recording needs. It is important, however, that the researcher have technical competence, but the non-professional can learn to operate most of the equipment effectively provided he has technical aptitude and some training. Tapes produced, though they vary according to the quality of equipment and videotape used, are technically acceptable for use as research date. The extent to which the presence of the recording equipment influences an event is difficult to assess, but with children, the fact that they are familiar with television, seems to reduce undue influence and the equipment becomes part of the play situation. Also, the less structured the recording situation, the less influence exerted by the equipment on the event.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. Mr. Duane Starcher, Director of the Educational Television Centre who provided facilities; the staff of ETVC, especially Mr. Fred Hollingshurst who produced VT#3, and Mr. Ken Hauschildt and Mr. Lloyd Noel who provided technical assistance and information.

2. Dr. Garfield Fizzard, Director of the Centre for Audio-Visual Education who provided a "base of operations", and the staff of CAVE for willing assistance.

3. Mr. Ted Braffitt for technical instruction and advice.

4. Mr. George Lee, Assistant Director, Extension Service, Memorial University and Mr. Harvey Best of the Extension Service Photographic Unit for the use of a Sony portapack; the technicians of the Unit for assistance.

5. My supervisor, Dr. J. D. A. Widdowson who inherited me "in media res": "There is a natural aristocracy among men. The grounds of this are virtue and talent." --T. Jefferson

6. Mrs. Margaret Rose who joys in typing theses: "A merry heart goes all the day" and "doeth good like medicine".

AND ESPECIALLY

THE YOUNGSTERS

WHO MADE THIS STUDY

POSSIBLE

if up's the word;and a world grows greener
minute by second and most by more--
if death is the loser and life is the winner
(and beggars are rich but misers are poor)
--let's touch the sky:
with a to and a fro
(and a here there where)and away we go

e e cummings

The major problem in the use of videotape for research lies in the transcription of the tapes. It is a lengthy and complicated process which is by necessity selective and interpretative. Transcription is essential; however, transcription methods are particular to the goals of the research and the nature of a given recording.

Videotape recording proved to be an effective method for collecting folklore, especially of a children's game of limited locale. The information on the tapes was transcribed and presented in a form acceptable for publication and analysis.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The description and assessment of a folklore event depends upon a recording of that event which is as exact and full as possible. The ideal record would be one which recreates the event as it occurred, naturally and spontaneously, uninfluenced by the presence of a recorder. Written notation is limited--too slow for a fast moving folklore event; audio tapes are limited also--to sound only. Videotape recording (VTR), with its capability to record both sound and movement, affords the means to obtain an exact and full record of an event. So does movie film but it must be sent away for chemical processing by special photographic techniques at specialized laboratories with consequent delays before it can be viewed. Videotape, on the other hand, is immediately ready for viewing. This allows the collector the special advantage of assessing the recording while still in the field and of redoing any portion necessary while the opportunity still exists. As an additional advantage, VTR need not require the array of paraphenalia--lights, lenses, sophisticated sound equipment--required when movie making. VTR costs less than film. No one disputes the fact, but there is controversy as to the cost ratio of film to tape. One California filmmaker states that film costs seven times as much as videotape and provides a cost

comparison to support his claim.[1]

Because videotape recording has such capability, my aim at the outset of my research in October 1971 was to investigate the usefulness of videotape in recording folklore events, in particular the children's game of "Chestnuts" as played in St. John's, Newfoundland. Several things led naturally to my choice: previous experience with tape recording unstructured sociological interviews, recent experience with videotape equipment, and a chance question in a folklore lecture.

In March of 1963, I was exploring the best method of obtaining folklore material and recording it in the greatest detail possible. Informal social gatherings, primarily conversational, provided my opportunities; serendipity, my chosen ally. On a social occasion, with the agreement of those present, I would set my tape recorder and microphone on the floor at the side of a chair, neither hidden nor conspicuous, simply unobtrusive, start the machine and forget it. As conversation began to flow, everyone soon forgot the machine as well. In the beginning, I would direct the conversation by a question such as "...you remember that story you were telling me,..?" Only if conversation strayed irrelevantly or stopped, did I direct it again. I also took advantage of such occasions, if needed, to change the tape, an operation which, when done quickly with little fuss, passed largely unnoticed. Since I recorded at a speed of 1 7/8 ips on 1800 foot tape which gave three hours recording time per tape side, I rarely needed to change tapes more

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[1] Phillip Gietzen, "Videotape Vs. Film," Filmmakers Newsletter (April 1972), pp. 40, 42.

than once in an evening. Thus a social evening of pleasant conversation provided four to six hours of recorded tape. The result was a varied collection of folklore with background and explanatory material and with the underlying continuity of idea, attitude, conversational cross-reference and by-play intact--a record reasonably full, albeit one dimensional, certainly spontaneous, and largely uninfluenced by the recorder.

During the summer of 1971, in a National Film Board course given in connection with the Eastport Summer Festival, Eastport, Bonavista Bay, Newfoundland, I became familiar with VTR equipment in general and the Sony portapack in particular. For some time the policy of the National Film Board has been to encourage the use of film and VTR equipment by individuals and groups as a means of communicating community problems and needs to government. In line with the purpose of "Challenge for Change" as the program is known, courses similar to the one I attended were given to familiarize anyone interested in the use and potential of VTR equipment.

At that time, I had no idea how significant the "Challenge for Change" program was, both in the history of social action and in the development of television. The impetus for social action found the technology to give that force expression; first film, then videotape. The marriage was mutually strengthening. Aided by video technology, social action grew stronger and by so doing, expanded the market for compact and portable VTR equipment, easy to handle and economical to buy and operate. The effect was to make VTR equipment widely available and

widely used by the ordinary person; television became a medium of expression of the people, not just one for the people.

None of this would have been possible without the development of television in the first place. Most of us associate the birth of television with the end of the Second World War, which is correct in that the era of mass television began immediately after World War II, but its beginning was interrupted by that war.[2] The British Broadcasting Corporation had been providing regular high-definition television broadcast service since November 1936 until the war closed it down in September 1939. The service resumed in June 1946. In the U.S., the National Broadcasting Corporation began television service on 30 April 1939 to coincide with and celebrate the opening of the New York World's Fair. In 1940, the service was suspended by the Federal Communications Commission until July 1941 pending the establishment of acceptable standards. Five months later, in December 1941, commercial television closed down when the U.S. entered the war. At the end of the war, the young television broadcasting industry, American and European, pressed ahead; standards were reviewed, new stations were established and

> ...television coverage in Britain increased from its pre-war 25 per cent of the population to 46.5 per cent by 1949 and 93 per cent by 1957. In the U.S., where there were virtually no sets in use in 1946, the total had grown by 1952 to nearly 22 million, and by 1964 to 70 million.[3]

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[2] For my facts on the background of television, I draw from the history sections of Raymond Spottiswoode et al., eds., The Focal Encyclopedia of Film and Television Techniques (New York, 1969), pp. 124-127, 326-335, 1029-1030, et passim.

[3] Ibid., p. 333.

Much had been done in the field of television well before the war to enable such a sensational "take-off". As to the early history of television, the firm insistance of one videophile that "Television was invented in San Francisco in 1926 by Dr. PHILO TAYLOR FARNSWORTH..."[4] is as misleading as it is convenient. As with most things, television did not spring full blown from Dr. Farnsworth's shell but evolved slowly in the hands of many men, from many countries, notably France, Germany, Russia, Britain and the U.S. The Focal Encyclopedia stipulates that since

> Television depends for its functioning on relationships between light and electricity....to date the true origin of television, an appropriate time to select is the year 1839 in which Edmond Becquerel discovered the electro-chemical effects of light.[5]

Photo-electricity is a fundamental need of any television system.

The word "television" is a new word, appearing around 1900, for an older idea, phototelegraphy. Much of the early work was directed at finding a means of transmitting still photographs by wire. By the turn of the century, researchers had learned to convert an image into an electric impulse, transmit it and convert the signal to a facsimile of the original image; they had learned how to "scan" the image by mechanical means. It was left to researchers of the twentieth century to solve the problems of motion, signal and light amplification and electronic scanning by the development of the cathode ray tube. Experiments with cathode ray tubes begun by the German mathematician and

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[4] Gietzen, p. 42.

[5] Spottiswoode, p. 326.

physicist, Julius Plucker in 1859, moved steadily ahead and marked progress was made during the period 1907-08 by Boris Rosing in Russia, Campbell Swinton in Britain, and by wireless pioneer, Lee de Forest, in the U.S.

During the 1920's, methods of mechanical scanning were improved sufficiently to allow half-hour transmissions, three days a week, "the first regular experimental television broadcast in the world"[6] from station WGY in Schenectady, New York in 1928. In July 1928, another radio station W3XK near Washington, D.C. began transmitting an improved quality of picture. The quality of a picture depends upon the number of lines used to scan the image. A basic of television is the scanning process by which an image is read, either mechanically by discs or mirror drums or electronically, by electron beam, in the same way one reads a book, scanning sequentially line by line, left to right, top to bottom. Because electronic scanning is faster than mechanical, more lines can be read or presented, giving higher definition to the image. For this reason, television systems using mechanical scanning methods were known as low-definition television and those systems employing electronic scanning methods, high-definition television. The line standard of the first television transmissions employing mechanical scanning were 24 for WGY and 48 for W3XK compared to 240 and 343 being obtained in 1933 by electronic scanning. The mechanical scanning advocates started television broadcasting with low-definition systems and in spite of the

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[6] Spottiswoode, p. 330.

fact that these systems had no future, they did lay the groundwork for the high-definition systems which replaced them.

The individuals who made contributions in the early days of television are legion. However, certain names stand out in the development of high-definition television. In the United States Vladimir Zworykin patented the first electronic camera tube and headed RCA's (Radio Corporation of America) Electronic Research Group at Camden, New Jersey; R.C. Ballard, a member of the RCA-Camden Group, in 1933 patented the technique of interlaced scanning, a process of double scanning; and finally, Philo T. Farnsworth patented a camera tube in 1927 and by 1929 had the only alternative electronic system to Zworykin's. In Great Britain, E.M.I. (Electrical and Musical Industries) concentrated its efforts on electronic television with a team lead by Isaac Shoenberg. Later, in 1934, E.M.I. joined forces with the Marconi Company. In Germany, Von Ardenne, experimenting during the 1930's with all-electronic systems, invented a flying-spot scanner using a cathode ray tube.

It remained for technology of the post-war period to improve camera tubes by making them more sensitive and more stable, to make color television available and to eliminate telecast horizons literally, by means of satellite television. This latter became reality in April 1965 with the launch of the communications satellite "Early Bird" from Cape Kennedy, Florida; by 1973, the following entry in the World Almanac for that year under the heading "Members of Global Communications Systems":

> The International Telecommunications Satellite Consortium (INTELSAT) has established a global operational system with satellites positioned above the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans. This system is transmitting live television, telephone, telegraph, data and facsimile communications linking six continents. It is expected there will be 64 earth stations in 49 countries at the end of 1972; 74 earth stations in 56 countries at the end of 1973; and 83 earth stations in 63 countries at the end of 1974. As of July 24, 1972, the 83 INTELSAT members were:...[7]

Two other areas in the broad spectrum of television history have relevance as necessary precursors to my research: the development of Educational Television (ETV) and portable VTR equipment. The research for this study of a children's game would not have been possible without innovative ETV attitudes and well-developed ETV facilities, including portable VTR equipment, at Memorial University.

The information most pertinent to my purposes comes from the 1966 annual report of "META" (Metropolitan Educational Television Association of Toronto).[8] Each year this organization reports and evaluates the developments in ETV in Canada. The report for 1966 is particularly useful because it surveys the period 1963-66, the first phase of ETV in Canada, and the period immediately preceding the start of my work.

ETV came late to Canada as concerned educators were quick to point out. Dr. D.C. Williams, then "Vice-President, University of Toronto and Chairman of the Television Council of the Committee of

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[7] The World Almanac and Book of Facts (New York: Newspaper Enterprize Association, published for The Chronicle-Herald, The Mail-Star, 1973), p. 1032.

[8] Earl Rosen, ed., Educational Television, Canada: The development and state of ETV, 1966 (n.p., 1967).

Presidents of Provincially Assisted Universities and Colleges of Ontario"[9] remarks the beginnings of ETV in the U.S. around 1952 with its advantages--recognition by government legislation and financial support by philanthropic organizations--in comparison to Canada's late and lean start in the field.[10] Even while Canadian ETV was moving ahead vigorously, Dr. Allan M. Thomas, Director of the Canadian Association of Adult Education complained that Canada was "lagging a considerable distance behind many other countries in the world, which have used television for teaching far more aggressively than we have. . . ."[11]

In 1963 there was little interest in using television in education; Canadian television stations classed pre-school games and high school quizzes as educational in questionnaires sent to them at that time. Interest picked up by 1965 and ETV rapidly expanded during the period 1965-66 and by 1966 META was receiving reports from ETV supervisors and Directors of ETV employed by schools, departments of education and by universities. By 1967 the basic nature and direction of ETV in Canada was set. Primarily ETV was considered to have two objectives: the first, that of instructional television and the second, general cultural and informative programming. In the public sector, CBC endeavored to meet the requirements of the latter objective

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[9] Ibid., p. 34.

[10] D.C. Williams, "University Television", Educational Television, Canada, p. 34.

[11] Allan M. Thomas, "ETV & Adults", Educational Television, Canada, p. 54.

specifically with the School Telecast series. University of the Air series appeared in various sections of the country at various times. According to report, the French-speaking universities were the first to undertake serious work with ETV, preparing and making television courses for credit available. At the provincial level, many departments of education working in cooperation with schools fostered programs of school telecasts, notably in the teaching of French.

Closed circuit television (CCTV) played an important part in ETV in the universities. CCTV is a point-to-point signal transmission by cable to a specific location. Unexpected rise in student enrollments and staff shortages spurred its use in universities. Students who could not be accommodated in one classroom were accommodated in other locations where the lecture was "piped" in by cable and viewed on a television monitor. Demonstrations by television proved effective in science subjects, medicine and dentistry. Television was widely used by Faculties and Schools of Education in training student teachers by demonstration, observation and self-analysis of classroom situations.

Television was primarily used in the university for instruction and demonstration, although other applications were being tried. The University of Calgary made extensive use of CCTV which ranged from the recording of rehearsals of programs for later telecast from commercial channels to demonstrations of television techniques for a "class of Instructional Media Technology....."[12] McGill University, having made wide use of ETV starting with CCTV in 1962, planned for 1967 to use

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[12] Williams, p. 37.

television "for many specialized medical and research applications."[13] Departments of Psychology and Psychiatry were using television for observation and analysis.

At Memorial University of Newfoundland, the first to promote ETV was the Extension Service in 1961 and META reports "The Extension Division of Memorial University has been quite active in educational television."[14] The Service has been responsible for a number of series telecast on both CBC and the private stations. Between 1 September 1961 and 31 August 1962, twenty-five courses in French and twenty in Home Economics were telecast. The last nine of the Home Economics series were concerned with fisheries problems and techniques and constituted the beginning of "Decks Awash".[15] "Decks Awash" is now a firmly-established and well known series for fishermen carried on the CTV network. In 1967 The Educational Television Centre was established at Memorial and in the same year a closed circuit television system was installed throughout the campus. In 1970 The Centre for Audio-Visual Education was established and courses began in Instructional Media Techniques at the undergraduate level and in 1971 at the graduate level.

Of particular importance to the history and development of ETV, is the unique contribution in the field of community development made by Memorial's Extension Service working in conjunction with the National Film Board's Challenge for Change Unit. In 1967

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[13] Ibid., p. 43.

[14] Ibid., p. 44.

[15] Report of the President, 1961-1962, Memorial University of Newfoundland (St. John's, Newfoundland, 1962), pp. 40-41.

> ....the Extension Service had newly expanded its mandate to become involved in social change in Newfoundland. The Challenge for Change program had just been set up...to find new ways of using film to provoke such change.[16]

In the summer of that year, the "two fledgling social innovators full of promise and untried potential, converged on the Island of Fogo to introduce a new concept of community development."[17] There they made a series of film interviews with people of the Island about their points of view on the problems of the Island, which were viewed first by the people of Fogo and then subsequently by cabinet members of the provincial government, who in turn were filmed as they commented upon what they had seen. The filmed comments were then viewed by the people of Fogo. Thus was born what became known as "The Fogo Process."[18]

The "Fogo Process" was initiated with 16mm sound film, an expensive technology requiring a professional film crew. Fortunately, newly developed portable half inch VTR equipment, compact, relatively inexpensive and easy for an ordinary mortal to handle became available and was an obvious choice with which to continue the "process".

I first saw portable videocameras being used commercially on 14 July 1960 in the televised proceedings of the U.S. Democratic Convention. No one who watched that convention could possibly be

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[16] Sandra Gwyn, Cinema as Catalyst? Film, Video-tape and Social Change (St. John's, Newfoundland, 1972), p. 4.

[17] Loc. cit.

[18] Op. cit., p. 5-6.

unaware of this new development in television, because of the constant and excited references of the commentators to the new equipment carried by roving reporters on the floor of the convention.

It is difficult to document the actual dates on which portable equipment became available and consequently I report what Mr. Arnis Lucis of St. John's, a film and electronic specialist who has been a dealer of this equipment for the past thirty years, recalls. He told me that the Phillips firm in Holland was marketing semi-portable equipment in Europe in 1967 and in Canada by 1969. What has come to be known as "portapack" equipment, that is, a portable camera and companion portable videocorder, weighing between twenty to thirty pounds, using half inch videotape, began appearing on the Canadian market in 1968. Sony Corporation introduced its portapack model, Series AV3400 in a dealers' equipment show in Toronto in the fall of 1969 and Atlantic Films and Electronics Limited of St. John's, the firm of which Mr. Lucis is manager, secured the franchise for the equipment and began supplying the Newfoundland market in 1970. There were other manufacturers supplying equipment, notably the Shibaden Corporation of Japan. The video equipment used extensively by Memorial University was Shibaden. The Extension Service first used Shibaden portapack Model SV 707, and later acquired a Sony AV3400 which was the machine I borrowed from them in order to carry out my research for this study.

"The Fogo Process" has served as a model for social action groups and community development advocates in Canada, and the community dialogue process is being used in the U.S. and Great Britain as well. Whether or

not "The Fogo Process" predates or coincides with similar programs outside Canada, I cannot say. This fact is cited simply to demonstrate the special involvement with and cast of mind toward ETV at Memorial and to elaborate the point made earlier of the significance of social action in the development of television. Even though I did not know it then, the foundation--the development of television generally and ETV and portable VTR equipment specifically--had been laid and the time therefore propitious to take advantage of a chance remark in a folklore lecture.

During this class in September 1971, in the context of children's games, the lecturer, Mr. David J. Hufford asked whether anyone had noticed children playing with chestnuts on the street and received no response. Quite by chance on the evening of the same day, I was visiting in the home of a friend whose three children were playing indoors a hitting game using nuts on a string which they called "Chestnuts." It was a game of limited locale; it was fast, furious and short-lived. I had never seen the game played and until that time I had never seen a chestnut. I knew exactly four things about chestnuts: a line from a song, "roasting chestnuts in the fire"; that chestnut was a slang term for an old joke as well as a term for the color of a horse; and that chestnuts, though not the horse chestnuts used in this game,[19] were a desirable ingredient in the dressing for a Christmas bird. The children were anxious to explain the game to me and soon had me involved playing

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[19] See p. 60

it with them. All the while I was considering how the game could be recorded most suitably. Videotape seemed the ideal means, and conversely the game seemed ready made to test this type of recording. In retrospect, I believe it impossible to record the game fully by any other means.

I began looking for a portapack which introduced me to the facilities of the three departments of the University concerned with ETV: The Centre for Audio-Visual Education (CAVE), The Educational Television Centre (ETVC) and The Extension Service. I found a Sony portapack at The Extension Service, movable and slightly more sophisticated VTR equipment at CAVE, and a well-equipped television studio at ETVC. Moreover, I found interest and generous assistance from all three departments. I determined to try all the equipment.

The purpose for the study was to determine whether or not VTR could be used effectively to collect folklore material which could be presented in an acceptable form for publication and analysis. My first concern was to identify the technical problems inherent to the use of VTR equipment of varying degrees of complexity. It was important to determine the capability and potential of a variety of equipment, to establish the latitude of technical competence necessary to operate the various types of equipment without being a trained professional and to establish the latitude of technically acceptable material which could be used as research data. Also, I hoped to learn, if possible, to what degree the recording equipment intruded upon or otherwise influenced the event being recorded.

Since there was little written information available to provide direction, my approach was necessarily experimental. I arranged three types of recording situation. The first situation employed the movable and moderately sophisticated recording equipment supplied by CAVE. The recording location was indoors in a large playroom which allowed complete freedom of movement. The room was illuminated by natural light. The atmosphere was completely unstructured so that seven children could play chestnuts without interference or instruction. The camera was set in one spot, the lens set at its widest angle and not to be changed. The tape of this recording has been designated at VT#1.

The second recording was a field situation using the Sony portapack. My objective was to locate and tape children playing chestnuts in as natural a situation as possible. Three separate groups of boys in three separate outdoor locations were found playing the game and were recorded. The tapes of this recording have been designated VT#2 with subheadings, Gp I, Gp II, and Gp III for the sections of the three separate groups of boys.

The third recording was made in ETV Studio A and was a full studio production complete with three movable television cameras, flood lights, and several microphones, a producer, technicians and an interviewer. The situation was in part structured. The children played in designated areas. The objective was to record six of the original seven participants of VT#1 playing much in the same manner as they did in VT#1. Additionally, the children were recorded for their reactions

as they watched 1) themselves in VT#1, 2) a group of boys unknown to them from VT#2 Gps. I and III play and 3) themselves in a playback of the first twelve minutes of the tape of this third situation. The tapes of this recording will be referred to as VT#3.

An elaboration of the three types of recording situation and a discussion of the techniques employed and the technical problems encountered are presented in Chapter 4.

As with audiotape recording, in some respects the material was easy to collect and the technique of collecting by videotape proved not only fresh, but as I was to find later, quite full. Once the videotapes were made, my second concern was to translate them into a precise printed form which would allow ready reference for assessment and analysis. The technical problems in the use of the equipment and the arrangement of the recording situation were minor compared to the problems I encountered when I tried to transcribe the material.

The first problem was to learn how to "read" the tapes. As McLuhan has often pointed out, television is a medium which involves the viewer actively in what is happening on the screen; the viewer participates in the events subjectively.[20] It is extremely difficult to maintain an objective and analytical frame of mind when watching television simply because the nature of the medium is to involve, and it continually destroys the detachment and critical distance necessary for objectivity.

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[20] Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man (Toronto, 1967), pp. 291-293.

The second problem grows naturally from the first and is not one of transcription but rather one of translation. Television is a multi-dimensional language system whereas the written word is a linear, one-dimensional system; the two systems are diametrically opposed and incompatible. To keep the analogy, it would be fair to describe each recording situation as a separate language in the system since each recording situation differed substantially in character.

The fundamental problem with VTR is the transcription of the material and this is the major question addressed by this study. An elaboration of the problems of transcription together with a discussion of the "languages" which I devised to present the material from the videotapes--two forms of descriptive commentary, a game summary and a supplementary photo record--are given in Chapter 5. The descriptive commentaries of VT#2 and VT#3 together with explanatory notes make up Chapters 6 and 7 respectively. The descriptive game summary of VT#1 together with the still photo record which supplements all three videotapes constitute Chapter 8. Chapter 9 presents the conclusions drawn from my research. Appendix I of the thesis contains an ethnographic description of the children who were videotaped and some background comment on the adult informants.

Before presenting the detailed analysis and transcriptions, however, it is necessary to outline the history of the game itself, of which remarkably little seems to be known or to have been written. Such history of the game and its variants and parallels as is to be found in

the printed sources available to me is therefore given in Chapter 2. In addition, from the videotapes, the descriptive commentaries and the photo record, I have drawn a detailed description of the game of Chestnuts as played by certain children in St. John's and this is presented as Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORY OF CONKERS

The game known to the St. John's children of this study as Chestnuts is the same as the British game known now chiefly as Conkers, but as both Conkers and Cobnut in an earlier time. The early history of this game is difficult to trace because of the scattered and sketchy references and often incomplete descriptions, as I have found them, in the literature at my disposal. I have not attempted an exhaustive search of the comparative literature but have restricted my interest primarily to the British and North American traditions. It is an old game. The earliest printed reference to it, so far as I know, appeared in the early seventeenth century--Halliwell[1] cites the date 1611. The Opies specify that "records of cobnuts as playthings go back to the fifteenth century; although it is difficult to tell the type of play" and they place the earliest reference as a letter "written probably 29 January 1653...."[2] The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (1959) identifies Cob-nut as "2. A game played by children with nuts. ME." placing the Middle English period as "c1150-c1450".

The history is also difficult to trace because of the variation in play and the variant names by which the game is known. Both the name

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[1] James Orchard Halliwell [1820-89], Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words: Obsolete Phrases, Proverbs, and Ancient Customs, from the Fourteenth Century, 10th ed. (1887).

[2] Iona and Peter Opie, Children's Games in Street and Playground (1970), p. 320.

and nature of the game have undergone changes. Different materials have been used and the same materials have been described differently but the essential nature of the game--conquest--has persisted and the same terms have recurred.

The word "cob-nut" is referred to in:

1. Halliwell:[3]

> COB-NUT. A game which consists in pitching at a row of nuts piled up in heaps of four, three at the bottom and one at the top of each heap. All the nuts knocked down are the property of the pitcher. The nut used for pitching is called the cob. It is sometimes played on the top of the hat[4] with two nuts, when one tries to break the nut of the other with his own; or with two rows of hazel nuts strung on strings through holes bored in the middle. The last is probably the more modern game, our first method being clearly indicated by Cotgrave[5] in v. Chastelet, "the childish game cobnut, or (rather) the throwing of a ball at a heape of nuts, which done, the thrower takes as many as he hath hit or scattered." It is also alluded to in Florio, ed. 1611, pp. 88, 333; Clarke's Phraseologia Puerilis, 1655, p. 322.

2. Brand (Hazlitt)[6]

> Cob-Nut.--A game which consists in pitching at a row of nuts piled up in heaps of four, three at the bottom and one at the top of each heap.

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[3] Halliwell, Dictionary, p. 260.

[4] "Cobbly-co! My first blow! Put down your black hat, And let me have first smack!" Burne Flk-Lore (1883) 531 quoted under "Cobbletycuts" in Joseph Wright, English Dialect Dictionary (1898-1905); hereinafter cited as EDD.

[5] Randle Cotgrave (d. 1634?). See Oxford Companion to English Literature, 3rd ed. (1958), pp. 188, 189.

[6] W.C. Hazlitt, ed., Faiths and Folklore: A Dictionary...Forming a New Edition of "The Popular Antiquities of Great Britain" by Brand and Ellis, Largely Extended, I (1905), p. 132.

3. Thomas Wright:[7]

> COB-NUT. s. A master nut. It is the name of an old game among the children, played with nuts.

4. Joseph Wright (EDD):

> COB (B) 14. The stony kernel of fruit; the pips of apples, oranges, etc....
>
> 15. The nut used in var. boys' games, esp. in 'cob-nuts'....
>
> 16. Comp. (1) Cob-joe, (2) -nut, (a) a nut strung on the end of a string used in various games; a winning nut in the game of 'cob-nut'; (b) a boys' game.

The word "conker" is referred to by both Halliwell and Thomas Wright identically as

> CONKERS. Snail-shells. East.

The word "conker" (with variants) is referred to in the EDD:

> CONKER, sb.[1] and v. ...Also written konker...Also in forms conqueror...conk.
> 1. A snail-shell; the shell which breaks its opponent in a boys' game; also pl. the game itself....In the boys' game of conkers the apexes of two shells are pressed together until one is broken, the owner of the other being the victor....Sweetman Wincanton Gl. (1885).

The Oxford English Dictionary (Supplement, 1961) defines "conkers" as

> CONKER ....a. pl. A boys' game, played originally with snail-shells....

and quotes from The Holderness Glossary (1877) 45/1:

> Conkers....small snail-shells. In the boys' game of conkers the apexes of two shells are pressed together until one is broken, the owner of the other being the victor.

Conquer is shown as a variant of "conker" and "Conquering" is defined as "The art of playing 'conkers'" by The OED (Supplement 1961) citing:

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[7] Thomas Wright [1810-77], Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English, 2 vols. (1880), p. 324.

> 1821 R. Southey Let. 28 Dec. in C. C. Southey Life & Corr. (1849) I. 55 One amusement, which I never saw or heard of elsewhere, was greatly in vogue at this school [sc, Corston 1782]. It was performed with snail shells, by placing them against each other, point to point, and pressing till the one was broken in, or sometimes both. This was called conquering... A great conqueror was prodigiously prized and coveted.

The OED (Supplement, 1972) citing G.J. Jackson, Shropshire Word-Book provides this description:

> Conquer. a snail-shell. In the children's game of pitting snail-shells one against the other, that which breaks its opponent is called the conquer.

Thus far I have noted "cob-nut" as a game played with hazel nuts and "conkers" as a game played with snail shells; the next stage shows both terms (with variants) being used for a game played with chestnuts. This change is commented on by the Opies as not appearing to have occurred before the nineteenth century:

> The Horse Chestnut tree (Aesculus hippocastanum), introduced into England about the beginning of the seventeenth century, does not seem to have been common in the eighteenth century, and children do not appear to have played with horse chestnuts until the nineteenth century.

The Opies specify that a report from the Isle of Wight indicates that chestnuts were used for "Conquerors" in 1848.[8]

The earliest printed references to the game played with horse chestnuts which I have found appear in the 5th Series, Volume X of Notes and Queries under the following dates:

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[8] Opie, Children's Games, pp. 230-232.

10 August 1878

Oblionker (Herefordshire), a game played with chestnuts. My authority for the Radnorshire words is a clergyman for some years resident in Clyro. Oblionker I heard last month at Ledbury. They are not to be found in Halliwell.

A. L. Mayhew.

Oxford

31 August 1878

"Oblionker"...-Mr. Mayhew says that this is a Herefordshire word, and that it means a game with chestnuts. I always thought that it was a Worcestershire word. At all events, it is a common and well-known word in these parts, and means a horse chestnut. A chestnut tree is called an "oblionker tree." In the autumn, when the chestnuts are falling from their husks, boys thread them on string and play a "cob-nut" game with them. When the striker is taking aim and preparing for a shot at his adversary's nut, he says:--

"Oblionker!
My fust conker!" (conquer) ....

Worcester. J. B. Wilson

9 November 1878

"Oblionker"...Having heard of this word as being in common use at Ledbury, in Herefordshire, I wrote to Mr. Piper, of that town--a gentleman who takes great interest in the antiquities of that county. His reply was:--Oblionker is a game played by boys with horse chestnuts; each of the two contending players passes a piece of string a foot or so in length, and having a knot at the end to prevent its escape (a with of yellow willow answers equally well), through a chestnut. They then strike alternately at each other's nut whilst held suspended, and he who succeeds in breaking that of his adversary is the winner. The first who utters the following rhyme has the right to begin:-

"Obli, obli, O,
My first go."

And on striking it is customary to say:-

"Obli, obli, onker,
My nut will conquer."

> The chestnut that has demolished the greatest number of its congeners acquires proportionate reputation, and the successes theretofore scored by a vanquished opponent are added to the achievements of the victor. Doubtless the Cymric boys of pre-Roman times played at oblionker.
>
> F. G. Hilton Price

The term "hoblionker" with variants is identified in the EDD as

> HOBLIONKER, sb. War. Wor. Hrf. Rdn. Glo. Also written hobbley-honker War.[3]; hobbly-onker Wor.; obbly-onker Wor. s.Wor.[1] Glo.[1] oblionker Wor. Hrf. 1. pl. A game played with horse-chestnut threaded on a string. See Cobbler, sb.[14], Conker, sb.[1]2....
>
> 2. A horse-chestnut, the fruit of Aesculus Hippocastanum....
>
> 3. Comp. Oblionker-tree, a horse-chestnut tree, Aesculus Hippocastanum.

and the following comment appears in the entry:

> The word oblionker seems a meaningless invention to rhyme with conker, but has gradually become applied to the fruits themselves.

Also in the EDD under the word "conker" are these relevant entries connecting the games and the terms:

> CONKER...2. pl. A game played with horse-chestnuts threaded on a string. Cf. cob-nut, cobblety-cuts, oblionker....
>
> 3. The horse-chestnut which breaks its opponent at the game of 'conkers'....So called by the boys who bore holes through them and hang them on pieces of string, and then challenge one another to try which can break the other's conquer by striking it with his own....
>
> 4. Comp. Conker-tree, the horse-chestnut, Aesculus Hippocastanum. Chs.[1], s.Chs.[1], w.Som.[1]

The words "cobbler" and cobblety-cuts" with variant spellings are also names used for the game of Conkers played with the horse-chestnuts. The word "cobbler" appears in the EDD as

> 3. The fruit of the horse-chestnut tree; the nuts used in the game of 'cobbler'...
>
> 4. A boys' game...See Cob(b)...Cobblety-cuts, Conker.

and one printed source cited in that entry; Northall, Folk-Rhymes is dated 1892. The OED (Supplement, 1972) defines "cobbler" as "the fruit of the horse chestnut tree" and describes "Cobblers" as "the well-known game of striking one dried 'cobbler', threaded on a string, against that of an opponent to try their respective strength". In Sons and Lovers (1913), William Morel fights with Alfred Anthony because as Willie's mother explains, "He was running after that Alfy, who'd taken his cobbler"; the "cobler as 'ad licked seventeen". "But I got my cobbler", Willie explains, as

> He pulled from his pocket a black old horse-chestnut hanging on a string. This old cobbler had 'cobbled'--hit and smashed--seventeen other cobblers on similar strings. So the boy was proud of his veteran.[9]

Cobblety-cuts with variant spelling "cobbleticut", is described by the EDD:

> A boys' game, played with chestnuts....Boys bore a hole in a horse-chestnut, pass a string through it, and hit one chestnut against another, holding them by the string....

The link between the two major forms of the game, Cob-nut and Conkers seems to come through the words "cobble" and "cob". The EDD cites a west Yorkshire and a south Cheshire usage of the word "cob-nut" thus:

> This game only differs from Cobblety-cuts in the use of small nuts instead of chestnuts.

Yet under the word "cobble", the EDD has this entry:

> 10. Comb. (1) Cobble-de-cut-nuts, hazel-nuts.

and under the word "cob(b)" this entry:

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[9] D. H. Lawrence, Sons and Lovers (1954), pp. 65-66.

17. The horse-chestnut tree, Aesculus Hippocastanum Sur.[1]
The squirrels play old Mag with the cobs in the plantation.

Finally, Lady Gomme, in her description of the game of Cob-nut using hazel nuts reports

> This game is played in London with chestnuts and is called "Conquers."[10]

An entry in the OED (Supplement, 1961) sums up the evolution of the game and as the Opies say, "suggests that the name 'conker' comes from an earlier game played with snail shells,"[11] however, it goes on to connect the word with the verb "conquer":

> Conker. Also conquer. [f. dial. conker snail-shell (presumably f. Conch), later associated with Conquer v.]
> a. pl. A boys' game, played originally with snail-shells... now chiefly, a game played with horse-chestnuts, in which each boy has a chestnut on a string which he alternately strikes against that of his opponent and holds to be struck until one of the two is broken.

The Opies take exception to deriving "conker" from "conch" and their refutation is that there is "no record of boys calling snail shells 'conches,' although they often called them 'conquerors'". They cite as evidence, Southey's use of the word "conqueror" for snail in his letter of 28 December 1821.[12] The idea of "conquering" is borne out by the OED (Supplement, 1961) which connects "conker" to "conqueror" citing among other evidence the following quotation from Compton MacKenzie's Sinister Street:

> Michael much regretted that the etiquette of the Lent Term, which substituted peg-tops for Conquerors, should prevent his chestnut reaching four figures.
> 1913, I. viii. 109.

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[10] A.B. Gomme, Traditional Games of England, Scotland, I (1894), p. 71.

[11] Opie, Children's Games, p. 231.

[12] Ibid.

This last, together with the preceding evidence substantiates the nature of the game as one of conquest; a competition in which one conquers, subdues, or is victor.

> In Cornwall....The boys give the name of Victor-nut to the fruit of the common hazel, and play it to the words: "Cockhaw! First blaw! Up hat! Down cap! Victor!" The nut that cracks another is called a Cock-battler.[13]

The game is a "kind of friendly duelling" as Caillois observes in his consideration of competition; an agon in which the antagonist wishes "to demonstrate his own superiority."[14] In this connection it is worth noting the Opies' classification of the game as "Duelling: Duels by proxy". For its implications of duelling or fighting and the magical qualities of a "winner", it is also worth noting, however valid it may or may not be, Elizabeth Wright's observation

> ...that in the game of Hoblionkers, so common in Oxford, may be found 'evidence of the early belief that the possession of a weapon which had, in the hands of a skilful chief, done great execution, would give additional skill and power to the person who succeeded in obtaining it'.[15]

It seems more likely, therefore, that the word "conker" derives from the verb "to conquer".

There were originally four main forms of the game, two of which were known as Cobnuts, and two which were known as Conkers; and it was along these four mainstreams that the game evolved, converging about the beginning of the twentieth century into its modern form, essentially one game, called chiefly Conkers, and played with the horse chestnut. The

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[13] Gomme, ibid., p. 72.

[14] Roger Caillois, Man, Play, and Games (1961), p. 16.

[15] Elizabeth Wright, Rustic Speech and Folk-Lore (1914), pp. 308-309.

The earliest form of Cobnut was played with nuts which were pitched, tossed or bowled at a row of nuts piled in a pyramid, or at one pile of four nuts, probably hazel, consisting of three on the bottom and one on top. The second form of this game was played with a nut or nuts, usually hazel, threaded on a string, which was used to strike one or a number of similarly strung nuts which were either suspended or resting on a cap. Lady Gomme describes it as "Played by two people, each having a string" of "Hazel nuts strung like beads of a rosary," "striking alternately the nuts of the other which are placed on the crown of a hat."[16] Among the entries for "Cob(b)", the EDD includes a report from Devon: "The game of cob is common in Dev, and is played on the poll of a hat." From the same source are two additional reports, one of which describes using the hat but employing only one nut:

> The kernel of a nut is picked out, and a string a foot long is fastened in it with shoemaker's wax or glue, and with this you strike your adversary's nut lying on your hat. He that breaks the adversary's nut by so striking, wins.

and one in which a single nut constituting the target is suspended:

> Strings are passed through the nuts by which to use them in playing. Each player in turn holds his cob-nut up by the string to be 'cobbed' at by the other, and the player who first breaks his adversary's nut is the winner.

The earliest form of Conkers was played with shells--snails or whelks--which were pressed one against the other. The second form of

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[16] Gomme, ibid., p. 71.

Conkers which developed later was a string game[17] played with the horse chestnut primarily. There were certain variations in play and the most striking comes from Cheshire. In one of the more complete reports from this early period, one which EDD cites under "Conker" and which Gomme quotes under "Conquerors or Conkers", the position of the players is described specifically as sitting and turf is employed in the place of a hat:

> This game is played with horse chestnuts threaded on a string. Two boys sit face to face astride of a form or a log of timber. If a piece of turf can be procured so much the better. One boy lays his chestnut upon the turf, and the other strikes at it with his chestnut; and they go on striking alternately till one chestnut splits the other. The chestnut which remains unhurt is then "conqueror of one." A new chestnut is substituted for the broken one, and the game goes on. Whichever chestnut now proves victorious becomes "conqueror of two," and so on, the victorious chestnut adding to its score all the previous winnings. The chestnuts are often artificially hardened by placing them up the chimney or carrying them in a warm pocket; and a chestnut which has become conqueror of a considerable number acquires a value in schoolboys' eyes; and I have frequently known them to be sold, or exchanged for other toys (Holland's Cheshire Glossary).

Lady Gomme continues, commenting significantly:

> The game is more usually played by one boy striking his opponent's nut with his own, both boys standing and holding the string in their hands. It is considered bad play to strike the opponent's string. The nut only should be touched. Three tries are usually allowed.[18]

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[17] Seán Ó Súilleabháin's classification of Rope and String Games includes "nuts or buttons on string" in A Handbook of Irish Folklore (1970), p. 668. Under the heading of "Standard Games", is listed "Conkers (nut on string)", p. 672.

[18] Gomme, ibid., p. 78.

The same point about hitting an opposing player's string in "Cobbler" is made by EDD citing custom in Staffordshire and Warwickshire:

> It is considered bad play to strike an opponent's string, nut against nut being the scientific play. Northall. Flk-Rhymes (1892).

In contrast is this report from Shropshire given by EDD under "Cobblety-cuts" in which the object of the game is to break the opponent's string or so it would appear:

> Boys bore a hole in a horse-chestnut, pass a string through it, and hit one chestnut against another, holding them by the string, till one string breaks, when the owner loses his chestnut.

The collection, seasoning and preparation of the chestnut are reported. In Sweetman's Wincanton Glossary (1885) quoted by EDD under "Conker" is the classic picture of collecting:

> I saw two boys in my grounds throwing stones at a horse-chestnut tree. As soon as they saw me, before I had spoken, both said at once, 'Please, sir, I have not been hitting down the chestnuts.'

EDD also gives this Warwickshire report about the best "Cobbler" and the method of preparing it:

> The most effective cobbler is a thick-shelled nut or filbert from which, through a small hole in the base of the shell, the kernel has been extracted.

This parallels the practice of preparing the Cob-nut reported from Derbyshire in EDD quoting Grose (1790):

> The kernel of a nut is picked out, and a string a foot long is fastened in it with shoemaker's wax or glue....

If the nut is indeed hollow as these two reports suggest, then the nut is also a shell--hollow like snail shells and whelks. In his account of Conkers, Leslie Daiken gives this variant:

> Conkers, maybe you know, are snail-shells, and children put the empty ones on strings and play like you play with chestnut cobs.[19]

This is the only reference I have found indicating that the game by any name was played with hollow shells--snails or whelks--threaded on a string and used in the manner of modern day Conkers. Conkers were not always played with empty snail shells. In a letter, Southey remarks that they were not "tenantless" and the Opies footnote Southey's experience of finding a small boy crushing young snails against his conqueror.[20] The Opies point out that

> One of John Clare's favourite pastimes in Northamptonshire was gathering 'pooty shells', threading them on a string, and playing 'what we called "cock fighting" by pressing the knibbs hard against each other till one broke'.[21]

It is reported that in Lewis children's games were "'Rams' and 'Chickens'; both played with whelks. 'Rams' was a boys' game played like conkers."[22] Unfortunately there is no indication as to the form of Conkers meant.

Apart from the method of hardening the chestnut by putting it up the chimney, there are only two other references to special preparation. One is that given under "cobbler" by EDD quoting Northall Folk-Rhymes (1892):

> A well-seasoned nut that has burst several other nuts is proudly called a 'cobbler' of three.

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[19] Leslie Daiken, Children's Games Throughout the Year (1949), p. 162.

[20] Opie, ibid., pp. 231-232.

[21] Loc. cit.

[22] I.F. Grant, Highland Folk Ways (1961), p. 349.

From this reference, it is not clear whether the seasoning is gained by battle or is some special preliminary preparation. The other, a remarkable method of seasoning the cob-nut is described in a report from Derbyshire carried in Notes and Queries, 7th Series, Vol IX for 15 February 1890 which I include here in its entirety because of the singularity of the game described and because the material from Notes and Queries is not readily accessible:

> Cob-Nuts....Derbyshire lads have, or at any rate had, in the nutting season of each year a capital amusement, which they called the game of cob-nut. This was played with dry and hardened nuts fastened usually to the end of a cobbler's "waxed end"—the waxed string with which soles used to be sewn to the upper-leathers. The common hedge-row hazel-nuts were called "cob-nuts," and those gathered from hazel trees in the woods were called "hazzel-nuts." The hedge-row hazel-nuts were as a rule slightly larger, rounder, and harder, because growing in the hedges, they got more sun. The nuts most prized for the game of "cob-nut" were those from the hedges, the round, short, flat-nosed being preferred, and these latter were called "bull-nosed cobberers," or "bull-nosed cob-nuts," or, shorter still, "bulleys." In order to be suitable for the game, they were gathered just before ripening, stripped, deposited in the cow-droppings in the meadows for about a week, then dried in the pocket, in the sun, or on a shelf in the house, and then carefully bored with a nut-borer specially made for the purpose by the village blacksmith, then strung upon a string in readiness for the game of cob-nut. The game was mostly played by two, three, or four lads, each armed with a single nut on the waxed-end. These were laid on a pile of caps, the lads in turn striking at the rest of the nuts, till one was broken, on which the owner of the winning nut seized one of the fragments, with which he rubbed his nut, which became "a cobberer o' one" if it was the first nut broken, and so on, adding other nuts broken to the record of its prowess till it became perhaps "a cobberer o' twenty" or more, when a fresh or superior nut would demolish the favourite, take its honours, and becomes "a cobberer o' twenty-one."
>
> There were many formulas and observances in the game of "cob-nut," and these were most rigidly observed by the Derbyshire lads. If a couple of waxed-ends became twizzled, the boy who first could shout--

Twizzler, twizzler!
My fost blow,

took the first stroke when the waxed-ends were untwisted. When a nut was cracked by a blow so that a piece came out and the owner of the opposing nut called out--

Jick, jack, gell,
Ar shonner pley thy shell,

he took the damaged nut, rubbed it on his own, taking not only its "cobberer," but the whole of the honours which the vanquished nut had previously won. On the contrary, if the owner of the damaged nut could first call out--

Jick, jack, gell
An you sholl pley my shell,

both were bound to go on till the one or the other was completely smashed.

Worksop. Thos. Ratcliffe

Following directly on from this report in Notes and Queries is relevant botanical information which I also quote in its entirety, not only to round out this particular reference, but to give more specific definition to the word "cob" as a nut:

> The cob is a larger, finer, and more expensive nut than the filbert, and is looked upon as a quite distinct variety. Sowerby, after describing the common hazel (Corylus avellana), goes on to say:--
>
> "The Filbert, the cob- and Barcelona- nuts, with several other varieties met with at our tables, are supposed to have been derived from this species by cultivation."
>
> See Sowerby's 'Botany,' second ed., vol. vii, p. 47.
>
> W. M. E. F.

> Corylus avellana, the common Hazel, is the origin of the most anciently used and extensively consumed of all our edible nuts. There are several varieties of the Hazel, as the White, Red, and Jerusalem Filberts, the Great and Clustered Cobs; the Red Smyrna, the Black Spanish, and the Barcelona nuts, etc."--Bentley's 'Manual of Botany.'
>
> A. H. Bartlett.
>
> 156, Clapham Road.

And finally ending the reference:

> Webster says, "Cobnut, a large nut," which seems to imply the meaning of any kind of large well-grown nut. Paris. Dnargel.

This last definition would add additional weight to my earlier comment that the link between the game as Cobnut and as Conker seems to come through the words "cobble" and "cob". The oldest meaning for the word "cob" as substantive given by The Shorter OED (1959) is "with the notion of big or stout" and it dates from the Middle English period. The second meaning given is "with the notion 'rounded', 'rounded mass or lump'. 1. Applied to: Cob-Nuts. 1589." Also dating from the Middle English period (1150-1450) and exclusive to it, "cob" as a verb meant "To give blows, ME. only." Implied but not stated, is the idea of superiority; the potential to be a "conqueror".

Rhymes especially are associated with the game and are used to claim precedence. Apart from those already given in context of other reports, the following identified by Lady Gomme may be added:

1. Cobblety cuts,
   Put down your nuts.
   --Darlington's Folk-speech of South Cheshire.

2. Obbly, obbly onkers, my first conquers;
   Obbly, obbly O, my first go.
   --Lawson's Upon-on-Severn Words and Phrases.

3. Hobley, hobley, honcor, my first conkor;
   Hobbley, hobbley ho, my first go;
   Hobley, hobley ack, my first crack.
   --Chamberlain's West Worcestershire Glossary.[23]

The Opies explain that

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[23] Gomme, ibid., p. 78.

> It is a tenet of schoolboy faith that a conker is more likely to survive if it is the striker rather than the stricken, hence the conker-player's concern to have the first shot, which he secures by calling out 'First!' or, according to locality, 'My firsy' or 'Firsy jabs' (Bishop Auckland), 'First swipe' (York), 'First donks' (Shenfield), 'First hitsy' (Hornchurch), 'Bagsie first cracks' (Wigan), 'Iddley, iddley, ack, my first smack' (Knighton), 'Hobily, hobily, honker, my first conker' (Lydney).

and go on to provide the following rhymes:

> Conker Jeremy,
> My first blow,
> Conker Jack,
> My first whack.
> Boy, 11, Cranford, Middlesex
>
> Ally, ally, onker,
> My first conker,
> Quack, quack,
> My first smack.
> Boy, 12, Thornton, Yorkshire
>
> Iddy, iddy, onker,
> My first conker,
> Iddy, iddy, oh,
> My first go.
> Boy, 13, Oxford
>
> Obbly, onker,
> My first conker,
> Obbly oh,
> My first go.
> Boy, 11, Gloucester[24]

In Bishop Auckland, to have first blow in a game of conkers, a boy has to cry 'Firsie jabs'. In some places the claims must be more formal. In Presteigne, for instance, a boy who wishes to have first turn at conkers must complete the rigmarole:

> Iddy, iddy onker,
> My first conker;
> Iddy, iddy ack,
> My first smack,[25]

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[24] Opie, ibid., pp. 228-229

[25] Iona and Peter Opie, The Lore and Language of School Children (1959), p. 138.

The game is known by a number of names. In addition to those which have already been described are the following identified by Gomme: Cobbet, Conquer-nuts and

> Cogger. A striped snail shell. It is a common boyish pastime to hold one of these shells between the last joints of the bent fingers, and forcibly press the apex against another held in a similar manner by an opponent, until one of them, by dint of persevering pressure, forces its way into the other; and the one which in these contests has gained the most victories is termed the Conqueror, and is highly valued...The game is known as "Fighting Cocks" in Evans Leicestershire Gl. In London it was played with walnut shells.

and under Conkers; "The same game as 'Cogger.' The game is more generally called 'playin at sneel-shells.'"[26]

The Opies further identify the following names:

> 'Conkers', always so spelt, are also known as 'cheggies' in Langholm, 'hongkongs' in Grimsby, 'obbley-onkers' in Worcester, and 'cobs' in the area of Welshpool and Shrewsbury.[27]

From Northumberland comes a description of the game played with beech nuts which is called:

> Hardy nut, a boyish game played with beech nuts pierced with a hole for a string. Each alternately aims a blow at his opponent's nut so as to break it.[28]

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[26] Gomme, ibid., p. 77.

[27] Opie, Children's Games, p. 228.

[28] M.C. Balfour and N.W. Thomas, Northumberland, County Folk-Lore, IV (1904, p. 106). This source is cited by Sutton-Smith in "Index of Game Names", The Folkgames of Children (1972), p. 240, 242 for a game which he lists as "Handy Nut". Also, the source for the name Cob-Nut given as another alternative to Conkers in the same location in Sutton-Smith's "Index" is incorrectly given as C.F. Black and N.W. Thomas, comps., The Orkney and Shetland Islands, County Folk-Lore, Vol III (Publications

In summary, there are or were four main forms of the game:

1. Cobnut as a bowling, pitching or throwing game using nuts; the earliest form of the game.

2. Cobnut as a string game with which nuts, usually hazel nuts, were used to strike and break one or more against the other(s). Variant names include Cock Haw, Cobblicuts and Hardy Nut.

3. Conkers as a shell game using snails or whelks in which one was broken by being pressed against another. Variant names include Cogger and Fighting Cocks. This was the earliest form of the game by the name of Conkers.

4. Conkers as a string game with which nuts, generally horse chestnuts, often referred to only as chestnuts, were used to strike and break one another. Variant names include Hoblionker, Cobblety-cuts and Cobbler.

It is through each of the older forms of Cobnut and Conker that a group of related games are connected. To Cobnut are related a number of games in which the object is pitched, tossed or bowled at a pyramid or pile of similar or different objects or into one or more holes in the ground. The objects employed may be the stones of fruit, such as cherry pits, pebbles or marbles among other things. In a game called Castles, players attempt to knock down marbles which have been placed in "a small pyramid of three as a base, and one on the top."[29] just as in the early

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of the Folk-Lore Society, Vol. XLIX; London 1901), p. 107. On that page appears the middle of a transcript of trials for witchcraft which began on preceding pages and ended on succeeding pages. In the section on games in the same volume, there is no reference by any name to a game resembling Cobnut.

[29] Gomme, ibid., p. 60. The game of Castles is also depicted in Jacques Stella, Games & Pastimes of Childhood (1657); trans. and rptd. facsimile. (1969), #15. Castles. "At heap of marbles he takes aim/ (They're known as 'Castles' in the game)/ And tries to crush a castle's walls./ It makes no difference which it is:/The spoils of war are fairly his/ As soon as any castle falls. Played with marbles or cherrystones heaped in pyramids of one on three."

form of Cobnut. The same game is played using stones "loosely placed one upon another" called Cockly-jock reported by Gomme[30] who also describes a game called Cogs played in the same manner and identified by her as "apparently the same game as 'Cockly-jock'":

> The top stone of a pile is pelted by a stone flung from a given distance, and the more hits, or "cogglings off," the greater the player's score--Robinson's Whitby Glossary.[31]

This is similar to the game Duck on a Rock given by Brewster:

> A rather small rock is placed on top of a large one. Then either a straight line is drawn a certain distance from it or a large circle is traced around it. The object of the game is to knock the small rock off the large one with a pebble thrown from behind the line or from outside the circle. The player having the highest score at the end of a previously specified time or being first to reach a certain score is the winner.
>
> The game [from Kansas] is current also in New York, Michigan, and Indiana.[32]

Daiken makes the observation:

> Marbles, more likely as not, are a development of a very ancient game. Whether their remote ancestors were smooth and rounded like pebbles, or happened to be chestnuts, cobs, or the stores of cherries and peaches, is really not so important. They may have originated even as birds' eggs.[33]

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[30] Gomme, ibid., p. 76.

[31] Gomme, ibid., p. 77; cited also in [Eliza] Gutch, ed., East Riding of Yorkshire, County Folk-Lore, VI (1912) in which the phrase is given as 'coggings off'.

[32] Paul G. Brewster, American Nonsinging Games (1953), p. 136.

[33] Daiken, ibid., pp. 166-167.

There is a marble game called Cob described by the EDD:

> 18. A game at marbles;...Played by two or three boys, bowling a boss marble into holes made in the ground for that purpose; the number of which is gen. four.

Bartlett makes a connection between marbles and nuts:

> As one might expect; games with marbles are of great antiquity. There are early Egyptian ones in the British Museum, and some of the small stone spheres found among neolithic remains are thought to have been used rather for games than as projectiles. The Roman emperor Augustus used to play with his African slaves, using nuts instead of marbles (as did other Romans of his day).[34]

Other descriptions of related games using stones, marbles and round objects could be given to support a connection between Cobnut and marbles, bowling and a myriad of games using pebbles, were it germane to the discussion at hand. I think it sufficient to show only the most immediate connection, however.

On the other side, Conkers as a shell game and the action of pressing one object against another to break it is related directly to the egg tapping customs of Europe and to the Easter custom of "jarping" or "dumping" hard-boiled eggs which the Opies describe.

> In some places, notably in Cumberland, Northumberland, and Westmorland, children play an Easter game of conkers with their eggs known in Cumberland as 'dumping', and in Northumberland as 'jarping'. They hold a pace egg firmly in their fist and knock it against another person's egg to see whose is the strongest, and which egg can score the most victories. Sometimes the winner claims as his own any egg which he has succeeded in breaking.[35]

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[34] Vernon Bartlett, The Past of Pastimes (1969), pp. 64-65.

[35] Opie, Lore and Language, pp. 252-253.

Venetia Newall identifies Egg-tapping as "a widespread Easter custom" known throughout Europe by many names:

> "Norwegians call it 'knekke', meaning to 'knock', and English players, depending on the area, refer to 'shackling', 'jarping', or 'dumping'. It is 'eiertikken' in Holland, 'pötjerin' on Föhr, 'hjötjerin' on Amrum--both parts of north Friesland--'Kippen' in Germany, 'tutsanye' in Yugoslavia, and 'pigge påskeaeg' in Denmark.

and describes the game:

> The principle of the game is to hold an egg firmly and tap other people's so briskly that they break. Obviously, in order to win, one's own egg must not get damaged. The rules varied slightly from one country to another.[36]

She comments on its importance in Greece:

> If one survives the tapping game and remains intact throughout the Easter period it will bring good luck for the whole of the following year, for it symbolizes strength. It would be put carefully in front of the family ikon. Everyone loves this little ceremony, and even the King and Queen take part. A photograph of King Constantine cracking eggs with naval ratings appeared in the British Press at Easter, 1967. Family and friends like to do it, especially husband and wife. Each makes a wish, and whoever wins will see their wish come true. Two red eggs tapping against each other is a common motif on Greek Easter cards.[37]

There is one further game, a fleeting reference to which is made in a description quoted by Daiken, which seems to relate to the later forms of both Cobnut and Conker. Daiken refers to Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry by Carleton, quoting a description of the activity in "An Irish Hedge School":

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[36] Venetia Newall, An Egg at Easter (1971), p. 344.

[37] Ibid., pp. 345-346.

> In one corner is a knot engaged in 'Fox and Geese', or 'The Walls of Troy' on their slates; in another a pair of them (i.e. scholars) are 'fighting bottles', which consists of striking the bottoms together and he whose bottle breaks first, of course, loses.[38]

To conclude this section of the pre-twentieth century history of the game of Conkers, it remains only to quote the Opies:

> Conkers, played with horse chestnuts, which became possible with the introduction of the horse chestnut tree, Aesculus hippocastanum, has now displaced the centuries-old contest with cob nuts.[39]

Perhaps, as the Opies suggest, this has happened because the cobnuts "do not provide such a robust game as horse chestnuts".[40]

Of the printed accounts in the British and American literature published subsequent to World War I--and I have found only five major references--one is a description from New Zealand, one from Edinburgh, one is an American account and the remaining two discuss the game played in Britain. Of the last two, one treats the game in its seasonal context in a somewhat lyrical fashion and the second, the most comprehensive of all, is that given by Iona and Peter Opie, portions from which have been quoted already. I have found in a contemporary magazine, a Canadian account of the game. Also, the ubiquitous conker appears in literary references and has even infiltrated television programming, making a recent brief appearance in the escape plans of the POW's in the

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[38] Daiken, ibid., p. 15.

[39] Opie, Children's Games, p. 8.

[40] Ibid, p. 231.

television series "Colditz". Appearing to the guards to be playing a child's game of Conkers, two British prisoners of war in the German camp at Colditz use the conker on a stiffish string as a primitive sextant by which to work out a set of azimuth tables. A fellow prisoner, American as it happens, unaware of the plan comments as he passes by, "Conkers again?"

In A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, young Stephen Dedalus muses:

> That was mean of Wells to shoulder him into the Square ditch because he would not swop his little snuffbox for Wells's seasoned hacking chestnut, the conqueror of forty.[41]

Sutton-Smith identifies Conkers as "one of the great English children's games" but points out that in New Zealand, it is played "only where and when horse chestnuts were available," specifying that "there are reports of the game only from Christchurch, Blenheim, and Nelson," all dated after 1900. He gives one account of the game which he believes to be "exceptional" in its "science of the game". The report of the game follows:

> Each of two boys gets the nut of a horse-chestnut, bores a hole in it and threads it on a string fifteen inches long and knotted at the bottom. A strong string is very necessary. One of the boys suspends his conker at arm's length. The other takes the end of his own string between the thumb and finger of his right hand, and holds it at about chin level. He takes aim at his opponent's nut and then with a downward swipe knocks it as hard as possible. Each takes a turn at this. A miss swipe gives the other boy two swipes, until one of the nuts is broken on the string. The breaker's nut is then called a "One" conker. If that nut breaks yet another it is called a "Two" conker, and so

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[41] James Joyce, A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man (1971), p. 10.

> on. The nut that conquers, acquires for itself the number of the nut it breaks. Thus a nut by breaking a two and then a five conker, becomes a seven conker. I have known them to come to eighty and one hundred before being broken. They are a great prize and pride to own. To get our conkers really hard for the game we used to bake them. The best method, however, was to carry them round in our trouser pockets as many weeks as possible. No doubt this had some chemical action, such as the hardening of a potato when carried in a rheumatic's pocket for cure. [Nelson, 1910][42]

It appears from the New Zealand description that the players employed only one hand in the striking position. In any case, the way in which the string was held, between thumb and finger, is awkward and would inhibit the player's aim and lessen his control of the shot by introducing a greater element of chance into the game. This may well have been the point of the position; a handicap to offset the superiority of the active attacker to the passive target holder, and one requiring greater skill to overcome. Were there more information for comparison, it might be possible to detect either a change or a difference in the attitude toward chance from one in which it is actively utilized to one in which it is actively minimized. Of course the entire question is rendered academic if, what is more likely, the informant neglected to record that while the end of the string was held in one hand, the conker was held in the other which is the more common posture as I have observed it.

An unusual feature about this game is that a miss "gives the other boy two swipes." The more usual method is to change turns after each shot. Compare this with the method of play in the Edinburgh game and

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[42] Brian Sutton-Smith, "The Games of New Zealand Children", The Folkgames of Children (1972), pp. 160-161.

with the description given by the Opies, both of which follow.

The following is the account of Conkers which James Ritchie gives for Edinburgh:

> No sport brings a greater zest to the approach of autumn. Horse chestnuts become conker trees then, and in search of them the laddies sally far and wide.
>
> In preparation for the game, a hole is bored in the chestnut or conker which is then threaded on to a stout piece of twine or a boot-lace. This has to be knotted near the end in order to hold the conker. A string loaded with spare conkers usually accompanies each player.
>
> Contestants try, shot about, to destroy each other's conker. A fresh conker overwhelming an opponent, also a beginner, becomes a bully-one (or one-er). If it smashes another beginner, it becomes a bully-two (or two-er). But battle honours are added on so that a bully-two which shatters a bully-seven becomes a bully-nine. "Last year I had a bully-hunder."
>
> "Tangles" (i.e. a second shot) is claimed when your opponent's conker by not being held properly, gives rise to a mishit. A "cheesie" is an oval chestnut with a flat top. The hardening of conkers gets the name of being a very subtle art:
>
> "I steep mine in vinegar and then leave them in the oven for a whole night."
>
> "I keep them for a year."
>
> "I bury the conkers in the groond for a day or two."[43]

Ritchie's description gives a complete summary of Conkers in its modern form and serves as excellent contrast to the American version of the game given by Doris Vinton below:

> CONKERS. This is one of the games played with nuts or pebbles, both of which lend themselves to games that can be played anywhere and therefore, are often seen in city places.
>
> Conkers, typical boys' language for "conquerors", is an old game with many different names, but it used

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[43] James T.R. Ritchie, Golden City (1965), pp. 24-25.

always to be played with chestnuts or hazelnuts in English, Scottish and American cities.

Two or more can play, each playing with his own supply of nuts or all sharing a big bag of them.

A ring is drawn and each player puts one or two nuts (number depending upon whether there are few or many players) into the ring. A string is put through a nut, and players take turns whirling it and trying to strike the nuts and either crack them or knock them out of the ring. A player is entitled to all those he cracks and knocks out.

Sometimes the nuts are heaped up within a ring, and a nut is thrown at the heap to knock them out of the ring.[44]

The last version in this description--"nuts heaped up...and a nut thrown" is clearly a description of the earliest form of Cobnuts. It is just as clearly a description of a marble game, only using nuts, which brings to mind both Bartlett's and Daiken's observations on the connection between marbles and nuts. The first version in the description is unusual in that loose nuts are placed in a ring. A cap or the crown of a hat resembles a ring and while a piece of turf may not be round, it has in common with a ring and a cap, fixed boundaries. Whether or not the nut threaded on a string represents a regional variant or whether it represents a stage in the evolution of Cobnut from a pitching game to a string game, based on the evidence developed in this study, can only be matter for speculation--but is nevertheless an interesting possibility.

Leslie Daiken presents a lengthy and lyrical account of Conkers in seasonal context. Under the heading "September", he describes locale, season and interest thus:

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[44] Doris Vinton, The Folkways Omnibus of Children's Games (1970), pp. 296-297.

> The approach of autumn, with its fruity and nutty atmosphere, invests the woods with a special magic. This is also the time of the harvest of natural playthings; fruit-stones, cherry-pips, crabs, oak-apples, beech-mast; hazel-nuts, cones, burrs and berries; shells and pebbles, dried peas and beans...the pockets become crammed with all things dinkie and diminutive, for bowling and rolling, for flipping and flicking, for tipping and throwing--Nature's tokens....her discs, coils and counters, her buttons, beans and marbles, which she bestows every autumn, lavishly and with unfailing regularity, upon all those whose little hands cannot forgo a desire to clasp and fondle them.

The collection process:

> Aided by a strong wind, or by a stick thrown among the branches, will fall the swollen spiky shell of the horse-chestnut. With a soft <u>clump</u>, as resonant of this season as any plop of trout in water, the shell splits open on the grass to reveal, immaculately cased in its white inner pith, that varnished mahogany-looking nut which soon becomes the prize and preoccupation of every class of lad, and a lad of every class--the Conker.

They are "Strung together on a long cord, and caught around the chest like a bandolier of polished brown leather,..." Daiken conveys the enthusiasm of the spectator, the hypnotic quality of the moving chestnut, and the uncertainty of the game's outcome. He cites precedence rhymes and comments on the ritualistic nature of preparing the chestnuts. He notes no rules and gives no explanation of how the game is played, concentrating instead on the context of the game:

> The conker fashion catches on and passes from one to another like wildfire. Few games in a playground will hold a group of onlookers in such rapt attention as the contest between nut challenger and nut challenged. Like pendulums they sway at the end of their bits of string, and few can foretell which one will prove to be champion in this struggle for the boast of the survival of the toughest. Generally, but not universally, an accepted jingle is prelude to the smack, hacking, cracking whacking game of skill:
>
> Hick, hack, first smack,
> Conqueror of eleven!

Remarking that the game is "one of the Conquest group, like King of the Castle in origin, combined with a game improvised with the aid of nuts." which has remained very popular, he goes on to describe the ritual preparation:

> Seasoning the nut, boring a hole through it with nail or spike or gimlet, threading it, preserving it, safeguarding it from the covetous or the tempter--all of this is part of the ritual and its mystery. Sometimes a veteran conqueror will be kept till the following year by some far-sighted strategist. By then it certainly will have become "a hard nut to crack":
>
> Obli O, my first go!
> Obli onker, my first conker![45]

Recollection of the game stirs warm reminiscences not only for Daiken but for William Cameron who remembers, though not as expansively, something of the attitude with which the Conker was regarded in Canada:

> Peel away the spines and the soft green coating; drill a hole, and run a string through the chestnut. This is an Original Conker, beautiful and lethal, fit for battle against other conkers. Sharp collisions on the lawn. Bob Banting had a conker with 47 kills to its credit one time, a large glossy brown demon, dented but invulnerable. He kept it in a shoe box for a whole year, but the heart had gone out of it during the layoff, and Don Stauffer's new conker split it wide open on the first swing. Banting buried the pieces in his mother's flower bed, but nothing ever came up.[46]

The Opies, as well, remark that "the youthful pleasure of prising a mahogany-smooth chestnut from its prickly casing is not easily

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[45] Daiken, ibid., pp. 158-162.

[46] William Cameron, "Reflections from the Third Season", Maclean's magazine, LXXXVI, no. 10 (1973), pp. 40-43.

forgotten". They, too, record that to collect the conker, boys throw

> sticks and stones up into the chrstnut trees (the best conkers are believed to be at the top of the tree) and, with or without permission

and invade people's gardens. The "cheesie" or flat-topped conker reported by Ritchie has the added names of "cheeser" and "cheese cutter" in the Opie report. They elaborate upon the "subtle art" of hardening the conker referred to by Ritchie:

> Some boys bake their conkers for half an hour to harden them, or put them by the fire for a few days, or up the chimney. Some soak them in salt and water, or in a solution of soda; the majority prefer vinegar. An Edinburgh recipe is a teaspoonful of sugar and a little water in a jar of vinegar. A Putney boy puts them in vinegar for an hour, and then in water, explaining: 'If you did not put them in water the smell would keep on the conker and then people would not play you because they would think it was harder than theirs.' Others, more patient, put their chestnuts in a dark cupboard and leave them until next year. This makes them shrivelled and tough, easily recognizable as 'seasoners', 'yearsies', or 'second yearsers'. A boy with this year's conker, plump and shiny, sometimes called a 'straight conker', being straight from a tree, seldom cares to venture his new acquisition against a 'seasoner' and almost certain destruction.

The Opies record that the conker is carefully selected, the hole made with a meat skewer "so as not to split the edges" through the exact middle, the conker threaded with a "strong piece of string, or a lace from a football boot" which is "long enough to be wound twice round the hand with about eight inches to hang down" and carefully "knotted at the bottom to ensure the nut does not slip off and smash to pieces on an asphalt playground". They cite formulas and rhymes for claiming precedence which I have already presented. The holding and striking

positions are described:

> The other boy then holds up his conker, dangling on the string, at whatever height best suits his opponent, and keeps it still. The first boy sizes up to it, holding his own conker between his thumb and forefinger, or behind his first two fingers, as if they were a catapult, and pulls the conker loose with a swinging downward motion on to his opponent's nut.

The method of changing turns appears to differ. The Opies report

> If he hits it (the conker) the other player has his turn; if he misses he may be allowed two more tries.[47]

In the method described in the New Zealand report, "Each takes a turn" but a miss entitles the opponent to two "swipes". In Edinburgh, the "Contestants try, shot about, to destroy each other's conker". This last method appears to be the same as that given in the earlier reports: the 1890 Derbyshire Cob-nut report speaks of "the lads in turn striking at the rest of the nuts, till one was broken"; in the Cheshire report where players sit astride a log, they "go on striking alternately till one chestnut splits the other"; and in the "Oblonker" report of 8 November 1878, "They then strike alternately at each other's nut."

If the strings tangle there is a penalty and "tangles" is the term used in Edinburgh, but the Opies report others:

> If his string tangles in the other boy's string there is immediate cry of 'strings'--or 'clinks' (Manchester), 'clinch' (Ferryhill), 'clenches' (Wigan), 'plugs' (Wolstanton), 'lugs' (Leek), 'tags' (Hainton), 'twits' (Cranborne), 'twitters' (Newcastle-under-Lyme), or 'tangles' (Bristol); and whoever cries first has an extra shot, or, in some places, two, three, or even six extra shots. Sometimes boys deliberately play for 'strings'

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[47] Opie, Children's Games, pp. 228-230.

> so that they can claim extra shots, but this is not popular since the wrench the hand receives when the strings tangle can hurt and even cut the skin.

The Opies also record the following methods of scoring:

> When one conker breaks another into pieces so that nothing remains on the string, the winning conker becomes a 'one-er', in Plymouth and Cornwall a 'one-kinger', in Sheffield a 'conker one', in Edinburgh, St Andrews, Kinlochleven, Oban, and doubtless elsewhere in Scotland, a 'bull', 'booly one', in Cummock a 'bullyanna'. If it then breaks another person's conker it becomes a 'two-er', if a third a 'three-er', and so on. If one boy's conker is a 'tenner' and another boy's a 'fiver', whichever wins will become a 'sixteener'. A conker that is a 'sixteener', and perhaps becoming battle-worn, is unlikely to be matched against anything less than a 'tenner'. It will not be worth the risk.

They stipulate that "the worst disaster than can happen is that both conkers break at once, then both scores are lost."

The only report of breaking the fallen nut with the foot which I have found is given in the Opies' account as follows:

> In London, if a player drops his conker, or it is knocked out of his hand, or it slips off the string, the other player can shout 'stamps' and jump on it, and add its score to his own; but should its owner first cry 'no stamps' it cannot be counted as a victory, even if jumped upon and crushed.

The Opies also give the only report of girls playing the game:

> And the girls play too. One girl remarks that when boys are not very good at conkers they come to the girls' end of the playground 'because then they think they'll win, but sometimes the girls win'.

Interest generated by conkers is intense and widespread judging from these examples:

> When the conker craze is at its height 'there are pieces of conker flying in every direction, and we have to clean the yard up every day... The bins and wastepaper baskets are nearly full'.
>
> When there is to be a match between two skilled players, each with a 'hundreder' or more, excitement flows through a junior school, bets may be laid, and the contest attracts as much attention as any sporting event in the school calendar. In 1952 the B.B.C. staged a contest on TV between a 460-er, a 1136-er, a 2385-er, and a 3367-er. The winner became a 7351-er. More recently a conker championship has been arranged annually at the village of Walton-on-Trent in Derbyshire.[48]

The way that the youngster collects the horse chestnut, for whatever reason, has not escaped the attention of the dendrologist, nor has it been without its influence on horticulture. Writing about the horse chestnut, Thomas H. Everett observes:

> Horticulturists cultivate pink and red-flowered variants as well as a double-flowered one which does not produce fruits. The latter is preferred in places where the fruits may attract the attention of boys, who go to great efforts to obtain the seeds, frequently damaging the trees by bombarding them with sticks and stones.[49]

The point has not escaped the Opies whose comments suitably close this part of the discussion:

> It is presumably just part of man's struggle with nature that one local authority (Lowestoft) has planted a commemorative horse-chestnut which will not bear chestnuts, so that it shall not be a temptation to the young; and that one toy manufacturer has attempted to popularize plastic conkers, which when broken, can be reassembled.[50]

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[48] Ibid.

[49] Thomas H. Everett, Living Trees of the World (New York, n.d.), p. 223.

[50] Opie, Children's Games, p. 230.

To conclude the history of Conkers it is necessary to mention briefly something of the horse chestnut tree itself. In addition, it is also useful to set the history of Conkers against the general background of the significance of nuts and their source--trees, in folk tradition.

The Horse Chestnut family (Hippocastanacae) consists of about twenty five species of trees and shrubs growing throughout the temperate zone of the world: in the forests of eastern Asia, India, southeastern Europe, Great Britain, Ireland, the eastern and western United States, Central America and Mexico.[51] Aesculus hippocastanum or common horse chestnut is the best known, came originally from the Balkans, although until the end of the nineteenth century it was thought to have originated in the Himalayas, and has been introduced throughout the world. In 1746, Peter Collinson of London sent seeds to the noted botanist, John Bartram of Pennsylvania and by 1763, Collinson in correspondence with Bartram was expressing delight that "our horsechestnut has flowered".[52] The horse chestnut may grow thirty to one hundred feet in height, can have a trunk up to seven feet in diameter and is known, understandably, as the giant of the family. One explanation for the name horse chestnut follows:

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[51] William M. Harlow and Ellword S. Harrar. Textbook of Dendrology Covering the Important Forest Trees of the United States and Canada. (1941), p. 458.

[52] Everett, Living Trees, pp. 223-224.

> Matthioli, physician to Emperor Maximilian II, received a specimen from Constantinople in 1565 with information that the Turks fed their horses meal prepared from the seeds. Matthioli gave the tree the Latin name of Castanea equina. Later this was translated into Greek as Hippocastanum, and Linnaeus adopted this form in the name he gave to the tree, Aesculus hippocastanum. Both the Latin and Greek names mean horse chestnut.[53]

European wood carvers make great use of the wood and the horse chestnut is one of the important species in "making international phenological observations."[54]

Because the buckeyes are part of the species of Aesculus, the horse chestnut is also called "the buckeye" and the buckeye is special. It is good luck and it has curative powers as do chestnuts and nuts in general. For example, in Germany chestnuts "are carried in the pocket as a charm against backache".[55] In the United States "Many Ozark hillmen carry buckeyes in their pockets", "There's an old saying that no man was ever found dead with a buckeye in his pocket," and buckeyes protect against rheumatism, hemmorhoids and bad luck.[56] In Adams County, Illinois, buckeyes are carried or kept in the house for good luck; carried in the pocket they guarantee luck at cards or baseball and prevent headaches and rheumatism. Tea made from chestnut leaves and bark is taken for dropsy, asthma, cold, change of life, malaria and cramped leg.[57]

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[53] Ibid.

[54] William Cary Grimm, The Book of Trees (1966), p. 456.

[55] Maria Leach, ed., Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend (1949), p. 215.

[56] Vance Randolph, Ozark Magic and Folklore (1964), p. 153.

[57] Harry Middleton Hyatt, Folk-lore from Adams County, Illinois (1935) passim.

Nuts have been universally used in divination rites because they have special and magical properties which they naturally derive from the trees of which they are the fruit. Trees have been held sacred and worshipped in many cultures as the embodiment of life itself, stemming from an early belief that the tree was the origin of mankind. In Scandinavian, Roman and Greek mythologies, the gods are linked with trees: certain trees were either the earthly form or home of certain gods. The hazel (Corylus avellana) for example was considered the actual embodiment of lightning and was therefore sacred to Thor.[58] It follows naturally from this therefore that there would be magic trees, holy trees, tree spirits and demons and fairies residing in trees. Trees were believed to possess souls and were heard to utter cries of pain. The leaves, fruit, bark, flowers of the tree or anything growing on or near the tree were often invested with the same magical properties of the tree. Thus the origin of curative powers ascribed to nuts and thus the power for foretelling the future also ascribed to nuts. The hazel nut has special divining powers and "even still the magic power of the nut is held to be all potent on All-Hallows Eve or Halloween."[59] This is also known as "Nutcrack Night" in England. The practice of placing nuts, either hazel nuts or chestnuts in a fireplace on Hallowe'en to determine the name of the one who "loves you most" is an old custom, well celebrated in Burns' poem "Hallowe'en". In the context of Hallowe'en,

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[58] T.F. Thiselton Dyer, The Folk-Lore of Plants (1889), p. 45.

[59] Alexander Porteous, Forest Folklore, Mythology, and Romance (1928), p. 266.

CHAPTER 3

THE GAME OF CHESTNUTS AS PLAYED BY SELECTED GROUPS OF CHILDREN IN ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND

The children of St. John's, Newfoundland ranging in age from five to fourteen, boys and some girls, from the areas of St. John's as described in Appendix I, play a game which they call "Chestnuts." One ten-year old Chestnut player gave me a written description of

how to play - - - - - -CHESTNUTS

> You get a chestnut from a tree, it will looke like a green little ball with sharp humps on it. When you get one you can bit in a little ways in and hall down, you will see a little or big white ball take it out and put it in your drawer for a week or two. When you take it out it should be brown and hard, if it is you get a fork and put it threw then get a strin and put it threw. then wind it round your two fingers and then get someone else with a chestnut and then someone will hold theres down and the other person hits it with his chestnut and trys to crack the other persons chestnut. That is how to make and play chestnuts.

The description given in the following pages is derived from the information contained in videotapes which I made of the game as well as from discussion with and observation of the participants at times outside but related to the actual videotaping. In this description references are made to the descriptive commentaries and the photo record supplement which make up Chapters 6-8. The footnote citations will be in the special reference code which is explained at the beginning of Chapters 6 and 7.

Estyn Evans writing about the games and amusements, indicates "Among the things involved in these games and divinations are apples, nuts...."[60]

Two reports which follow are particularly interesting:

> In Gaul, the Druids ate acorns in order to acquire prophetic powers. In Scotland, the hazel-nut was used for the same purpose. Young people still resort to hazel-groves in order to get a supply of nuts for use in the divination rites on Hallowe'en. The hazel was associated with the milk-yielding goddess because of the milk contained in the green nut. Children who were born in autumn were considered particularly fortunate because they could have the 'milk of the nut' as their first food, and weakly children received an elixir of this milk mixed with wild honey.[61]

> The ancient Irish bards believe, that there were fountains at the heads of our chief Irish rivers, over each of which grew nine hazels. At certain times of the year, these hazels produced beautiful red nuts, which fell on the surface of their respective springs. Salmon or trout of the rivers came up and ate them, and this is said to have caused red speckles to appear on their bodies. It was thought, whosoever could catch and eat one of those fish must become endued (sic) with a sublime and poetic inspiration.[62]

More could be and has been written on the subject, but this small and admittedly incomplete sampling provides some background against which to see the specialized use of nuts in a children's game.

The following chapter presents a detailed description of the game in a contemporary setting played by certain children in St. John's, Newfoundland under the name of Chestnuts.

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[60] Estyn Evans, Irish Folk Ways (1961), p. 277.

[61] F. Marian McNeill, The Silver Bough, I (1957), pp. 79-80.

[62] John O'Hanlon (Lageniensis), Irish Folk Lore: Traditions and Superstitions of the Country: with Humorous Tales (1870); rptd. (1973), p. 244.

In general terms, the game is played in the Fall, in an open space either indoors or out, by any two people--usually children--male or female, using horse chestnuts. The object of the game is to destroy the opponent's chestnut. The two players face one another at arm's length and the player to claim "first knocks" begins. With a horse chestnut threaded on a string or shoe lace, the player attempts to strike and break a similarly threaded horse chestnut held by his opponent by the string, usually at arm's length. If the aggressor hits the target but does not break it, he gets another "shot". The aggressor continues to strike until he either misses or breaks the target nut. When he misses, he loses his turn. When the aggressor breaks the target nut, his chestnut "wins" and it acquires the age of the vanquished nut in addition to its own age: a one-year old nut which destroys a five-year old nut becomes six years old. Should two chestnuts not tried in battle, and therefore having no age status, be pitted against one another, the winning chestnut becomes one year old.[1] Should the aggressor tangle the string of the target nut, he loses his turn and suffers a penalty of three "knocks", which entitles his opponent to three free strikes. If in the course of play the target is knocked from the opponent's hand intact to the ground, the aggressor may call

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[1]It is interesting to note that the manner of scoring or assigning status to chestnuts is similar to the way in which champion dogs are officially rated in dog shows. Dr. F.A. Aldrich, Dean of Graduate Studies at Memorial University and a breeder of show dogs tells me that the champion dog of a show acquires the combined accumulation of points of all the other dogs in the competition.

"stampins" which entitles him to race after the nut and try to destroy it by stamping on it before the owner reaches it, but the target player can prohibit this action by calling "no stampins" first, or failing that, he may beat his opponent to the fallen target and rescue it. This condition of play can be established at the outset of the game or at any time during play by the first player to declare either "stampins" or "no stampins".

On first appearance, the game seems quite simple and uncomplicated. The speed with which a game is dispatched in a matter of seconds or a few minutes at most, may contribute to that impression. Closer and more careful observation reveals a sophisticated game consisting of a number of elements which will be described in detail. The collection of the chestnuts, their selection and preparation, and for many children, although not all, the conditioning of the chestnut, constitute three preliminary elements of the game that are observed with greater or lesser attention depending upon the individual. The actual contest provides the arena for a wide range of playing styles and strategies, simple or sophisticated, again depending on the player and conditioned by his view of what constitutes fair play. That many of the body movements and positions taken during the game are not random nor accidental, but part of designed strategies might well be missed but for the attention drawn by the sciences of proxemics and kinesics to the way in which people position themselves in relation to one another and the way in which they move. For this reason then, posture, body stance and angle, arm and leg positions are all important elements of the game and will be described also in some detail.

Initially, the search for and collection of chestnuts used in the game are important in themselves. The places of collection vary and selection of location is usually made from trees closest to the child's neighborhood, although some of the children in this study ranged far afield in search of the chestnuts. Almost all the St. John's children to whom I spoke are aware of prime locations of chestnut trees in the city outside their neighborhood and are ever alert to the location of a new tree. At Patty and Billy Erving's suggestion, I drove them about the city so they could point out locations known to them and scout new ones. Together we discovered a beautiful old horse chestnut in Bowring Park, where we also met Ricky Heistinger and Michael Moreton, who helped us collect nuts and who were recruited to participate in the VTR sessions. It was from this tree that we withdrew ignominiously at the insistence of a park attendant who received my apologetic explanation about "research" with great scepticism. Some of the favorite locations in St. John's are: Bannerman Park, the schoolyards of St. Bonaventure's and St. Patrick's, Waterford Bridge Road, Bowring Park and "Bairds" (a private property located on the corner of New Cove and Mt. Cashel Roads). After a taping session, I learned that Dougie Puddester, one of the participants in VT#2 Gp II, had lived two years in Logy Bay, a small community on the outskirts of St. John's. He claims the chestnuts are much better from that area because they are larger.

The chestnuts under discussion belong to the family of buckeye (Hippocastanaceae) which consists of two genera, Aesculus and Billia. The genera Billia is an evergreen, native to southern Mexico to

Columbia. According to a local authority,[2] two species of the genera Aesculus have been identified growing in St. John's. One species, Aesculus octandra or the yellow buckeye grows in Bannerman Park. The other and best known species, Aesculus hippocastanum or "common horse chestnut", grows throughout the city and two trees are planted in Bowring Park. Aesculus hippocastanum is a popular ornamental tree, native to the Balkans, and introduced into North America from Britain in 1746. It is the famous chestnut of Paris and Hampton Court. It is sometimes confused with Castanea or "true" chestnut, a genera of the family Fagaces or Beech. Of the two native American species, Castanea dentata (Chestnut) and Castanea pumila (Chinquapin), Castanea dentata has been virtually eradicated by an uncontrollable parasitic fungus.[3] Unlike Castanea, the fruit or nut of Aesculus contains toxic glucosides and is poisonous to humans and some animals.[4]

A boy may go off by himself to collect horse chestnuts (Aesculus hippocastanum or Aesculus octandra), but usually collection is a group enterprise. One method of collecting described by and in part observed of the two younger Erving children follows: The group goes to an area where chestnuts are known to be found. Whether there is one tree or more, the members of the group spread out and hunt singly or in small groups.

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[2] Mr. W.R. Parrott, Forestry Instructor, College of Trades and Technology, St. John's, Newfoundland.

[3] Thomas H. Everett, Living Trees of the World (n.d.), passim.

[4] William Cary Grimm, The Book of Trees (1966), p. 352.

When the collecting is finished, everyone puts all the chestnuts gathered into a common pile and whether a member contributed many or none at all, the nuts are evenly distributed. Negotiation and argument accompany the distribution proceedings.

Various means are favored for obtaining chestnuts. They are either picked off the ground when they fall naturally or when knocked from the tree with sticks and stones. Some children will climb the trees and pick the nuts. Patty Erving waits for a windy day and picks from the ground the nuts the wind has blown from the tree. She will climb a tree after chestnuts, but is not an ardent tree climber because she is afraid of "high heights".[5] In contrast, her brother Billy disdains collecting from the ground, prefers to get chestnuts while still in the husk and will climb, as I have watched in fascinated horror, to the outermost parts of a tree in total disregard of life and limb. The most common method I have observed used in St. John's, is to "fire" rocks, sticks or any projectile capable of dislodging either chestnuts or limbs and branches containing clusters of chestnuts. Bobby Erving speaks of the method to interviewer Jennifer Davis.[6] This method is destructive and both attracts the attention and provokes the ire of the tree owner bringing the child into conflict with an adult and introducing an element of challenge or hazard in the collecting. From the "Bowring Park Incident", I have some appreciation of the hazard. Dougie Puddester,

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[5] VT#3, Footage Reading 170-188, pp. 226-227.

[6] VT#3, Footage Reading 387, 1. 4, p. 246.

Randy Dunne and Leonard Redman were in the process of being driven off a property on Forest Road when I first saw them. They were on the lawn picking chestnuts off the ground under the horse chestnut tree and the owner of the property was advising them of her thoughts on the matter in no uncertain terms. Three nine year old boys who live in my neighborhood off Waterford Bridge Road and with whom I was discussing the game, volunteered to get me some chestnuts. The interesting point was the basis on which they chose one of several possible locations: "Old man... can't stand anyone near his place. Let's get 'em there. It'll be good for a chase."

After the chestnuts have been collected, they are sorted for the best nuts. There are various preferences and judgements as to the best nut and these preferences are related to the strategies employed in the game. It is unanimously agreed that the best nut is the hardest one. Beyond this point of agreement, opinion varies greatly. Ricky and Michael, participants in VT#1 and 3, tend to favor the smaller nut because it makes a difficult target. By contrast, Leonard and Dougie of VT#2 Gp III, like a large, round nut; such a nut is heavy and capable of considerable breaking force. Patty and Billy prefer the nut which is slightly flat on tap and bottom because it makes an awkward target and is vulnerable only on the sides.. The preferences listed indicate the thought directed to the selection of the nut and relate to the experience a youngster has had in connection with a champion nut. Naturally, if chestnuts are in short supply, any will do.

Once the selection is made, the preparation of the chestnut begins: an important element of the game because the preparation of the chestnut may well influence the outcome of the game. The techniques of preparation are varied as are the materials used. It is generally conceded that the "sneaker lace" from a pair of canvas shoes, or "sneakers" is the best string that can be used. It is sturdy, well woven, has a metal or plastic cap at each end which makes it easy to thread, makes a good strong knot and can be gripped well. Gary Breen identified the string he used as a sneaker lace, the best kind to have, and in answer to my question, "Why do you choose that?" responded simply, "It's stronger."[7] For some players, the knot is a matter for attention and care. Dougie Puddester lost the chestnut from his string because there was "Not a good knot on it."[8] To prevent an opponent from pulling the chestnut off the lace because of a poor knot, Ricky ties two knots in his lace, one on top of the other with the larger portion of the knot resting against the bottom of the chestnut.[9]

Any sharp pointed object can be and is used for reaming the hole in the nut. The reamer chosen is related to the size of the nut and the size of the hole wanted which in turn depends upon the diameter of the string used. Francis Gillespie uses a poultry skewer,[10] the Ervings use

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[7] See VT#2 Gp I, U4, R033-048, pp. 162-163; see also PR 1/3-6.

[8] See VT#2 Gp III, U5 G1 R482-512, pp. 203-204.

[9] See VT#3, Footage Reading 771-782, pp. 270-272.

[10] See VT#2 Gp II, U10 R425-458, pp. 198-199.

a kitchen serving fork[11] or a knitting needle and Bobby and Gary Breen, a nail.[12] Care is taken in reaming the hole. Too large a hole weakens the nut if it does not break it outright. One clean hole is preferred to many small beginning stabs which also weaken the nut, giving the opponent the advantage. This is the plight of Bobby Breen who with only a sharp stick to ream his chestnut, agonizes "Got too big a hole", while his brother makes fun of the number of holes Bobby is making in the nut. Friend John sympathetically predicts, "Three holes, that's gonna go at one knock."[13] If there is no nail or other sharp instrument proven by experience at hand, then a piece of wire lying on the ground, or as a last resort, a sharp twig will be used.[14]

The chestnut is frequently prepared in a special way or "conditioned" as one player put it. The hole is reamed in the chestnut first while it is still soft and this is thought to help in the hardening process, whatever further conditioning may be used; the soft chestnut is also easier to ream. Not all children do this, only the more careful or astute. The chestnut may be soaked in vinegar and then baked slowly in an oven; this is thought to harden it. The belief is that the vinegar

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[11] See VT#3, Footage Reading 243-247, pp. 232-233.

[12] See VT#2, Gp I, U4 R033-048, p. 162.

[13] See VT#2 Gp I, last third of U6 R060-100, p. 166 ; also U12 R116-127, p. 169.

[14] See VT#2 Gp I, U6 R060-100, p. 164.

seeps into the soft meat of the nut and speeds the drying and hardening process in some way, which is how Ricky explained it.[15]

While there is no chemical evidence to support the belief, the natural action of the acetic acid on the chestnut would be to break down the fibre, weakening rather than strengthening the nut. Representative of the same belief is a report of conditioning the chestnut in salt water.[16] Since salt water is used to rot out unwanted tree stumps, any strengthening property of salt water, as in the case of vinegar, seems unlikely. There is a second possibility: concentrated acetic acid has in common with salt, a hydroscopic or water-absorbing property. It could be hypothesized that if the chestnut shell were a semi-permeable membrane and if dilute acetic acid (vinegar) retained some portion of the hydroscopic property of the concentrate, then household vinegar might draw moisture from the nut.[17]

Some children put the chestnuts away for a week or two to dry and harden naturally, as Billy Erving mentions in his description of "how to play - - - - -CHESTNUTS" which appears at the beginning of this chapter. Bobby Erving stipulates that they must be stored in "an airtight bag",[18] but Ricky Heistinger cautions against the use of an

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[15] VT#3, Footage Reading 782-797, pp. 272-273.

[16] Corner Brook, Newfoundland.

[17] Mr. R. Chafe, Chemical Engineer, College of Trades and Technology, St. John's, Newfoundland.

[18] VT#3, Footage Reading 387-394, pp. 246-247.

airtight bag because the moisture which works out of the nut and which cannot escape, forms mould on the nut, and rots it. For this reason a plastic bag should be avoided at all costs. The Breens put their chestnuts in the refrigerator for a period and then take them out to dry in a warm, dry place. Some dip the nuts in glue or shellac to harden them and transparent tape may be applied to the nut before dipping. Billy Erving describes this practice in the context of cheating.[19] Although artificially hardening the chestnut in the way outlined above is acceptable and normal practice, the use of glue or transparent tape is not usual nor is it accepted other than as unfair play. I have seen Billy Erving use tape and glue; however, I suspect that his action was partly for demonstration and partly experimentation. The "condition" of the chestnut was quickly detected by his sister who angrily charged him with cheating. This disturbed him not at all, but rather, as I read the situation, provided another dimension of entertainment for him.

One youngster has a unique and specialized way of dealing with the chestnuts, preferring to get them in the husk. The husk is allowed to cure, open and disgorge its seed naturally. The hole is then reamed, the string threaded and the chestnut put away until it is quite dry and hard; about two weeks. This is the method used by Francis Gillespie who then picks away the shell, leaving only the hard meat.[20] The shell of the chestnut continues to thicken while it remains in the husk attached

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[19] VT#3, Footage Reading 149-165, pp. 224-225.

[20] VT#2 Gp II, U10 R425-458, p. 199.

to the tree. The cupule or husk opens only after the chestnut has reached maturity. The chestnuts which have dropped to the ground are mature and have thicker shells than those not allowed to mature on the tree, therefore the belief held by some children, for example Billy Erving, that a chestnut taken in the husk is a better nut, is unfounded. Francis Gillespie's practice could be construed to represent belief found in fact since the immature shell would be easier to remove than that of the mature. Some players save a few chestnuts for the next year and Francis is one of these. During the season the provident youngster carries with him a number of chestnuts, conditioned, reamed and threaded on the playing string immediately ready for play. Upon challenge, he has only to remove the spare chestnuts. I observed Ricky Heistinger remove a spare chestnut from his string as he challenged Patty Erving in action which took place off camera during the recording of VT#3.

Although the youngster assigns responsibility for victory or defeat to the chestnut and makes no overt claim to skill or strategy, he is, in varying degree, concerned with positions and strategies; position which functions as an element of strategy, or position and strategy which are independent of the other. Body stance, position vis-a-vis the opponent, positioning, grip and maneuver or target and striking nut, and the direction and force of the striking nut are all matters of judgement based on an assessment of the existing circumstances. Some of the maneuvers require a degree of skill to execute; some of the positions are matters of style or comfort.

As indicated previously, in the context of proxemics, the spatial relationships of the players are quite important in realizing some of the strategies employed in the game. The activity of the game is best visualized as taking place within and roughly bounded by an invisible circle of changeable dimension, the maximum diameter of which is the combined arm lengths of the two players. Within this small circular area, the antagonists move and play very close to one another with the focus of the action on the small chestnut target. The body distance between two players is usually from two to four feet and players may face each other in approximately four main body angles: 180°, 135°, 90° and 45°. Some examples of these body angles may be seen in the photos taken from the videotapes which constitute the supplementary photo record in Chapter 8. The plate references are given in the following table:

		180°	135°	90°	45°
VT#2 Gp I	PR	1/13, 1/19		5/2	1/18
Gp II	PR	6/19 8/15,16	9/9	7/12	
Gp III	PR	11/16	14/2,3	11/3	15/18
VT#1				19/5,6	

Generally, the person holding the target will take his position and the aggressor will move into a position relative to the target which is most comfortable for him. By contrast, Leonard Redman, when he has the striking turn, shoves his opponent away from him if he feels the target is too close.[21] The posture of the players may be erect, rigid, relaxed, slumped, bent from the waist with trunk forward and spine straight, hunched over, or body bent backward or forward. Leg stance is greatly varied for the purposes of comfort, stability or as a physical adjunct to strategy. Since a combination of components makes up any given leg stance employed, a number of descriptive elements were identified from observation and a particular leg stance description may be derived from the list which follows:

1. straight
2. together
3. spread slightly apart
4. wide apart
5. knees locked (legs held stiff at knee)
6. knees relaxed
7. right leg ahead
8. left leg ahead
9. kneeling on right knee
10. kneeling on left knee
11. kneeling on both knees
12. right knee bent so many degrees
13. left knee bent so many degrees
14. both knees bent so many degrees
15. weight evenly distributed
16. weight on right
17. weight on left

The target player employs a number of variations of arm position, many of which are strategic in function. Specific arm positions used can

[21] VT#2 Gp III, U5 G1 R482-512, p. 204.

be derived from the following list of descriptive elements:

1. straight from the shoulder
2. lowered so many degrees below shoulder level
3. raised so many degrees above shoulder level
4. level with shoulder
5. elbow crooked so many degrees
6. directly in front
7. directly at the side
8. point between front and side
9. left
10. right
11. tight to the body
12. close to the body
13. away from the body

The length of the string of striking and target chestnuts is varied by the player, partly through strategy and partly through style, both influenced by experience. After watching and playing the game with the children from Vanier School during the taping of VT#1, Ricky changed the holding length of his target from two inches[22] to eight or nine inches, a fact which I had observed and one which he acknowledged.[23] Prior to the taping of VT#1, the children were asked, independently of each other, the length of the target string which they used and what they thought the proper length should be. All answered that eight or nine inches was the appropriate length and seemed to feel that they had learned to lengthen the string because when it was longer it made a more difficult target and was "safer". If it was too short, the chances of bruised knuckles were greater and this increased the possibility of dropping the chestnut. The length of the target string used by Billy

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[22] PR 17/22; cf. PR 17/23 and 18/10.

[23] VT#3, Footage Reading 723 l. 5-731 l. 4, pp. 266-267.

and Bobby Erving and Roger Puddester ranged from eight to eleven inches.[24] The length of the string by which both Dougie and Randy in VT#2 Gp III hold the target ranges from eight to eleven inches[25] yet they use a very short string in the striking position,[26] a point for which they are criticised by Michael and Greg.[27] The children in VT#2 Gp I hold the target about five to six inches and use approximately the same length in the striking position.[28] In VT#2 Gp II, Francis Gillespie held his target on a string approximately five to six inches[29] whereas the length of Michael Moreton's target string was slightly shorter, three to five inches.[30]

Both Ricky and Michael Moreton pointed out that the length of the string employed in the striking position determined the power and accuracy of the shot.[31] With the short string, the player can strike with more accuracy but with less power; conversely with a longer string, the player has more power but less accuracy.

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[24] PR 17/22, 23; 18/10; 22/11.

[25] PR 12/16; 14/2, 8, 19, 23; 16/19, 21.

[26] PR 11/13; 16/2, 10, 21.

[27] VT#3, Footage Reading 531-563, pp. 258-259.

[28] PR 1/2, 13, 18.

[29] PR 6/19, 20.

[30] PR 8/5.

[31] VT#3, Footage Reading 713-723, p. 265 ; 731-742 ll. 24-30, p. 268.

The holding position of the striking nut varies somewhat from player to player but usually, for the right-handed player, the nut is held in the left hand resting on either the upturned or slightly turned palm between the first and second joints of the index and third finger[32] with the end of the string wrapped two or three times around the index and third finger of the right hand,[33] or else completely around the whole hand a number of times.[34] Patty Erving wraps the string of her striking chestnut twice around her four fingers for a more secure grip. I have occasionally seen a child fecklessly clutch the string wadded up in the palm of the hand. The manner in which a given child secures the end of the string is the same for both target and striking position.

Ricky Heistinger altered his method of holding in the striking position to incorporate a sighting aid for more precision in aim. He holds the nut between the tips of thumb and index finger of his left hand which is cupped and turned out at a forty-five degree angle from the vertical, and is on the same plane with and five inches from the extended thumb of his right hand over which the string of the striking nut is stretched and secured tightly around his knuckles. He maintains the position of each hand to the other throughout the four phases of the striking movement: aim, initial downstroke, upstroke and final

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[32] PR 1/13; 8/9, 10; 14/7, 16; 16/20; 18/3, 8, 15, 16.

[33] VT#2 Gp I, U1 G1 R015-22 (2), p. 159; U4 R033-048, p. 162; U12 R116-127 last par., p. 170; U16 R167-172, p. 175.

[34] VT#2 Gp I, U23 G6 R192-204 (2), pp. 177-178; U30 R246-250, p. 183; VT#2 Gp III, U15 R551-554, p. 209.

downstroke.[35]

The standard distance between the aiming hands of the aggressor and the target is about five inches but variation ranges from the player who stands very close, aiming at and striking the target from less than an inch, to the player who may not appear to aim at all and strikes from a distance of two feet. The striking distance is directly related to and largely determined by the holding length of the string employed by the aggressor which can be an element of strategy--points which have been discussed already.

Various methods of hitting are employed and they range from light taps at short distances to smashing attacks with the hands of the aggressor raised above the ear and brought with great force in a vertical movement from ear height to waist. This is the method most frequently used by Leonard Redman during his play recorded in VT#2 Gp III.[36] Players will strike on the same plane as the target nut, varying the angle, or they may aim and strike from below the target, again varying the angle of attack. Dougie Puddester has an interesting style of attack. His method of holding in the striking position seems to be a variation of the new method used by Ricky Heistinger as described above. The chestnut rests between the thumb and index finger of the left hand. The right hand in which the end of the string is held is on a diagonal plane about three inches below the left. He aims, sighting

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[35] VT#3, Footage Reading 742 11. 1-6, p. 268.

[36] PR 11/3-7; 14/10; 16/8, 9; cf. 6/19-22; 23/15.

by the thumb and finger, at a forty-five degree angle slightly above the target, drops his hands about an inch in the initial downstroke without altering the relative position of the hands, raises them, the left to his chin, the right higher by the three inch holding length and from this position, he delivers the blow.[37] A less frequent style is the slashing blow which Michael Moreton uses occasionally; he slashes diagonally from the height of his ear. Billy Erving, at times, side slashes in the manner of a baseball player at bat striking a ball. Bobby Breen switched striking method in the mid-turn of a game[38] from a diagonal ear-level blow using both hands to that of a right lateral swing using only the right hand.

The position of the target nut and the position of the aggressor may be altered in order to equalize a difference in size between two players. Billy Erving expects Roger Puddester, who stands nearly two feet taller, to bend his knees or kneel, and he does so in VT#1.[39]

It is very important for certain players to play in the shade so that their aim will not be affected by the sun. Although it was late afternoon, Dougie Puddester and Leonard Redman insisted on returning to a shady place to play for the taping of VT#2 Gp III. When asked during the taping of VT#3, Section 2 "Reaction to Unknown Group", Bob and Greg indicated that the sun made no difference to them. Ricky said that he

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[37] PR 11/16-20; 14/15-17; 16/3-6, 10-11, 19-20.

[38] VT#2 Gp I, U23 G6 R192-204 (6), p. 178.

[39] VT#3, Footage Reading 572 11. 8-14, p. 260.

motives. Such is the nature of the argument between Patty and Billy Erving during the studio recording.[42]

The player in the target position may shift the lateral or vertical position of his arm as a device to throw his opponent off, or he may change the target to his other hand. If the game is protracted the changes may be made for relief as well as for strategy. Michael Moreton employs all elements of this strategy with Francis Gillespie in VT#2 Gp II. In the first game he elevates his target.[43] Later in the same game, Michael shifts the target from his right hand to his left, holding it forty-five degrees from the front of his body.[44] After the blow, he shifts the target again, swinging it slowly to a position directly in front of his body.[45] In the second game,[46] John Squires holds the target in position with his right hand but shifts it to his left for the next game.[47] It is not clear whether this is a strategic move or one of comfort because in each of the succeeding three games, 5, 6 and 9, which he plays, he holds the target in his right hand and at

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[42] VT#3, Footage Reading 119-149, pp. 222-224.

[43] VT#2 Gp II, U2 G1 R349-362 (8), p. 194.

[44] VT#2 Gp II, U6 G1 R376-384 (1), p. 195.

[45] VT#2 Gp II, U6 G1 R376-384 (1), p. 195.

[46] VT#2 Gp I, U2 G2 R023-024, p. 160.

[47] VT#2 Gp I, U3 G3 R026-032, p. 160.

did consider the sun "sometimes". It is obvious that the sun is not considered a factor in the games between Michael Moreton and Francis Gillespie taped in the open field.[40]

Some specific strategies include close-quarter light tapping of the target nut which softens it and because of the accuracy which the closeness affords, a player can remain aggressor for a greater period of time. Michael Moreton complains of this strategy employed by Roger Puddester during the recording of VT#1.[41] The strategy can tire the opponent who stands holding the target nut at arm's length for an extended period of time, and a sudden, unexpected hard blow may catch him unawares, driving the target out of his hand. This is a strategy which I frequently observed Roger Puddester and Bobby Erving use during the taping of VT#1. If a target holder can be forced to raise his arm higher, his chances of early tiring increase. It is then possible that he will lose his grip on the string or start to readjust it, at which time it can be driven from his hand and stamped on. To accomplish this strategy, the player holding the target nut may have his arm repositioned by the other player who physically moves it or who, by kneeling in close to the target and shooting up, can subtly force the opponent unconsciously to raise his arm. As a counter-strategy, the target player may deliberately drop his arm or go to his knees and argument may ensue by which one player attempts to bluff the other as to the legitimacy of his

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[40] VT#2, Gp II.

[41] VT#3, Footage Reading 713 l. 20–723 l. 4, p. 266.

no time shifts it.

If a player notices a poor knot on the end of the target nut, he may choose to tangle the string and haul the chestnut off by a sharp downward pull of his own string in which case he may call "stampins" if this has not already been done, and step on the lost nut or claim it for himself. He gambles, for as Ricky Heistinger points out,[48] if the target nut does not come loose from the string, he loses his turn and sustains a penalty of three free shots. It is also possible that his own chestnut may be torn from the string.

Quite a bit of pushing, shoving and rough housing develop when "stampins" have been allowed and are in progress. Free-for-alls sometimes break out when players attempt to protect their chestnut after it has been knocked from their hand or from the string. "Stampins" and the rough play associated with it form a large portion of the activity of the boys of VT#2 Gp I. The first four games move quickly and are unaccompanied by "stampins". By the fifth game the boys have settled into play and "stampins" is a regular feature of four of the remaining five games.[49] "Stampins" has no place in the games of Michael Moreton and Francis Gillespie in VT#2 Gp II and of Dougie Puddester and Leonard Redman in VT#2 Gp III. For the Ervings and Roger Puddester, "stampins" is an integral and enjoyable part of the game. Ricky Heistinger and

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[48] VT#3, Footage Reading 771 11. 1-6, pp. 270-271.

[49] VT#2 Gp I, U14 R139-142, pp. 172-173 ; U26 R216-223, pp. 180-181; U31 G7 R250-255, pp. 183-185 ; U37 G9 R278-285, pp. 189-190.

Greg Williams seem more circumspect in the matter. From my observation, they seldom initiated "stampins" but once it was started, they participated with a "right good will." Michael, as pointed out later is not above "stampins".

The latitude of play that is considered fair by the children in this study is great and varied. For some, it is not fair to "stamp." Initially Dougie Puddester answers "no" to the question, "Is there any way you can cheat playing Chestnuts?" but later with reference to "stampins", he maintains "... it's really not fair." Leonard Redman is less arbitrary, expressing his view, "It's fair but..." Neither boy indulges in the practice in VT#2 Gp III. In VT#2 Gp II, Michael Moreton takes the precaution to emphasize "no stampins" at the start of a game and during play and is teased by the onlookers with threats of "watch out...stampins". His opponent, Francis Gillespie, respects the interdiction, responding to his brother Sean's urging of "Frank, you should rush out there and stamp on it," with a firm, "No, he said 'no stampins'". Michael, nevertheless, indulges quite freely in the practice with his friend Ricky during VT#3. All the other children treat "stampins" as an accepted element of the game, and enjoy the accompanying rough house. Even though "stampins" has been called and accepted by the opponent, there is some discretion exercised. In Games 1 and 3 of VT#2 Gp I, Gary Breen makes no attempt to chase after the target which he has in both instances knocked from John Squires' hand. While the interdiction of "no stampins" has not been invoked at any time during the three games,

Gary and John both race for the target knocked from John's hand in Game 2. Gary, ahead of John in the race, waits for John to recover his target without interference and rationalizes his action to John as "I wouldn't have got it", when it is perfectly clear that he would have. Since Gary is reacting for the camera at the end of Games 1 and 3, it is reasonable to assume that his actions at that time reflect an awareness of what he considers "sanctioned behavior". However, his actions at the end of Game 2 suggest a sensitivity and regard for a friend. Yet, at the end of Game 5, Gary disregards John's interdiction of "No 'stampins', Gary" and treads on the chestnut with gusto. It is conceivable that in the noise which he is making and his concentration on the nut, Gary has not heard John. On the other hand, John may have called too late; the situation is not clear. For the player who calls "no stampins" and then breaks his own proscription, punishment is swift and decisive as illustrated by Patty Erving's story about a classmate who seized the chestnut of her erring opponent and "squat it in her hand."[50]

The way that a chestnut has been conditioned may be regarded as cheating. Billy Erving readily acknowledges that there are ways to cheat at chestnuts and suggests applying glue to the nut to harden it. He shows the chestnut with which he has been playing and points out a shiny spot of dried glue in illustrating his explanation. Yet, when asked whether or not he cheats, his reply is "no."[51] Opposed to Billy Erving's

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[50] VT#3, Footage Reading 188 ll. 23-46, pp. 228-229.

[51] Ibid., Footage Reading 149-170, pp. 224-226.

equivocal position, is Ricky Heistinger's, "I don't think it's fair gluing it."[52]

During a game recorded on VT#1, Ricky Heistinger introduced a variation which the other children had not used and did not seem to know, but which they accepted as fair play. If a player's chestnut is cracked or on the verge of breaking, it is possible and permissible to transfer another chestnut by smashing the damaged nut with the proposed substitute. It is then threaded on to the string, "transferred" and acquires the age of the nut it has replaced. This variation parallels the practice of substituting a spare top in the game "Peg in the Ring":

> Sometimes the rules of the game are so modified by previous arrangement that a player is allowed to place a spare top in the ring instead of the one he is playing with....[53]

One player's clever strategy is regarded as cheating by another player. To complicate the matter, the rules are variable from game to game, are set at the beginning of play, or introduced as play progresses, and are frequently determined by the mutual whims of the two players involved. Gary Breen believes that deliberately to tangle the strings is cheating. John Squires and Bobby Breen remarked that to crack your own chestnut is not allowed, but Gary claimed it fair provided "you bite it"; the context of the dispute was not clear. Gary was quietly accused of misrepresenting the age of his champion chestnut.

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[52] Ibid., Footage Reading 782 11. 10-16, p. 272.

[53] Daiken, p. 53.

As expected, siblings quarrel over what is fair more often than do friends or relative strangers; they allow one another less latitude of play and enjoy antagonizing each other. In VT#1 for example, Bobby Erving, who does not want to wait his turn to use the serving fork to ream a chestnut, tries to take it away from his younger brother, Billy. He pounds Billy in the back, screaming, "It's not fair. You've had it long enough." Billy Erving laughs at his sister Patty's rising note of protest as he refuses to succumb to her strategy to make him raise his target arm. In Game 8 of VT#2 Gp I, Bobby Breen doubles over in laughter at his brother Gary, who is enraged because Bobby has pulled the target out of range of Gary's descending blow. Gary complains, "I would've hit it" and "not fair, Bobby." Earlier in Game 7, it was Bobby who complained, "Not fair" as he and Gary scrambled for Bobby's fallen chestnut. Each child has his own method of retaliation.

While Sean Gillespie, a spectator in VT#2 Gp II, taunts both Michael Moreton and Francis, his elder brother, as the two play, he subjects Francis to the greater portion of his teasing. By comparison, Francis gives Michael the benefit of the doubt in turn 3 of Game 1 when it is uncertain whether the wind or Michael's first blow has moved the target. The two players in VT#2 Gp III allow each other to cheat. In Game 3, Dougie Puddester takes advantage of Leonard Redman's partial inattention to continue his turn even though he has missed his second blow. Leonard redresses the wrong in turn 7 of the same game when he claims a hit which he has not made. Both boys recognize the pretence of the other and in neither instance does the wronged party demur.

As an experiment to test what a given youngster considered fair play, I blatantly employed dubious ways of playing in target and striking positions during several games with Michael Moreton and Billy Erving during the taping of the first section of VT#3. One chestnut was threaded on the lace in the normal manner but three spare chestnuts were secured at the other end of the chestnut lace and partially hidden in the palm of the hand. At each change of turns or after a particularly hard blow on the regular nut, the lace was reversed, introducing a fresh nut into play. Twice, all three nuts were used coupled with a one-handed lateral swing. None of the maneuvers provoked comment until the interviewer, Jennifer Davis started questioning; she had been prepared for this experiment. Billy seemed prepared to tolerate the use of three chestnuts only "as long as those three don't hit my knuckles." In response to the question of fairness, he replied with an edge of irritation creeping into his voice, "Oh I don't know." Moments later, he responded sullenly, "I dunno" to a second question about fairness. By his actions and tone of voice it was obvious that he felt he was being cheated, but he was reluctant to state the objection openly; clearly adults do not "cheat fair".

Michael Moreton's attention was largely distracted by the questions of the interviewer and often he failed to see what was happening. The lateral one-handed swing employed in the experiment tangled the strings with force and Michael's expression was one of considerable distaste, but at all times he was the soul of courtesy and good nature. His attitude seemed to be that one must learn to tolerate

much inexplicable adult behavior. Later in Section II of VT#3, "Reaction to Unknown Group", Michael comments that one of the players is using two chestnuts on his target. The videotape that he watched was of poor quality and what he saw were double images or what is known in television as "ghosts", not two chestnuts. When asked whether or not it was fair to use two chestnuts, he responded with a hedged "Well...".

Normally the target is held stationary and after each shot either the aggressor or the player holding the target will still the moving nut in readiness for the next shot. In VT#1, I carefully rotated the string between index finger and thumb causing a slight circular movement of the target nut. The opponent, Billy Erving, protested and quickly asserted that this was cheating. A little later in the same VTR session, Roger Puddester began a pendular movement with his target and his opponent, Bobby Erving, made little of it, accepted the variation as a challenge and began aiming at the moving target.

Status accrues to the chestnut and not to the player. The general belief is that the outcome of a game rests ultimately with the chestnut and is beyond the control of the player who has no final responsibility for either victory or defeat. It is difficult to assess the importance which a child attributes to skill or strategy on the outcome of a game.

The children participating in VT#1 and 3 acknowledge "good" and "best" players. Bobby Erving, in mock bravado, claims the status of best player for himself, but gives as his reason, "I get all the hard nuts."

In seriousness, he cites Greg Williams as the "best" player. Patty Erving agrees that Greg is the "best here but not the best at our school" and Greg acknowledges that he would like to be the best player. Patty indicates that "sometimes" boys are better players than girls, but that it "depends on the chestnut you have". She agrees that it makes no difference whether the player is a boy or girl provided the player has a "good chestnut". Patty does specify that boys are better skilled at getting good chestnuts because "they can climb trees better". It is interesting that Patty denies being "a good shot", particularly in light of a comment by one of the adult players, Rick Harris, who assisted in recording VT#1, that she is exceptionally good. Ricky Heistinger, in answer to the question concerning the best player in his neighborhood, shares honours with Michael Moreton, but considers his own father very good; "It's not very often you find a chance to hit on his chestnut." Both Michael and Ricky are quite analytical about the game and there is no concrete evidence that they hold the belief of the other children. The only reference to the quality of the chestnut which Ricky makes is that "the harder one works better, you know. Can't break apart so easily." When four of the children, Ricky, Michael, Bobby and Greg specify the source of difficulty experienced by players unknown to them, it is skill and judgement that they identify, not any defect in the chestnut being used.

For the Breen brothers and John Squires, VT#2 Gp 1, the question of better or best player is not pertinent to winning. The player who wins does so by virtue of having the best chestnut. When questioned

after the videotaping as to why Gary won so many games, John replied, "He got the best nut. . harder than mine." Both Gary and Bobby agreed that that was the reason. For Dougie Puddester, VT#2 Gp III, a player wins simply "because he got the best knock."

A player is proud of a chestnut which has survived many battles and some chestnuts of advanced age are reported. Greg Williams owns one which is four hundred and some years old; he is not certain. He knows how old his champion nut is, however; one thousand three hundred and thirty one years old. These impressive chestnuts are cared for, retired from everyday play, and saved for very important games, or used only if the player has no other chestnuts. It is significant that both Greg Williams and Bobby Erving associate the status of the nut with the player. They feel that it is pointless to trade or sell a chestnut because the age or value does not transfer with it to the new owner; instead, the acquired age of the chestnut is cancelled by the transfer.[54]

The season of play is dependent upon the supply of chestnuts which varies from year to year. John Squires reckoned 1971 to be a poor year because there were so few chestnuts. The Breens and he agree that the previous year was much better because they got enough good chestnuts to enable them to play until two or three days before Christmas. Dougie Puddester and Leonard Redman claim they play all year long when they have the chestnuts. Ricky Heistinger has his season between the end of the baseball season and the start of the football season, approximately two

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[54] VT#3, Footage Reading 292-316, pp. 236-237.

and one half to three months between September and November. Chestnuts is the only game which interests him during this time.

The duration of a game is variable and can last less than a minute or as long as an hour which is the longest game that Bobby Erving claims to have played. Of the games played by the participants of VT#1 and 2, which represents four separate groups of children, the longest game lasted seven minutes and fifty four seconds and was played by Ricky Heistinger and Bobby Erving, Game 20 of VT#1. The shortest game, played by Gary Breen and John Squires, Game 2 of VT#2 Gp I, was timed at one second and consisted of one blow. Of the seventy seven games timed, thirty nine (51%) fall in a time range of 5-24 seconds; sixteen (21%) of the games fall between 25 and 59 seconds; twenty (26%) ranged from 1 to 3 minutes of play and two (2%) were longer than three minutes.

The game actively interests children from ten to fourteen years of age. The youngest player which Gary Breen knows is his brother, who is five. Randy Dunne claims that he started playing when he was five and Dougie Puddester and Leonard Redman started to play the game when they were four or five years old. In St. John's, the Chestnut alumni is large and if the involvement of the technicians of VT#1 is an indication, then an adult group of players is conceivable. Chestnuts is a family game in the Heistinger home and the best player is "Dad".

Although Chestnuts is played by both boys and girls, for the most part it is a boys' game, and it is one which is generally played outdoors. It can be and is played indoors as well, however, with varying reaction from parents and teachers. Dougie Puddester claims

that he is allowed to play in the house provided he cleans up afterwards. It is not uncommon to hear parental lament about children caught playing Chestnuts in the house and the shambles to which it had been reduced. One adult informant commented that it was routine for him and his classmates to be in continual trouble with the classroom teachers about the practice of playing Chestnuts in the school. Teachers objected to walking down aisles and up halls carpeted in chestnut debris.

Interest in the game differs with each child. Greg Williams ranks Chestnuts second only to Hockey which indicates very high interest considering his skill and preoccupation with hockey. For Bobby Erving, it is a game which he plays only because others play it and hockey figures much higher in his estimation. Many children play the game in season, even though they may rank other games well above it. That the game is played at school comes up frequently because this is usually where the child says he learned it. None of the participants in the videotaping had any idea of the origin of Chestnuts and only one, Greg Williams, expressed any interest in that subject. That the nut with which they play is the seed from which the horse chestnut grows was a fact unknown and of little interest to the Erving children and Greg.

I have observed and have been told by the youngsters that a child will often carry a threaded chestnut back and forth to school or wherever he or she goes. When not used for a game, it proves an effective weapon of torment to some unfortunate being flicked by it. This is reminiscent of the use to which the horse chestnut was put by a number of friends and acquaintances from St. John's, both male and female in the thirty to

forty-five age range with whom I talked about the game and my interest in it. None knew the game in the form played by the children as described in detail in the preceding pages, but some did collect the nuts, harden them by baking in the oven, thread them on a shoe lace and use them to hit one another. Others reported that they only collected chestnuts for use as missiles on the way to school and in class. One friend remembers particularly that in her home she and her brother and sister used the chestnut to hit one another surreptitiously underneath the breakfast table. The ensuing howl brought stern retribution to the hapless victim from the parents who entertained no noise or disturbance at the table. Other adults of both similar and varying backgrounds and ages provided information about the game as they knew it.

The videotaping sessions sparked the interest of and prompted comment from five young men employed by the Centre for Audio Visual Education at Memorial University. David Snook, 25, a native of St. John's, estimated that he played Chestnuts when he was ten or twelve years old and Bill Barry, 20, also of St. John's, said he started playing when he was ten but continued until he was fourteen. Both men associated the game with school; Bill learned the game at St. Patrick's School and David remembered that Chestnuts was an obsession at St. George's School where the whole floor of the classroom used to be covered with the remains. He reported that there was a steady stream of students sent to see the principal who used to confiscate "our chestnuts". Rick Harris, about 23, born and educated in St. John's attended St. Bonaventure's School where he learned to play the game. He recalled throwing large

sticks and rocks at the trees "up by the back gate of St. Bon's," "usually at night" so he and his fellows would not be caught by the Brothers.

It was David who cited instances of cheating where rocks were dipped in brown paint to disguise them as chestnuts but he did not remember how they were threaded. This prompted a story from Wayne Walsh, approximately 24, a native of St. John's, who described a champion nut which he owned. It was a very large nut, about two inches in diameter which had been brought from Jamaica by a friend. He shellacked it and was never beaten. "After awhile no one would play with me." He also used to prepare nuts by soaking them in vinegar. Apart from his champion nut, his most vivid memory of the game was the fact that "it beat the hands off you".

In contrast to the four Newfoundlanders, the fifth technician, Alan Fatkin, 25, born and resident of Wall's End, Northumberland, U.K. until he moved to St. John's in March 1971, knew the game by the name of "Conkers" which he played at the age of ten or eleven. The season of play for him was from August to past Christmas. His report of the way in which the game is scored differs from that of his colleagues who scored the game in the same way as the children of this study. A chestnut was designated as a "one-ser, two-ser or three-ser"; a three-ser had won three games and "the best one was the King Conker."

The game was also known as Conkers to two other St. John's residents, both men in their early fifties. T. was born in Kent, England

and grew up in Wexford, Ireland and the other, O., a native Newfoundlander, moved to St. John's at the age of six. I had kept an appointment with T. to discuss VTR equipment which lead into conversation about the game as I had observed it and comments from both T. and O. who was also in the office. T. played Conkers between the ages of seven and eleven and remembered using skewers, particularly twisted ones which were heated and then tapped with a hammer through the chestnut which was placed carefully on the table. O. remembered only that the preparation of the chestnut was a secret process, carefully guarded by one player from another, but that status could not be established unless there were spectators present at the game. For T. it was "unforgiveable to cheat. One's word was reliable. If caught cheating, the cheat was ostracized and all the pleasure went out of the game." To insure fair play, the string was measured to balance the difference in size of the opponents and it was a foul if you hit your opponent's nail. This is an interesting contrast with the account of the damaged hands from the young CAVE technician, Wayne Walsh. As with Alan Fatkin, the most valuable chestnut for both these older St. John's men was the King Conker and T. remembered trading valuable chestnuts.

The adult informants fall into three age groups: Group A, 20–25; Group B, 30–40; and Group C, 50-. Of the oldest group, one is British and one is a Newfoundlander from St. John's, yet both know the game as Conkers; both played essentially the same game, one which was structured in form and rules and which resembled the game played by the children of this study; both observed a ritual preparation of the nut and both

claimed a rigorous code of honor in playing the game. Group A, all native to St. John's with the exception of one, native to Britain, knew the game by the name of Chestnuts and in the same form as played by the children whom they helped to record. The British technician called the game by the same name as Group C, Conkers. Yet Group B, the age link between Groups A and C and representing about forty people from St. John's, did not know either the term "Conkers" or "Chestnuts", but played with chestnuts in an aggressive way as opposed to playing a formal game. From this, it appears that the name of the game in St. John's changed from Conkers to Chestnuts sometime between 1920 and 1950. It is odd that the largest group of adult informants did not know a structured form of the game as did Groups A and C. Perhaps I found the only forty people in St. John's who did not know the game in its more sophisticated form. Only a thorough survey of the city could solve that question.

I could not, nor is it my purpose to draw conclusions from such a small sampling of incomplete data randomly acquired from the adults, but the picture of the game given by them, as well as opening up areas for future study, adds a valuable dimension of time and place to the description of the game given in this chapter.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

The methods employed in collecting material on the game of Chestnuts for this study are best described as experimental and exploratory. I had little knowledge of the game and only a limited knowledge of the capability of the technical equipment which I proposed to use. In 1971 the use of VTR equipment was not nearly so widespread as it is today, nor was the question of its effectiveness in research well established at that time. Consequently there were no established guidelines to follow in using VTR equipment for research.

The game itself led the way because I knew so little about it. I could and did learn to play it; the enthusiasm of certain of the children to involve me in the game was inescapable. However, my main purpose was to record the game wherever I found it in progress or where I had provided the environment for it to be played. All the recording situations were experimental, and with the exception of one, were free contextual situations and were deliberately unstructured. I did not know the outcome of an event nor what would happen during that event any more than anyone else. I did not know precisely where any one direction might take me but my method was to explore a given direction to see where it led.

This approach was consistent with my general working practice in and rationale for collecting. My practice is either to find a

particular event in progress or establish the climate for that event and let it take place, recording it by whatever technical means are available and which will provide the fullest record with the least fuss. The main point is for the event to move along naturally, spontaneously and informally; I participate only to the extent necessary to ensure these conditions, preferring to appear to participate. Certainly listening and/or watching with real interest is a form of participation and probably constitutes the "ideal" for the "participant-observer."

Underlying this practice is my belief that the most comprehensive and the most trustworthy material is obtained by using a holistic approach, in as natural a setting or situation as possible. Perhaps such an approach introduces irrelevant material but irrelevant material can always be ignored or sorted out later. And what might at first seem irrelevant may later provide an important insight or direction which would never have been considered but for its unexpected and happy accident in the collection. By using a less flexible methodology, one in which the parameters of research are rigidly and specifically focused, it is unlikely that random, seemingly irrelevant material which could provide another dimension, would appear.

The actual setting of a folk event is, of course, the most natural and therefore the most reliable. I have consistently found that a casual conversation during the normal routines and activities of human life is always more productive of information than any patterned, structured or prearranged interview or activity. No matter how co-operative and interested an informant may be in the subject under

study, the more artificial or patterned the situation, the more inhibited the informant/participant, consciously or subconsciously. The more natural, casual and familiar the setting, the more comfortable people are and the more quickly good rapport can be established. It is a truism that people in their home territory are less apt to feel threatened and are more confident, natural and relaxed. If they are pursuing an activity in which you are genuinely interested, then your interest is considered normal, in the order of things, and in fact may establish a bond between you. In short, you accommodate to and become a natural part of your informant's world view. For these reasons I prefer to "catch the moment" if at all possible, or else get the closest approximation, thus obtaining a slice of life in its natural context which can then be examined. This is not always possible and in certain instances may not even be desirable. I do not propose this method above all others; I merely identify it as the primary method used in my research, one which has obtained good results and which keeps in view the criteria of the ideal record--one which recreates the event as it occurred, naturally and spontaneously, uninfluenced by the recorder.

The ideal situation would be that in which the observer could see and hear, unseen and unheard. This, of course, is secret surveillance which is now beginning to be a matter of public concern, and properly so, for the right to privacy is inviolate even in the interest of research however well motivated or however beneficial that research might be. Fundamental to the right to privacy is the right to be regarded as an individual, worthy of respect and consideration: a

human being--not a thing for another's convenience or to use as a guinea pig or to be treated only as an object for manipulation and observation in a given project with or without consent. This is an important concept of which I find researchers careless. Because you feel empathy for or like and enjoy your informants/participants--the people in your research, who may very well be friends--does not mean that scientific objectivity is lost or that the research is in any way diminished. Quite the contrary, such feelings and attitudes enhance the research simply because they form the basis for genuine trust and good-will without which there can be no successful field research involving people. Your attitudes and feeling toward the people from whom you wish co-operation and information are very important. People, whether strangers or friends, quickly sense whether they are being used or manipulated, and resenting it, act accordingly. Therefore, a genuine regard and sensitivity for people, child and adult, is a vital concomitant of the natural setting.

The fact that I knew nothing about the game did not seem to me to be a handicap but rather a situation which committed me to an unstructured, exploratory approach of the type I had already used to collect materials by audiotape and which I outlined briefly in the Introduction.

In the beginning of September 1971 my research project started to form when I first saw Patty and Billy Erving, eleven and ten years of age respectively, playing Chestnuts indoors on an evening during which I was visiting their mother. This was the more extraordinary for the fact

that earlier the same day, Folklore lecturer David Hufford of Memorial University had asked about the game during a lecture. He had seen children on the street playing with horse chestnuts and wondered what it was they were doing. No one in the class appeared able to help him. Here was a golden opportunity to answer David Hufford's question and to satisfy my own curiosity for I knew virtually nothing about chestnuts let alone anything about a game played with them. This also seemed to be an opportunity to use VTR equipment to record the event; at that time for me VTR equipment meant essentially the Sony portapack. As I watched the game being played, I could conceive of no effective way of capturing it except by cine camera or VTR. It was a very fast game, furious in activity but limited in playing locale and generally short-lived. As I watched and as the children explained and demonstrated, it became obvious that there was much more to the game than just breaking an opponent's horse chestnut, and more than the children could or thought necessary to explain. I knew that if I could record the game on film or tape, the event could be played and replayed until I could understand more precisely what was happening.

Patty and Billy Erving are youngsters who enjoy games of all sorts and they would entice or cajole anyone into playing a game of whatever it was that currently interested them. When they discovered that I had more than a passing interest in Chestnuts, they spent a great portion of their energies explaining it, trying to teach me to play and involving me in expeditions to find and collect nuts from horse chestnut trees in new places or in places which they could not reach other than

by car. They were enthusiastic when I asked if they would play Chestnuts before a camera and promptly recruited their brother Bobby, twelve years old, and two friends, Greg Williams, also twelve and Roger Puddester, fourteen years old, to participate with them.

I began my research seriously then, about the middle of September 1971, at which time I first spoke to Mr. Garfield Fizzard, the Director of the Centre for Audio-Visual Education (CAVE) at Memorial University about obtaining portapack equipment. CAVE was only a year old and still building its facilities. It was yet to acquire portapack equipment, but Mr. Fizzard thought that such equipment might be obtained, if not from the Educational Television Centre (ETVC), then certainly from the Extension Service. He suggested that I try taping the event with the different types of equipment which I might find available and he offered the use of the movable VTR equipment which was the mainstay of CAVE: a Shibaden FP 100 TV Camera and companion SV 700 Video Taperecorder. Moreover, he offered whatever facilities and assistance from CAVE that I might need. CAVE became my base of operations for the many months of my research. The facilities and assistance included the use of darkroom and darkroom supplies, photographic equipment, space and equipment for endless viewing of videotapes; in short, complete logistical support, interest, helpful advice and marvellous co-operation from all members of CAVE over a very extended period of time. The course, "Instructional Media Technology" had just been started and I was allowed to take it, and gear the photographic and video equipment projects to my research needs. This also allowed CAVE to test the versatility of the course to

meet research demands of disciplines other than Education. Without CAVE this research could not have been done.

Mr. Duane Starcher, the Director of ETVC and his staff were equally co-operative and helpful, offering to do a studio production of the children playing the game. Through the good offices of Mr. George Lee, Assistant Director of the Extension Service and Mr. Harvey Best, Head of the Photographic Unit of the Service, I was able to borrow the Sony portapack which I used for part of the research. The technicians of both departments were always helpful in answering questions and in giving assistance with technical problems.

By the middle of October 1971, arrangements for three different recording situations had been made. I proposed to use three types of recording situation employing VTR equipment of increasing levels of sophistication to test the capability of the technical equipment, to establish the latitude of technical competence necessary to operate the various types of equipment and the latitude of technically acceptable material for use as research data, and to determine, if possible, the extent to which the equipment influenced the event. Therefore the methods employed in collecting the material were determined by the nature of each of the recording situations and each recording situation will be described separately. By this time I had also enlisted the aid of most of the children who would be participating in the videotape recordings. Fourteen children in all participated in the three videotape recording situations. Their names and ages only will be listed in the description of each recording situation in which they participated.

Ethnographic information as I obtained it from or observed it of the children is presented in Appendix I to this study. Appendix I also contains some background information on adult informants. The description of the recording situations which follows will be presented in the chronological order of their occurrence and both the situation and its corresponding videotape will be designated chronologically as VT#1, VT#2 and VT#3.

The first recording situation, VT#1, was that which employed the movable VTR equipment of moderate sophistication in an informal indoor situation. VT#1 was recorded on Friday, 17 October 1971 between 3:00 and 5:00 p.m. in Room E-23, Arts-Education Building at Memorial University. E-23 is a room utilized exclusively for speech and drama by the Faculty of Education and designed to be used by children in various forms of creative dramatics, during which VTR equipment is frequently used. Therefore, this room was chosen because of the nature of its design, and the proximity to CAVE which supplied the equipment and technicians. The room is approximately forty five feet square and large enough to support with freedom the movement and activity necessary for a game such as Chestnuts. It took CAVE technicians David Snook and Rick Harris approximately twenty minutes to set up the camera, the VTR and two microphones. A full description of the equipment and layout of E-23 may be found in the beginning of Chapter 8. The room was ready at three o'clock when I arrived from collecting the children from their homes. The seven participants of VT#1 and their ages are listed below:

Billy Erving	ten years old
Patty Erving	eleven years old
Bobby Erving	twelve years old
Greg Williams	twelve years old
Roger Puddester	fourteen years old
Ricky Heistinger	thirteen years old
Michael Moreton	twelve years old

How the children became participants has previously been described with the exception of the last two listed. Patty, Billy and I met Ricky and Michael during one of our expeditions to Bowring Park in search of chestnuts for the videotape session which was to take place two days later. Both boys helped to collect chestnuts and made useful suggestions about the game in general. It seemed to me that the two boys, who were friends and neighbors, would make an interesting addition to the tape already planned. Since Friday afternoon was a school holiday throughout the city, the boys, with parental consent, agreed to participate in the tape session.

The technicians operated the video recorder and the microphones and I operated the camera. The immediate objective was to videotape a group of children playing Chestnuts so that the manner and interaction of play could be clearly seen. The environment in which the game was played was to be shown on the tape and then the camera was to be set on its widest angle and left unchanged. This was to be done in order to secure complete objettivity by avoiding either the artistic or editorial temptation to compose a sequence or in any way select or isolate specific action with close-up shots or by moving the camera to follow action, i.e. "panning."

This hour segment of videotape is divided roughly in half by a fifteen minute break during which nothing is recorded. There must have been an erratic connection; no technician who sees this portion of the tape can offer any other explanation. I document the occurrence to demonstrate that even the best made plans can be plagued with inexplicable technical difficulties. In the first portion the children are left to their own devices to play Chestnuts. The means to make chestnuts are provided on a table which has been set against a wall directly opposite the camera. There is a wooden handled kitchen serving fork and a broken point of a knitting needle with which to ream the hole in the chestnut; both have been provided by the Ervings. Everyone has provided his own chestnuts. Michael seems to come with a poor supply, but I hold a good quantity in reserve which Michael helped obtain two days earlier. In the second portion of the videotape, I join the group. It was first intended that the taping time should be divided in half with the first half devoted to uninterrupted and non-directed play and the second half devoted to answering questions and demonstrating how the chestnuts are made and played. The camera was to have been fixed in position throughout the recording, but in the second portion the youngsters change that. The questions and demonstration do not get beyond the first several questions because there is too much activity and the children want to get on with playing the game.

In the beginning, friends play friends; the two groups do not mix. The Ervings, Greg and Roger do not play with Ricky and Michael. Members of one group were either not known or not well known to members of the other group, but before the tape is over, Michael and Ricky are

no longer restricting their play to one another but are taking on members of the foreign group. There is a fair amount of sensitivity shown to the camera, particularly by Bobby, who makes faces and shows off, and to some extent by Billy, who wanders about on and off camera, singing and confiding bits of information into the microphones. Play which at the beginning was stilted has evolved into one grand play session. The technicians have been pulled into and involved as competitors in the game and the children have exchanged roles with the technicians and are running the camera, obtaining excellent shots of the ceiling and the floor. By the end of the tape, the children are playing Chestnuts, writing on the blackboard, operating the equipment and making total use of the environment of E-23. Chestnuts are no longer their sole interest although there is always a game going on. The children are completely "at home" and curious about everything.

The second recording situation, VT#2, was a field situation using the Sony portapack. A full description of the equipment may be found at the beginning of Chapter 6 and a description of each of the three locations recorded may be found at the beginning of each of the "Group" sections in that chapter. VT#2 was recorded on Sunday, 24 October 1971 between 10:30 a.m. and 4:30 p.m. The weather was sunny and clear and the temperature reported at thirty two degrees Fahrenheit. The objective was to locate and tape children playing Chestnuts in as natural a situation as possible. In practical terms this meant finding the nearest horse chestnut tree where the chances of finding children to

videotape would be fairly high. VT#2 is thirty four minutes long and consists of three segments of three groups of boys designated Group I, II and III. Group I is fourteen minutes and thirty five seconds long; Group II, nine minutes and thirty six seconds; Group III, nine minutes and thirty six seconds.

Group I: At approximately 10:30 a.m., as I walked down the steps of my home at that time, 32 Pennywell Road, in central St. John's, I saw three boys whom I did not know looking around the ground under a horse chestnut tree located directly across the street. I walked across the street to where my car was parked alongside the boys and as I started to load the car with the portapack and other items, I casually asked, "Are you finding any chestnuts?" This surprised them for a moment but identified me as a friendly alien. The response was that no, they were not finding any. I asked whether or not they had tried St. Pat's or did they know any other place because I, too, was looking for chestnuts. Conversation continued in this vein as we compared notes on possible sources for chestnuts since the season was well on and the nut supply no longer plentiful. The boys, particularly Gary, were curious about the equipment which I was settling safely on the car seat. I explained that it was a portable television camera. In answer to what I was doing with it, I explained only that since it was a nice day, I was hoping to take some pictures, perhaps of "kids" playing Chestnuts if I could find any. Immediately I had three volunteers:

John Squires	eleven years old
Gary Breen	twelve years old
Bobby Breen	ten years old

These boys were on their way to Mass when I spoke to them, but they were quite willing to play Chestnuts for the camera after Mass and they agreed to meet me about 12:00 noon in order to play. Since they had found no chestnuts under the tree, they would have to go home, just around the corner, to get a supply. At noon, the boys were back and ready to play. Four other boys appeared on the scene but I knew only one, Ross March, who was about nine years old. He lived at 30 Pennywell Road, was a hockey fanatic and by his own admission, could not be bothered with Chestnuts, however, nothing could happen on the street without his personal attention.

Group I was shot with the sun overhead, front lighted from two positions, the first, directly in front of the players and the second, from across the street to determine any advantage to be gained by the distance. As it proved, there was little advantage to the second position. The resulting pictures, though recorded with the close-up focus of the lens, were small and details of the action were lost. As I recorded the children from the first position, they seemed somewhat self-conscious, so I increased the distance between us by crossing the street to see whether or not it would make any difference. Gary Breen was aware of the camera and would push bystanders who interferred with the camera's view out of the way. No sooner had I crossed the street when Gary, noticing my new location, opened up the group of players so the camera could "see". There was also the disadvantage of increasing noise level of the wind and of passing cars which tended to obscure the words of the children. I had overlooked possible problems of recording

sound-levels when I changed position, and now returned to the first position to finish the recording.

The main characteristic of this group was that there was little of the game played compared to the amount of milling and herding about by the boys, preparation of the chestnuts and just standing around waiting for a player to get ready. The games which do take place were quite short, and Gary Breen, the eldest but the smallest boy of the three, usually won amid much giggling and laughter. The activity attracted the interest of a number of small boy bystanders who came and went and participated on the fringes of the game.

After the taping was finished, I played the videotape back several times so that the boys could see themselves through the camera viewfinder which doubles as a monitor for playback. This both interested and amused them and afforded me the opportunity to find out their names, ages, where they went to school and where they lived as well as other questions about the game, all of which I was recording on an audiotape cassette recorder and which when I had finished, I played back for them to hear. The equipment was a passport rather than a deterrent. In this connection it is very difficult to assess the influence of the recorder on the event. Gary "showed off"; John and Bobby were far more circumspect and quiet in their behavior, but I felt that this was their basic personality rather than the result of any significant influence of equipment and interviewer/operator. That Gary was appreciative of the technology and conscious of my immediate goals is demonstrated by his vigilance in keeping the playing area clear for the view of the

camera. Generally, I would say that the equipment and my presence became part of the playing environment after the novelty wore off, which was fairly quickly. In fact, being recorded playing Chestnuts was a game itself.

Group II: This segment was recorded in an open field just in front and to the left side of the Heistinger's home at 286 Waterford Bridge Road in the West end of the city between 1:00 and 2:00 p.m. The weather was still sunny, clear and cold and it had become breezy. The central participants in this segment were Michael Moreton, twelve years old, and Francis Gillespie, eleven years old.

After leaving the Group I participants, I determined to try the Bowring Park horse chestnut tree for prospects. On my way there, I passed Michael Moreton together with other boys playing baseball in the field. They waved and ran towards the car; I stopped, showed them the equipment, explained that this was the second type of equipment which I was trying out and asked whether they were inclined to a game of Chestnuts. I also inquired where Ricky was and whether or not he wanted to be included. One of the boys went after him and shortly he appeared, explained that he could not play because he was working on a social studies assignment which was due the next day, asked to be excused and left. Michael Moreton and Francis Gillespie said they would not mind playing but had to go home for their chestnuts.

They played in the open field and although it was only 32 degrees, Michael and the others shed their coats and played dressed as though it were a hot day in summer, and indeed this is how they were dressed for

playing baseball. This segment is notable for the brightness of the sun, which gave excellent lighting condition and also proved significant in the strategy of the children's play. Michael and Francis played mainly to oblige me, I feel, because their real interest was the baseball game. Nevertheless they devoted full attention to the game at hand. All the other boys watched sporadically and drifted back and forth. No formal baseball was played because the regular game had been interrupted and there were insufficient players to carry on. The most interesting items in this segment are firstly the strategy which Michael Moreton employed to break Francis' concentration, and secondly the unusual quality of the nut which Francis used. The shell was gone and only the meat, which was extremely hard was left and it looked as though a rat had chewed it. Francis explained that this was his special way of preparing the chestnut and since in age status it was a hundred years or so, he has been quite successful.

I ran out of videotape after the first five minutes of play and while I changed tapes, Michael played catch and Francis moved about back and forth watching what I was doing and keeping an eye on Michael. I got the impression that Francis was anxious to continue the game with Michael. As soon as the tape had been changed and everything readied, Francis summoned Michael and the play resumed. At the conclusion of the game which Michael won, he returned to playing ball while I interviewed Francis on videotape, but he kept coming back and forth to see how things were going. At the conclusion of the taping, I played back part of the tape for the boys to see, just as I had done for Group I. The

reaction was about the same but somewhat more serious and the interest in the equipment was more sophisticated.

Group III: This group was filmed in the shade on the corner of Empire Avenue and Forest Road between 4:00 and 5:00 p.m. The participants:

Dougie Puddester	eleven years old
Randy Dunne	ten years old
Leonard Redman	ten years old

These boys were in the process of being driven off a property on the corner of Forest Road when I saw them. I stopped and asked them whether they had got any chestnuts and whether they were going to play a game. I explained why I was interested. This meeting coming hard after an unpleasant encounter with another adult confused them briefly and they were understandably suspicious. The suspicion did not last long once they were satisfied with my explanation that I knew about the game, was interested in it and wanted to record them playing it. As for the tree owner who watched our activities from the front window of her house, one can only imagine what was in her mind.

The boys had chestnuts but nothing with which to prepare them for play, no string or "rope" as they called it, nor anything with which to ream the chestnut. They searched around the ground for a nail or something sharp as well as for "rope." Having established the fact that I was seriously interested in chestnuts, it seemed a foregone conclusion that anything belonging to me was therefore community property in terms of preparing the chestnut. After all, I was the one who wanted the pictures. My car was ransacked even though I said I had no string in it.

Nevertheless, a very thorough search was made just in case I had overlooked a corner or was mistaken. Dougie and Leonard tried to persuade Randy to give up his shoelaces but he adamantly refused to part with them and offered no reason why. Later when I asked him, it turned out that he was wearing his school shoes, the laces were the only ones he had and he dared not go home with broken laces. The boys decided that the best place to get the "rope" would be at a grocery store so I piled them into the car and off we went to the nearest store which was several blocks away. All three ran in and emerged shortly with a long length of string. The boys were insistent upon returning to the corner of Forest and Empire because it was shady. They were quite particular about the area of play being shady so that the sun would not blind them and affect their aim.

I was carrying with me a supply of chestnuts, a small skewer with which to ream the chestnuts but no string. The boys returned to the search for a nail or sharp twig and finally I offered the skewer. Prior to this point I had said nothing about having the material.

Five games were recorded in this video segment. The boys were far more intent on playing the game than those in the other two groups. They were very selective in what they heard. I got few answers to direct questions but I got the distinct impression that they wanted to play their game without disturbance and that they preferred me to be quiet and watch. When the boys were ready, they gave me information they thought important. Their attention was maintained on the game. Dougie and Leonard were the players and Randy was a spectator, for what reason I never found out. Randy acted as the banker and when a chestnut

had to be replaced, he fished one out of his pocket and handed it to the boy who needed it. Neither Dougie nor Leonard spent as long preparing the chestnut as did Bobby Breen of Group I. The boys were quite skillful and quick in their preparations but they also had fresh chestnuts with which to work and a skewer which is a more efficient reamer than a sharp twig.

The boys, Dougie in particular, were interested in showing me, rather than the camera, what a chestnut looked like after it has been broken, holding it in front of my free eye rather than in front of the camera lens. I am not sure whether they were unaware of the camera or unfamiliar with its operation. The other children I had recorded previously were conscious of keeping camera-range distance but these boys were not. They would walk to me to tell me or show me something and I would have to back up to keep them on-camera. When they had something to say or show, they addressed themselves to the human not the machine which, in one sense, is a statement of camera awareness. Unlike the other two groups, they were not particularly interested in the equipment at the outset of the proceedings. Since the battery of the video recorder died just as the last game finished, there was no opportunity for them to see themselves on tape, consequently I have no idea how they would have reacted to the equipment in those circumstances.

Dougie and Leonard were by far the most businesslike in their approach to the game and in the very serious business of giving the information which I asked for afterwards. They considered with grave concentration the best chestnut to use and where they could be located.

Dougie and Leonard were more restrictive in their rules. There was no "rough housing" when these two boys played. No "stampins" were allowed because they regarded it as unfair. This attitude, added to that of Randy's toward his shoelaces, previously described, made me wonder whether these boys valued their possessions more because they were harder to come by than those of other children. As with the first group, the only personal information I asked for was name, address, age, school attended and grade in school.

The third recording situation, VT#3, was that of a full studio production recorded on Wednesday, 27 October 1971 between 2:00 and 4:30 p.m. in Studio A of ETVC in the Arts-Education Building of Memorial University. This situation employed sophisticated equipment in a controlled and structured environment. A full description of the equipment used and the studio layout may be found at the beginning of Chapter 7, "Descriptive Commentary: Videotape #3."

The participants:

Billy Erving	ten years old
Patty Erving	eleven years old
Bobby Erving	twelve years old
Greg Williams	twelve years old
Michael Moreton	twelve years old
Ricky Heistinger	thirteen years old

Originally the purpose of this recording was to tape the same group of children who participated in VT#1 in much the same way so as to establish what advantages there might be in having the best possible technical control. In order to have an even number of players, one of the participants of VT#1, Roger Puddester, was deliberately excluded.

The technical capability was present to record the children's reactions to themselves on VT#1, so provision was made for that in the plan.

The objective began to change after I had several consultations with Fred Hollingshurst, the producer assigned by ETVC to handle the project. The producer by definition is committed to the making of something which requires organization and control, and Fred Hollingshurst in preparation viewed VT#1 in order to get some idea of the game and to familiarize himself with my requirements. My view was to turn the children loose in the studio and let the cameras run for the first segment and then record them reacting to selected portions from VT#1. I specified initially that this was to be a re-recording of the VT#1 situation with the best possible equipment available. After discussion with Mr. Hollingshurst, though, it seemed to me that his tendency to want to produce the show might be a worthwhile approach to follow since I could then have a highly structured, formalized situation to compare with more natural and less structured situations. The resulting recording from an ethnographic point of view was formal and structured; from the producer's point of view, quite loose and chaotic. For the first of the three part production, the producer instructed interviewer Jennifer Davis to play the role of interested observer watching a group of children playing Chestnuts and then interview them to find out all she could about the game. Three playing areas marked out on the studio floor with masking tape were designed each for a pair of players and designed to provide camera control and focus. The collective eye of three cameras on instruction roved from the set of players to the interviewer to an

individual's hands, presenting the activity from a variety of perspectives selected spontaneously by the producer. While the voices of interviewer and interviewed are a constant of the videotape, the scenes do not always correspond and may be of something other than the interviewer. The only instruction given to the children was to pick a partner and a square, and play the game. For this part I stayed on the sidelines and where possible off-camera, participating only for a particular experiment to establish attitudes toward the limits of fair play and only when I saw something I wanted on tape, in this case an argument between Patty and Billy over strategy.

The second part, titled "Reaction to Unknown Third Party," records the six participating youngsters watching selected portions from VT#2 Groups I and III and was designed to test for the participants' reaction to players they had not seen before. Before the selections were shown to the participants, they were told that they would be shown videotapes of children, unknown to them, who were playing Chestnuts and that they were to watch and make any comments about the way these children played. The participants were attentive and made a few comments, usually prompted by some question I asked. One of the selections concerned the point made by Group III about playing in the shade and was shown to see whether this practice was unusual and/or would elicit comment. It was an unusual practice as far as the participants were concerned but I had to question in order to find that out. Two further and related points are worth making. The quality of the videotape of VT#2 being shown on the studio monitor was very poor. There were double

images, "snow" caused by interference and poor definition generally. This situation points up the fact that at that time one manufacturers' equipment was not compatible with another's. The electronics, the tape formats and even the tape reels were different. Even though equipment was made by the same manufacturer, a given series of equipment was not always compatible with another. This, fortunately, is changing. The tapes made with the Sony portapack had to be re-recorded onto a Shibaden video recorder in order to be played back on Shibaden equipment in the studio. This was effected by hooking up a Sony video recorder to a Shibaden video recorder of the same type to be used in the studio, and transferring the information from one tape to the tape of the other. Theoretically speaking, this is impossible, but ingenious Extension Service technicians had devised a workable connection. There is always some loss of fidelity every time a tape, audio or video, is re-recorded onto another and in this case, the loss of fidelity was severe. But the poor quality elicited some interesting reactions and information which related to the experiment on fair play introduced in Part I. A double image caused Michael to remark "He had two chestnuts on" in a tone suggesting disapproval, which makes an interesting contrast to his non-committal attitude about this practice when I employed it with him during Part I of the production.

The third part of the production, titled "Self-Reaction" consisted of two sections. The first section recorded the six participants watching portions from VT#1 on the table monitor. The selections had been made to obtain either additional or clarifying

information as well as to provoke comment. The second section recorded the participants reacting to the first fourteen minutes of VT#3, Part I. There was little comment made, but quite a bit of giggling and poking took place and most of the children watched in interest, excepting Michael and Ricky. Ricky found watching portions of VT#1 "a bit boring" and wondered what was the point of "showing this back to us?" Once it was explained and he understood, he was quite helpful. To the playback of both VT#1 and VT#3, Part I, the children reacted variously and for the most part non-verbally. Close-ups were taken of each child as he appeared in the segment being watched. While the youngsters did not make any criticism as to how they played, other than by body gesture, Ricky and Michael were prompted by this section to ask a number of questions as I was driving them home afterwards. They wanted to know how I intended to use the tape; since the studio set-up was so impressive they wondered whether there would be a broadcast tie-in. Since Michael's father is a psychiatrist, he wondered if this research related to psychology. As a result Ricky began to reassess things he had said during the interviews and was worried lest he had given misinformation. He indicated that on thinking about it, he would have revised some of his comments although it was not clear which ones he had in mind. He did not agree with the boys of Groups I and III about the playing season. He felt they could not have a playing season as long as they said they had, particularly in the case of the boys who played all year long. Dougie claimed to play all year long but both Ricky and Michael thought that doubtful.

It was a long hard two and one half hours and the children were restless and tended to waste the chestnuts in play entertaining themselves while the cameras were readied. They were like ants, into everything. Nevertheless the production proved far less chaotic than I had expected and although structured, was a useful exercise which provided insights and additional information on the game and about the interaction of the children that had not otherwise been developed. It is a valuable document and a happy compromise in techniques. The game is presented, albeit editorially, through the eyes of the producer who selected from his monitor what he thought was important or interesting, and through the eyes of the interviewer who formulated her questions from the interest she developed from watching the play. Intimacy, a characteristic of television which results from the necessity to do close-up work, may not satisfy the need of the ethnographer for objective, unedited work, but it has its own particular value when used in conjunction with other material.

There are four main areas to be considered in comparing the equipment used in each of the three recording situations: the degree of technical competence required to operate the various types of equipment; the capability of the equipment; the latitude of technically acceptable material for use as research data; and the extent to which the VTR equipment intruded upon or influenced the event being recorded.

The more sophisticated the VTR equipment, the more competence and expertise required to operate it. The portapack and the movable equipment used to record VT#1 are within the operational competence of most individuals provided that reliable instruction and supervised

practice time has been given before using the equipment "solo" and provided the individual has some mechanical aptitude and technical bent. It is possible to teach yourself how to use the equipment through trial and error which is how I learned to use some of it when there was no one around with whom I would normally consult or turn to for direction. I experienced no major difficulties but it was costly in time and the possibility of damaging the expensive equipment was never far from my mind. Consequently I do not recommend learning to use VTR equipment on your own by trial and error.

Relative to the rest of the equipment used, the portapack is the simplest to operate. Camera and recorder are sturdy instruments designed for the use of the non-professional. The largest reel of videotape which can be used on the recorder is a thirty minute reel which in a field situation means several reel changes. Pictorial instructions for loading the reel of tape are given on the inside of the hinged front cover of the videotape recorder. Since the life of the battery, or battery pack as it is called, ranges from forty five minutes to an hour, it will have to be changed and at some time recharged for which five or six hours are required. The battery is located in the back of the recorder and pictorial instructions on changing it are given on the inside back cover. The jack for connecting the recharger is located on the side of the recorder where it is marked. The operations of play, record and rewind are controlled by three levers located on the front side of the recorder which operate like the controls of an audiotape recorder. A simple lock connection hooks the camera into the recorder.

The camera has a built-in microphone as well as a jack for an auxiliary microphone and the sound is automatically synchronized with the video signal. There is also provision for a small earphone which can be used to monitor the sound while recording or hear it on playback. Sound levels are automatically controlled in the camera and in the videotape recorder. The camera is equipped with a zoom lens (variable focus) which enables the subject to be kept in focus over the range of focal lengths incorporated in the lens. In practice this means that you can move the "eye" of the camera in on a subject or away from the subject at any speed merely by moving the lever mounted on the barrel of the lens. Light levels are automatically adjusted for by the camera and the light and the focus presented in the viewfinder are what will be recorded on tape. If the subject is too dark to be seen distinctly in the viewfinder, then the light levels are below the light range of the camera. The six pound camera is hand-held and operated like shooting a gun by depressing the trigger control once to start and twice to stop. The recorder weighs eighteen pounds twelve ounces and can be carried in the hand by a luggage handle, over the shoulder by a shoulder strap or worn on the back either with the shoulder strap or a back pack rack. Technical details of the equipment as given by manufacturer's specification may be found in Appendix II.

The machine is designed to take hard wear, but common sense precautions against careless handling should be taken and the most important precaution to take above all others is to avoid pointing the lens directly at a bright light. A black spot will be burned permanently

on the face of the vidicon tube and will show up on all subsequent tapes made with the camera.

For the recording of VT#1, the CAVE technicians set up the equipment, made the connections, placed the mikes and looked after the recording console while I for the first part, at least, looked after the camera. Since this was my first recording session using equipment which was expensive, which was not mine, and with which I was unfamiliar, I felt very tentative about the technical aspects of the operation and readily accepted the assistance of the CAVE technicians which is a regular service of CAVE. However, for the recording of VT#2, I felt more confident; I was on my own with no constraints and using the porta-pack equipment with which I was familiar. I became quite familiar with Shibaden half inch videotape recorders and consoles after many hours of monitoring videotapes with that equipment. They operate on the principle of and are not much different from the portapack beyond size, weight and a few more controls and connections. In the recording of VT#3, there were no operational problems for me because the studio equipment was operated by the production crew. The complexity of the equipment is secondary to the number of people required for a studio production. The production of VT#3 required a student assistant for each of the three cameras, an operator in the control booth with the producer and a technician doing the actual recording in the recording center; a total of six people excluding the interviewer.

Initially when I considered it necessary to establish the latitude of technically acceptable material for use as research data, I

was thinking primarily about the quality of the images on the videotapes which would be presented by portapack equipment as compared to studio VTR equipment. I wondered whether it would be possible to see sufficient detail clearly enough in the videotapes made on the portapack to make them useful in studying the game. I was not thinking about the technical quality of the tapes themselves--how they would stand up both to storage and to extensive use, but this question came up and added an unexpected dimension to the research. This latter aspect of tape quality falls more properly in the context of transcription problems where it will be discussed in Chapter 5, "Transcription of Videotapes." The technical quality of the images on the videotapes produced from all three recording situations was good and could be used for research without difficulty, but with certain limitations as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

The degree of image quality differed little between VT#1 and #2, but between these two and VT#3, there was a significant difference. The quality or definition of the image or resolution of the picture produced depends upon a number of things. In such a complex photographic and electronic process, there are many factors influencing the quality of the electronic transmission, but scanning is a significant one. The number of lines per picture determines how well the image is defined, and how good the picture is. As the electronic beam of the camera reads an image by breaking it into sequential units, it traces a rectangular pattern of lines called a raster. (Because a raster is the television

analogue to film, it is commonly but incorrectly referred to as a frame).[1] The lines are scanned beginning at the top left corner and moving in a slightly slanting direction to the right. At the end of each line the beam "flies" back to the left to begin scanning again. The beam traces the raster twice; first the odd and then the even lines. Each scan of the raster is known as a field and two fields make up a picture. With this technique, called interlace, the number of lines making up a picture can be doubled.

> Since each line is only one picture element high, the number of lines in a picture gives a measure of the detail it can resolve vertically....[2]

Horizontal resolution, which also determines image quality, depends upon the line standard being used, i.e., the power line frequency, fifty or sixty cycle electricity, and the band width being used. Video transmission requires a much wider frequency band than audio because there is so much more information being carried electrically. A span of frequencies is necessary to make up a television channel or band width and the band width is assigned and regulated by government. Whether or not the videotapes produced are going to be broadcast is immaterial, the VTR equipment has to be built to bandwidth specification pre-determined by engineering requirements and government regulation. There is a second

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[1] Spottiswoode, p. 1031.

[2] Ibid., pp. 1030-1031.

usage for the term "horizontal resolution". Manufacturers use the term either alone or in conjunction with "vertical resolution" as a statement of the image quality capability of a given piece of equipment.

The band width has a bearing on the size of the videotape and the VTR equipment.

VTR Principle

> The principle is the same as sound recording on tape. Whereas the audio tape recorder registers the sound spectrum converted into electrical impulses by a microphone and amplifier, the VTR registers the visual spectrum, converted into electrical impulses by the TV camera. The vastly greater range of frequencies the VTR must record, however, calls for complications in the method of recording far beyond what is needed for sound.[3]

The wide frequency band necessary to carry the video signal corresponds at minimum frequency to a range of seventeen octaves. Compared to nine octaves[4] required for a high quality audio recording on quarter inch magnetic tape, some idea may be conveyed of the relative size of the tape required. Audio and video tapes are essentially the same, differing only in size and magnetic particle orientation.[5] Videotape is made in half inch, one inch and two inch widths. The wider the tape the greater the information carrying capability, therefore qualitatively, two inch tape which can carry the most information of the three widths is the most refined. Two inch videotape is used for commercial television broadcast and it meets the most critical standard required in the industry.

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[3] Ibid., pp. 927-928.

[4] Ibid., p. 1051.

[5] Ibid., pp. 430-440.

There are three types of videotape recorder, each characterized by a different method of scanning. These methods are: direct, helical scan and transverse scan. The last two are the methods significant to this study. Suffice it to say that direct scan operates exactly as an audiotape recorder, was one of the first methods tried, and is no longer in general use although recent advances in technology have given it new life. On the helical scan videotape recorder, the tape is wound around a large fixed hollow drum in a spiral fashion starting the transit of the drum near its bottom edge and completing it near the top edge. The drum is transsected by a slot through which the heads, mounted on a movable inner drum, protrude slightly and rotate. The tape transport moves the tape helically over the drum at a constant but relatively slow speed, 7 ips., while the rotating heads scan the tape at high speed. The point of the helical wind is to reduce the break in scanning continuity; the break normally coincides with the field blanking period of the television signal. The field blanking period is that time during which the electronic beam, having scanned the raster, flies back to start over. It is also known as the "field flyback time" or "retrace." The visual effect of the field blanking period is the dark bar seen to separate one picture from another, noticeable when the television picture begins to roll on the screen or is not locked in.

It is the break in continuity of scanning which distinguishes the helical scan recorder from the transverse scan recorder. The tape in a transverse scan recorder moves from one reel to another in the same manner as does the tape of an audiotape recorder. The tape moves

through a horizontal plane across the video recording/reproduce head. The head consists of a two inch rotary drum upon which are mounted the magnetic heads, four in number, positioned ninety degrees apart on the diameter of the drum. As it passes, the tape is curved to fit the drum and is held in close contact with it by a suction vacuum, and the four video heads move across the tape laying down the video signal in lateral tracks across the tape. Sound is synchronously recorded on separate fixed conventional heads and laid horizontally along the edges of the tape.

> Because the heads are mounted 90° apart on the drum while the tape is curved to contact 120° of the drum periphery, there is an overlap, or duplication of video information that appears at the end of one track and again at the beginning of the following track.[6]

The transverse scan recorder is designed to use two inch videotape and the transverse scan recording method is universally accepted as providing the highest quality and as such is the accepted standard used in the television broadcast industry. Where economic considerations hold priority and quality is less critical, as in many closed circuit television and educational uses, helical scan VTRs are standard equipment. Half inch videotape is the size tape which I associate with helical scan VTRs, but there are one and two inch helical scan recorders.

Both the Sony portapack used for VT#2 and the Shibaden recording system used for VT#1 are equal in image quality; both recorders, the Sony AV-3400 and Shibaden SV-800 UL are half inch helical scan recorders with a rated horizontal resolution of more than 300 lines. VT#3, the tape of

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[6] Ibid., p. 934.

the studio production was recorded by two inch transverse scan recorder and visually is a cleaner, more detailed and more highly defined tape. Even the copies made from it onto half inch tape from which I worked and from which I made photographic stills were visually better quality than VT#1 and 2.

Of all the VTR equipment used, none was employed to full capability in any of the recording situations used in this study, all of which were simple situations technically. The portapack was the most versatile of the VTR equipment and presented the fewest problems. It has the decided advantage of portability yet it can be connected to house current if needed. The camera can be mounted on a tripod and additional microphones "jacked" in making it the same system as that used for VT#1. The camera will accept all manner of photographic lenses including infra red and laser lenses used in low-light and no-light situations. The viewfinder doubles as a monitor for playback which itself is a considerable advantage. The opportunity is provided to assess the tape in the field and retape if necessary as well as allowing participants the chance to view what has been taped, both for their entertainment and approval. Editing, if desired by a participant, can be done on the spot.

There are certain technical advantages to videotaping indoors; for one, better sound control. The ETVC studio had a special effects generator about which, regrettably, I knew nothing of at the time. With a special effects pattern generator it is possible to combine parts of pictures from different cameras or sources into a composite picture for recording or transmission. The VT#3 recording situation was ideally

suited to use this equipment and technique, for with it the overall environment of and activity in the game could have been recorded on half the screen while simultaneously following the interviewer on a quarter of the screen and focusing upon some special aspect of the interview such as the way in which a child was holding the string of the chestnut. In this manner everything could be presented in context in toto while simultaneously examining parts of that whole. There are many patterns possible so there is a choice from which to pick the most suitable pattern for the particular research.

There are a number of folklore events well suited for a studio production particularly if a special effects generator were used--for example, a folksinger with his audience. The composite picture could record the entire scene showing the singer in his setting and the interaction of audience and singer, at the same time presenting certain features of the singer in close-up, such as toe tapping, facial gesture or special skill with the instrument being played. Similar use could be made of the studio for recording a storyteller; or for recording a craftsman showing and describing how to mend nets, card and spin wool or build a dory, for example. Good sound control would be important for the recording of a folk musician or storyteller.

The influence of the recording equipment upon the event is difficult to assess to any precise degree, particularly where children are concerned. They are influenced by the equipment in the way they make it part of their play environment, but the question is whether the equipment influences their activity any more than does finding a blackboard

and chalk in the play area. Children, particularly Roger Puddester, Bobby Erving, Billy Erving and occasionally Greg Williams show off in front of the camera in VT##1 and 3 but children will show off, given the opportunity. It seemed to me that size and mobility of VTR equipment was a factor which had an influence on the event being recorded. The larger it is and the more there is of it, the more overpowering and intimidating it is to participants being recorded and the more structured the event must be in order to accommodate the equipment rather than the participants. This is less a problem for children than adults, because the children adapt more readily and accept the equipment as part of the play environment. Yet the children participating in VT#3 became restless and bored as soon as they were interrupted and forced to wait, and it was the waiting necessitated by the structured format that bothered them more than the equipment. They were interested in the equipment and how things were done but the structured format and the scale of equipment placed the control of the environment out of their reach. There is an interesting aspect to the question of influence imposed by studio equipment. Though the cameras and overall layout of a television studio appear highly technical and impressive, and therefore intimidating, if the participants in the lighted area or stage are active, then the cameras which move on the periphery of the lighted area are more in shadow than in light, and are unobtrusive and often unseen. It is not the visibility of equipment so much as the structured and formal atmosphere which inhibits and influences to some extent the event being recorded. Pertinent to this point is the fact that the portapack used in

the natural setting of the game aided research rather than inhibited it; the portapack opened doors rather than closed them.

The point that emerges in this comparison is not so much that one type of recording situation and the VTR equipment used is necessarily better than another, as each type of situation has its particular place and value. The important thing is that the individual who wishes to use VTR equipment in research should have an intelligent appreciation of video equipment in general and the capability of a variety of equipment in order to choose the types which will best further the research intended. As an example, a botanist who wishes to study the effects of various types of music on the growth of certain plants using VTR equipment should know about the existence and types of time-lapse video recorders. Preferably, the researcher intending to use VTR equipment should have some practical experience with it.

The lack of printed material on videotape techniques in research was probably more an advantage than a disadvantage. By the time references to the use of videotape in research began to appear, I had already determined my course of action, established my procedures and prosecuted them, encountered the problems inherent in the procedures and the technology and met them the best way I could. With the major exception of a doctoral dissertation on videotape techniques, which I will discuss, most of the references which I have seen since are peripheral references to the use of videotapes in particular types of research carried out by behavioral scientists. Four such references appear in Paul Ekman's article "Cross-Cultural Studies of Facial

Expression":[7] (1) the "components approach" ... "entails systematically sampling, on film or videotape, facial behavior..."[8]; (2) problems of the method include "the costs of film or videotape"[9]; (3) in a discussion of certain experiments there is a reference to "unedited videotapes of nine of these New Guineans"[10] and (4) the captions under the accompanying photos identify them as "video frames of...."[11] In Chapter XII, "Choosing a Method of Recording" of Emotion in the Human Face, a comparison between the motion and still records for the documentation of facial expression is presented. "There has been some argument over the relative merit of motion (film or videotape) and still (photographs) records of facial behavior."[12] In his doctoral dissertation, J.H. Schaeffer describes how Paul Eckman

> employs a videocamera to isolate movements recorded on film. He can zoom in on a hand for example and record its movement on videotape while retaining the full image of the actor of the film.[13]

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[7] Paul Ekman, ed., Darwin and Facial Expression (New York and London, 1973).

[8] Ibid., p. 187.

[9] Ibid., p. 188.

[10] Ibid., p. 212.

[11] Ibid., p. 213.

[12] Paul Ekman et al., Emotion in the Human Face: Guidelines for Research and an Integration of Findings (New York, 1972), p. 49.

[13] Joseph Herbert Schaeffer, "Videotape Techniques in Anthropology: The Collection and Analysis of Data", Diss. Columbia 1970, microfilm copy, p. 108.

I became aware of Schaeffer's doctoral dissertation "Videotape Techniques in Anthropology" after I had completed by own videotaping and only recently have I read through his work, which was a fortunate order of events. Had I read that work before beginning my own, it would have influenced this study in a number of ways, but both the scope and direction of Schaeffer's research were very different from mine, and the scale of his operation was beyond the capacity of an individual researcher with the facilities available to me. Schaeffer studied the "natural stream of behavior" in four households in New York City; two of which were Afro-American and two, Puerto Rican. Their daily activities were monitored over an extended period of time, five to ten weeks, with three portable videocameras and sound synchronous microphones installed unobtrusively in each household. These were connected by cable strung over property and through buildings to a monitor studio near the four households. The monitor studio was equipped with two nineteen inch monitors, a Sony EV210 one inch tape recorder, a digital clock and a switching device with which the cameras in the various households could be operated by remote control.[14] A team of monitors was employed to keep records. The procedure was to videotape nonstop a round of behavior--eight to ten hours on selected days.[15] The team member surveyed the screen every three minutes, logged the time, space, persons present and described the activity in simple narrative[16] such as "C enters from

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[14] Ibid., p. 45.

[15] Ibid., p. 56.

[16] Ibid., p. 54.

kitchen; C crosses to front bedroom."[17] From this log of real-time events or "flow chart", the behavior was abstracted, coded and ordered sequentially onto a graph. I will comment upon the method of information reduction in Chapter 5, but I mention it here only to round the character of Schaeffer's research.

For the person unfamiliar with VTR, the picture given by Schaeffer is a formidable one, but for the person who has had experience with VTR in a research context, it is an extremely useful document, not for the direction it points but for the points it confirms and the comparison it affords. He discusses and compares other audio-visual and visual instruments with VTR equipment and cites work done in behavioral studies using visual and audio-visual records. I wish to acknowledge his work, but I do not propose in this study to discuss it at length. Schaeffer's work confirms the premise from which my own sprang, that videotape recording is a practical and valuable technique for research. The conclusion I came to after reading the dissertation has to do with a point about methodology which comparison threw into relief, and that is that the type and goal of a given research project dictate the methodology and the presentation of information as well as the videotape techniques must be tailored to the situation. This becomes especially obvious at two points: when comparing the nature of two events being recorded, particularly with respect to the speed of the activity which bears on the second point of what language to choose when translating

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[17] Ibid., p. 55.

the information.

In the three recording situations which I have described here, and which may or may not have been ideal, I collected a large body of audio-visual data on a very active folklore event, a children's game, with the ultimate goal of presenting that data in some graphic form which would allow a detailed description of the game. The problems which I encountered in translating that material are the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

TRANSCRIPTION OF VIDEOTAPES

By far the most difficult problem of using videotape recordings is the transcription of or abstraction of information from the taped materials. It is a problem which cannot be avoided; transcription of some sort must be made for two principal reasons. The most compelling reason for immediate transcription is the perishability of the videotape. In theory, the lifespan of videotape is indefinite. In practice, manufacturers' specifications stipulate a wear lifespan of five thousand passes, however, The Focal Encyclopedia cautions:

> The wear life of a video tape is of paramount importance. Conditions of head-to-tape contact are much more severe than for audio tapes since the head tip has to be set to penetrate into the plane of the tape surface....The working life of a tape under studio use in which head tip size and penetration have been carefully maintained at the levels recommended for video recording, can exceed 1,500 playings, but in other conditions this life may fall to a few hundred passes only.[1]

The normal storage life of videotape is indefinite provided proper storage conditions exist, according to Mr. Ken Hauschildt, Supervisor of Television Facilities, ETVC, Memorial University of Newfoundland, and he describes such conditions as "moderate temperatures and low humidity." He pointed out that videotapes made in 1957 are still being used.

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[1] Spottiswoode, p. 438.

The Focal Encyclopedia stipulates that "most tapes can be stored for very long periods provided they are wound at correct tensions and kept reasonably clean", and that

> ...most manufacturers recommend that, for long-term storage, temperatures of 60-80° F and a humidity range of 40-60 per cent are a necessary safeguard...[2]

There are exceptions to the rule. On occasion a manufacturer may experience technical or production difficulties resulting in batches of defective tape. Such was the case with the half inch Memorex Chroma in use at the University at the time of my research.[3] This particular half inch tape proved defective, deteriorating rapidly when not in continuous daily use. The tapes used for this research were half inch Memorex Chroma. Deterioration in this case was due to oxidization which caused a white residue to form on the tape--a condition known as "shedding". Excessive shedding is seen as a snowstorm on the monitor, plays back as static on the audio portion, clogs the working parts of the videocorder and can seriously damage the reproduce heads of the videocorder.

Television professionals regard such tape as unsalvable but I found it possible to reclaim these oxidized tapes by a tedious process of wiping the residue from the tape by hand with clean soft

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[2] Ibid., p. 433.

[3] Half inch videotape is designed for helical scan videocorders which are used exclusively for educational and closed-circuit video systems. For television broadcast, two inch and one inch tape are used. In fairness to the manufacturer of Memorex tape, ETVC has experienced no problems with the broadcast tape.

untreated cotton pads. On a commercial basis this is impractical. Where research materials are at stake, however, the process is imperative. Since the defective tape was discovered, the half inch Memorex Chroma has been replaced twice by the manufacturer. The new improved, carbon-backed half inch Memorex tape has proved as defective as the first batch of tapes which it replaced and has itself been replaced. When CAVE and ETVC buy new supplies of tape, they now purchase 3M-Scotch-brand half inch Videotape and report no problems. Although the experience with Memorex tape is abnormal, it points up the possibility of defective tape and confirms the need for transcription as a guard against the unexpected.

A second reason for transcription lies with the nature of television itself. It is a medium by which simultaneous events are transmitted at the speed of light. However many times a tape is replayed, it is obviously physically and mentally impossible to assimilate all the information being presented, let alone assess that information. Somehow, the moving images must be made static to allow time for study and analysis.

Apart from the physical nature of the medium, television has a psychological effect which is independent of the content presented. Marshall McLuhan maintains that since television "involves all our senses in depth interplay", the material presented involves the viewer in the event as an active participant.[4]

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[4] Marshall McLuhan, p. 293.

It is difficult to maintain detachment while viewing videotapes. Frequently the investigator finds objective attention for particular detail forgotten as other events or the overall action intrude and capture the attention. Slowly the detached view fades and the investigator becomes involved in the events taking place. It is a strange but very real phenomenon of which McLuhan warns, referring to the TV image: "...it would be well to understand the dynamic life of these forms as they intrude upon us and upon one another. TV makes for myopia."[5] He states the argument:

> The mosaic form of the TV image demands participation and involvement in depth of the whole being, as does the sense of touch. Literacy, in contrast, had, by extending the visual power to the uniform organization of time and space, psychically and socially, conferred the power of detachment and non-involvement.[6]

A written description of what has been viewed, still photographs, or both, release the investigator to a considerable extent from possible influence of the medium and provide the time necessary for assessment of the information presented.

On the one hand, transcription of videotapes is essential, but on the other hand, a comprehensive transcription is impossible. "A picture is worth a thousand words." A belief in that statement lies behind my decision to experiment with videotape as a recording device,

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[5] Ibid., p. 292.

[6] Ibid., p. 291.

t the same statement gives an idea of the difficulties inherent in t anslating pictures to words; how many words are required for just one p cture, let alone a continuous flow of thousands of pictures at high v ocity and accompanied by sound?

The written word, a language system which is linear and which de ds on sequence, is incompatible with television, a multi-dimensional, syn hronous language system which destroys linear sequence by tr forming lines into patterns. The written word has not the capacity to c rry the infinite multiplicity of data carried by television; or for at matter, film, therefore a true and comprehensive transcription that ecords everything that happened and everything said is impossible. Thus, n one sense, the impossibility of transcribing videotapes proves the s riority of the information gathering capability of videotape record g to that of written notation.

An abstract of the information carried on the videotapes can, however, be made. It can be presented as a game summary or inventory of major activity as has been done with VT#1; a detailed descriptive comment as is VT#2 Gp I or a descriptive commentary outline as is VT#2 Gps I and III; or as an audio transcription with description and explanati n added, a second form of descriptive commentary which has been done with VT#3. All of the foregoing types of transcription can be supplemented by still photographs for visual orientation as has been done with the photographic plates in Chapter 8.

It is possible to take a sequence of still photographs illustrating the significant activity on a videotape or some portion of

such a tape, supplemented by appropriate comment. This method has both technical and financial drawbacks. The quality of photographs taken from television is limited and the procedure necessary to take the photographs rapidly diminishes the life of the tape. The tape must be stopped for a period of thirty to sixty seconds but the reproduce heads still rotate over it at a rate of 1400 rpm. Given the life of a tape as 5000 passes, in one minute two heads make a total of 2800 passes over the same spot, therefore quickly expending the life of the tape in the given spot. Approximately four hundred still photographs would be required to adequately illustrate the significant activity of a thirty minute videotape. Assuming the film used to be thirty five millimetre Tri-X and the presentation of the prints to be twenty four contact prints to an eight and a half by eleven page, then the cost in 1971 would have been approximately eight dollars for film, eighteen dollars for a thirty minute videotape, fifteen dollars for paper and five to ten dollars for chemicals, depending on the developing process; the total cost, approximately fifty dollars. By contrast and in demonstration of the effect of escalating costs, currently in 1975 those costs have doubled for film and paper and risen by twenty five per cent for chemicals and videotape making a total cost of approximately eighty dollars. Considering the limitation in quality of the photographs and the costs involved, such a method of abstracting information is prohibitive for all but the most special circumstance.

The nature of the activity recorded on videotape determines the form of the transcription.[7] Each recording situation set up for the research proved to have particular characteristics which provoked specific problems. A problem common to all three videotapes is the complexity of the activity recorded. Obviously, the more complex the activity, the more difficult the problem of transcription.

The initial work was done with VT#1 which records forty five minutes of the activity of seven children playing Chestnuts in a large playroom, E-23, in the Arts-Education Building of Memorial University. There were usually two or more games in progress at the same time, all recorded by a camera in fixed position and focused on the widest possible area of the room throughout all but the last twenty minutes of the recording at which time the youngsters operated it.

The first problem of transcription was to identify and isolate the various components of the total action. Different methods were tried. The audio portion was separated from the videotape by dubbing on to audiotape and a typed transcription was made. The videotape was played through while a running commentary was dictated to a tape recorder, and a typed transcript of the commentary was made. A series of photographs was taken of what was thought to be significant action such as preparation of the chestnut, player stance and position, and reaction to the camera by participants. Footage readings were noted in

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[7] Although the material abstracted is not as comprehensive as a transcription which records everything that happened and everything said, for ease of reference it will be so designated.

all three cases to serve as the referent for correlation of the material extracted.

The spoken commentary proved primitive and imprecise and pointed up the need for specialized language for description, particularly in relation to an individual's physical location and body posture, gesture and movement. None of the three methods provided the necessary skeleton upon which to build the transcription. Since the series of games which the children played was the common denominator of activity, the individual game was selected as the main unit of action with which to integrate the other components of the activity. The games were identified and listed sequentially according to tape footage reading. Beginning and ending footage readings for a given game were taken, each game timed, the players identified as to starting player and winning player, and the reason why a player won was noted where recognized. Then commenced the process of detailing the activity into a synchronized whole. The process was painstakingly slow and the emerging transcript was confusing to follow. It was particularly unsatisfactory in view of the time invested to produce it which by that point totalled in the order of a hundred hours. It became apparent that it was taking an hour to transcribe an inch of tape and the transcription was not remotely acceptable. At that rate of progress, it would take 24,800 hours to write the roughest transcription of a 2400 foot tape (one hour) which recorded activity as complex as that of NT#1. The approach was therefore abandoned.

The game summary, or inventory of major activity, is presented in Chapter 8 as the transcript of VT#1. Because of the noise made by seven exuberant youngsters, little of the audio portion of the videotape can be understood, and therefore it has not been used to supplement the game summary. The photographs taken of VT#1 are included in Chapter 8, Plates 17-19, to provide visual orientation to the game summary, to illustrate some technical aspects of photographing videotape and to illustrate the children's reaction to the camera.

VT#2 is the least complex of the three tapes. It is a thirty minute recording consisting of three sections, each section of which records the activity of a separate group of children, of which a single pair play the game at a time. The tape was recorded out of doors with portable equipment. Since some of the activity moves out of the fixed range of the camera, the camera "pans" to follow the action.

This tape was the next selected for transcription. The transcript of VT#2 as it appears in Chapter 6 was produced in the following manner. The audio portion was extracted and transcribed; the major units of activity were identified and listed in outline and still photographs were taken of significant action. At this particular point, a Sony Videocorder AV5000 was made available for demonstration by a commercial firm. One of the playback features of the videocorder not available on the Shibaden SV700 videocorder which I was using, is an adjustable slow motion control stopping down to still motion[8] and it

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[8] In a videocorder both the videotape and the two reproduce heads move. The still motion control stops the tape only; the heads must continue to move over the tape in order to read the data which is transmitted as a picture on the monitor.

proved an invaluable viewing aid. Significant action of cheating and tricking became apparent which had previously been missed without the advantage of slow motion. Additionally, because of the slow motion it was possible to select a sequence of the various phases of a single action and to "stop" the motion so that it could be photographed. These photographs helped immeasurably in the process of written transcription.

The main units of activity having been delineated, a hand-written description of each unit was made and the audio portion integrated with it. Then followed a process of typing, editing, checking, adding, selecting and matching still photographs to the action, and defining detail with constant reference to the videotape. Through this process a transcript was gradually built up through a series of typed drafts. The transcript of VT#2 Group I in Chapter 6 is the result of seven separate processes of extraction. The process could be repeated ad infinitum and still omit informative detail. Doubtless, it would eventually become impossible to read.

Although the time required to produce a rough transcription was a considerable improvement over that required for VT#1, it still required approximately an hour to transcribe a foot of tape. Therefore at one foot an hour, the thirteen and a half minute Group I segment took 506 hours to transcribe, and the total time required for the transcription as it appears in its present form represents roughly 576 hours. The remaining Group II and Group III segments of VT#2 appear in the very much abbreviated format of a descriptive outline and required a quarter of the time to produce.

VT#3 was recorded in a television studio by professionals with television broadcast equipment. A producer directed the position and focus of the three cameras from a control booth. The tape is divided into three parts.

Part one records six of the participants of VT#1 playing Chestnuts; each pair of children plays in a previously designated playing area. A roving interviewer watches first one and then another pair at play and talks to them about the game. She uses a hand-held microphone. The audio portion of the videotape carries her conversation and interviews, but in the video portion the cameras move back and forth between the interviewer and activity taking place elsewhere. Part two records the reaction of the children to a group of Chestnut players unknown to them. The youngsters are seated in front of a television monitor watching extracts from VT#2 Groups I and III. Part three records the children's reactions to themselves as they watch selected portions of VT#1 and a playback of the first twelve minutes of the videotape in progress.

VT#3 is more complex in the nature of its activity than VT#1 because of the constant play of the cameras. Because audio and video portions do not match, only the audio portion was extracted, transcribed and supplemented with brief explanatory description and comment. In general, the transcript takes the form of a television script and it is presented in Chapter 7. Still photographs for this transcription were taken after it had been completed and those taken were determined by points in the transcript which were deemed to benefit most by illustration.

Because of the expense, outlined earlier, and unreliable quality of still photographs taken from videotape, a photographic transcript was not attempted. However, approximately six hundred still photographs were made of the activity on the three videotapes as well as of the equipment and its layout in the three recording situations. The photographs served two basic but related purposes. Initially they were used as "aide memoirs" in writing elements of a transcription when a videocorder was not available, and secondly they are intended to facilitate the reading of a transcription by providing visual orientation.

Two considerations determined the method of presentation of these photographs--quantity and economy. At best six hundred photographs are a large number to handle conveniently or to follow usefully unless carefully organized. Because I had chosen to use thirty five millimetre film for reasons explained below, it was possible to present six hundred photos on twenty five plates by contact printing twenty four negatives simultaneously on one plate. Negatives were arranged to correspond with the order of activity described in the related transcription; in this way a visual record which could be followed while reading the transcription was obtained.

Larger prints would be easier to follow, but would increase both the bulk and the expense of the presentation, which are significant considerations. The real consideration, however, was the method by which larger prints would have to be obtained. There were two possibilities which I considered. Both were time consuming and one involved more than one photographic process. An enlargement could be

made of each thirty five millimetre negative. However many enlargements fitted on an eight and a half by eleven sheet would be mounted on that sheet, and the sheet would be annotated, photographed and processed in the quantity of prints required; in my case, four. This would make a splendid, though expensive, presentation. It was one which I planned to use in the special circumstance of demonstrating methods of aiming and holding the chestnut had the necessary darkroom facilities been available to me for a longer period of time. Whether or not I used it, it is a method of presentation which is worth citing for consideration. A second possibility would be to enlarge a number of negatives at the same time on the same sheet of photographic paper. This procedure requires a special table camera/enlarger which was available to me. I tried the procedure but abandoned it because of the difficulty of controlling the conformity of the prints and because of the rising cost in wasted material.

The film used to take the photographs was thirty five millimetre because thirty five millimetre equipment was the type with which I was familiar, which I owned and which was available to me from CAVE. And for me, thirty five millimetre film is tidier to handle physically than other film. In the long run, thirty five millimetre film is less expensive than other film, particularly when purchased in bulk rolls. It is also more efficient of time and money to load your own cassettes because you can control the exact amount of film you plan to use on a given occasion. For example, if you require five exposures of a given subject immediately, by using bulk film you are in a

position to load only the amount of film necessary for those five exposures. By using commercially loaded cassette film of twenty or thirty six exposures, most of the film is wasted if the five exposures must be developed immediately, or else time is wasted if the roll must be finished before developing the needed five exposures.

The thirty five millimetre prints, though small, are adequate to the task for which they are being used, that of providing supplementary visual reference for the transcriptions which does not require fine detail. If required to satisfy more specialized requirements or more stringent requirements for fine detail, the thirty five millimetre negative can be enlarged and presented in the manner already discussed. The thirty five millimetre prints which make up the twenty five plates in Chapter 8 represent the minimum acceptable quality for presentation of data which is a natural extension of the research objective to establish the latitude of acceptable quality of videotapes for use as research data. The discussion to this point has been concerned with the size as opposed to the quality of the photographs.

The quality of photographs made from videotape depends largely upon the quality of the videotape in the first place. It is an accepted fact that videotapes do not provide the means for high quality photography. There are technical reasons for this. No matter how high the definition of the video picture, the raster lines of the signal will photograph. These lines are not obvious to the eye in the small thirty five millimetre contact prints, but they would be obvious in enlargements. What is obvious in the prints on Plates 1-19 is an

assortment of horizontal bars, either darker or lighter than the rest of the print, and a diagonal bar, darker or lighter, in the prints of Plates 21-25. Three explanations for these bars have been given to me by technicians. The first: the video equipment is out of synchronization with the frequency of the power supply, which is caused by fluctuation in the power cycle from sixty to fifty nine or fifty nine point five. The difference in frequency causes an inaudible hum which is expressed visibly as a bar--an oscilloscope effect. In some instances the hum may synchronize with the scanning cycle and not be visible. The second: the camera was not synchronized with the speed of the electronic transmission. This is difficult to do. The signal is being transmitted at thirty cycles per second or thirty "frames" (rasters) per second. By setting the camera speed at one thirtieth of a second, there is a better chance of synchronizing with the signal. However, the slower the camera speed, the lower the definition of the photograph. The third: still photographs will record the lines which the electronic beam is scanning, as well as the field blanking period or time during which the beam "retraces" as bars. From my non-specialist knowledge of the technology, I would say that each explanation is correct and that in toto they constitute three probable causes for the bars which appear in photographs taken of video images.

The quality of photographic plates in Chapter 8 varies and is not of the standard that a professional could obtain, despite the photogenic shortcomings of video images. Many factors other than the quality of the video images influence the final quality of a photograph,

ranging from the camera and lens which took the picture to the developer used to print the photo. All the photographs for the supplementary photo record were taken on Kodak TRI-X Pan film rated at 400 ASA. This film is a fine grain, high speed film used where very sharp images and good enlarging quality are required.

The photographs of VT#2, presented on Plates 1-16, were taken with what is regarded as one of if not the best 35 mm camera on the market, a Nikkormat with a 55 mm f. 3.5 lens, and automatic light metering which was mounted on a tripod and used with a cable release. The point of the cable release was to avoid touching the camera and causing movement, however slight, at the time of releasing the shutter. The photographs were taken from a 21 inch television connected to Sony Videocorder AV 5000. The television was positioned on an equipment stand, higher than the camera and tilted forward. The camera, mounted on the tripod, was positioned approximately five feet from the television screen and tilted upward in such a way as to parallel the camera lens with the television screen. The physical layout is shown in PR 16/22.

The tape was played from the beginning and where possible the images were photographed in their natural sequence. The procedure was to advance the tape to an image to be photographed. It was brought into exact position through a simple process of rewinding the tape slightly, then advancing it in progressively slower motion until the exact image was in position. The recorder was kept in the "stop motion" position while the photo was shot.

The same procedure was used to photograph VT#3 but with a different recorder, the Shibaden SV-700UL, which has only a "stop motion" feature. Without the coupled slow motion control which is a feature of the Sony AV 5000 it was more difficult to position the desired video image. Neither the Sony AV 5000 videocorder nor the Nikkormat camera were available for use when I photographed VT#3. The camera used was my own, a Miranda Sensorex with an automatic 50 mm. f. 1.9 lens, a good quality 35 mm. camera but not in the same category as the Nikkormat. The quality of VT#3, having been made with the best available equipment, was extremely good. Unfortunately, the high degree of definition in the original videotape is not so obvious in the photographs presented on Plates 23-25, as it should be. The film was improperly exposed because of a faulty battery in the light metering system of the camera. An oversight, such as not checking and changing a battery, can significantly reduce the quality of the final print.

The photographs of VT#1, presented on Plates 17-19, were the first taken. The procedure and the equipment were the same as that for the other two videotapes, except for the videotape recorder and monitor. A Shibaden SV-800 UL videotape recorder was used. This machine has a built-in nine inch receiver/monitor and was the machine which I preferred to use for viewing because it was more compact and more convenient. With monitor and recorder incorporated in one machine, I could operate and watch without having to move back and forth as was necessary with the other recorders and large, separate monitors. The SV-800 UL had only a "stop motion" feature and it did not function properly; the

picture would break up when it was used. Therefore the photographs had to be taken while the tape was moving through the machine. Accordingly there was not the same control over the selection of video images as that afforded by the other two machines. The smaller monitor also meant smaller images in the photos.

I do not propose to discuss darkroom procedures except to acknowledge that quality of the final print is influenced by the darkroom procedures followed. The development time of film and paper, and particularly exposure time of paper, is quite important. Where a number of negatives of differing densities are to be exposed on a single sheet as was the case in making the photographic plates for this study, an average exposure had to be made, thus sacrificing to some extent the control of exact exposure which would be exercised when working with only one negative.

Transcription of videotapes is a lengthy and complicated process, and is by necessity selective and interpretative, but is not without value. The act of transcription forces careful and specialized study of a complex event. I do not believe that the transcript alone can be used to provide complete data for analysis and I think it must not be used without reference to the videotapes themselves. It is, however, an essential means of reference. As Birdwhistell cautions, the investigator must forego the assumption that a "sound film is a labor-saving device" contending that telecommunication devices are necessary, require annotation systems, "require skill to make them useful, and

they place an inevitable shape upon the data."[9]

The goals of the research, in addition to the nature of the activity recorded on videotape, also determine the form of the transcription. Since the main purpose of the research was to obtain as complete and detailed a description of the game of Chestnuts as possible, and since I wanted the transcription to be accessible to researchers in as many areas as might have use for such a description, it was important to use a descriptive language which was at once precise and at the same, completely clear. In searching for a method of precise description of body position and movement, I considered the kinegraphic notational system of Birdwhistell. However, this is a highly specialized method which was at that time still in the process of development and which as Birdwhistell acknowledged was "a relatively static system" as he expressed his hope "that forthcoming research using motion pictures will make it possible to develop techniques which will make this more dynamic."[10] Even had I been able to learn the notation in a short time, it would not have been adequate to the task of describing quick and dynamic action. I chose to avoid highly specialized terminology or notation, devising instead a standard nomenclature of my own to describe body position and place, listed in Chapter 3, and modifying slightly the language of stage direction for

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[9] Ray L. Birdwhistell, Kinesics and Context: Essays on Body Motion Communication (1970), p. 152.

[10] Ibid., p. 257.

body position and location to conform to film or television direction. Apart from these two concessions to a specialized language, activity has been described in as clear, non-specialized and standard English as possible.

In his doctoral dissertation on videotape techniques,[11] J.H. Schaeffer describes the three stage method of information reduction and abstraction which he devised to present data from video-tapes suitable for analysis. The first, a "flow-chart", presented a brief narrative in simple sentences of the behavior observed; the second was a graph on which the behavior in coded form was presented and which provided the basis for the third or analytical stage, a three dimensional model built of a series of graphs interleaved with sheets of transparent acetate. A "videoscript" or series of photographs showing a sequence of action was used where supplementary data was required. Because Dr. Schaeffer found previous methods of information abstraction from film employed by earlier researchers inadequate to describe the complexity of the behavior which he was examining, he was compelled to devise his own methods. It is in this context that my work both impinges upon and differs from Dr. Schaeffer's in that the activity which he describes is less complex than that with which I am concerned. He was concerned with the stream of behavior which occurred in a domicile in an urban setting over a period of time, whereas I am concerned with the dynamic activity of a children's game occurring in a brief space of time. This

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[11] Schaeffer, "Videotape Techniques in Anthropology".

demonstrates the point that the form of information reduction and presentation must be tailored to suit the particular nature of the activity and the goals of the research project. The forms which I employed to present data from videotapes follow in the next three chapters.

CHAPTER 6

DESCRIPTIVE COMMENTARY: VIDEOTAPE #2

Format, Position Coding and Special Terminology

Format Headings:

U - Unit — This is the major division into which the sequence of activity is broken. The units are numbered consecutively and consist of a summary heading followed by elaborating paragraphs.

G - Game — In addition to the Unit number, specific games are identified and numbered consecutively even though a game is also a unit. The distinction is made to distinguish actual games from peripheral activity. The game unit consists of the names of the players, winner's name listed first; the name of the starting player; summary of action listed by numbered blow (in parentheses) and by player turn; the duration of each player turn follows the respective turn; and elaborating paragraphs, both numbered and unnumbered. The numbered paragraphs elaborate and refer to the specific blow cited in the summary.

PR - Photograph Reference — The plate and number of a given photograph depicting activity described appears in the right margin opposite the activity to which it refers by two sets of numbers separated by a virgule. The first number identifies the plate reference; the second, the photograph on that plate.

R - Footage reading of revolution counter.

Format Notation:

A description of the target and striking positions of a player is given only once in detail, the first time it occurs. Subsequent detail is given only where the player deviates significantly from his initial position.

Unit, game, and/or footage reference contained within parentheses indicates continuation from the preceding page.

Dialogue:

Where action dominates the conversation, the conversation is fitted into the action with quotation marks. Where action is static and conversation predominates, the method of the drama script is used with action and comment contained within parenthesis.

Three periods indicate either an interrupted sentence or an unfinished sentence.

The word "pause" in parentheses indicates the interruption of both speech and action, or just speech.

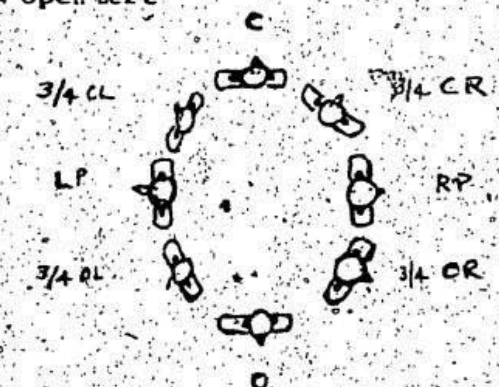
Terminology and Coding:

Generally the terminology of film direction which I learned from observing productions and reading film scripts, applies. That is, the locale of action on the screen is referred to in relation to that of the camera; camera left or camera right. An individual or activity not seen or the direction taken by an individual is referred to as "off camera, right or left." The direction taken by an individual moving on to the screen is referred to as "on camera, right or left."

Stage direction terminology is used to denote the approximate physical relationship of the individual to the camera but has been modified to conform to viewer perspective rather than that of the actor.

Eight body positions are employed:

Open or full open (facing camera)	- O
Closed or full closed (back to camera)	- C
Left Profile	- LP
Right Profile	- RP
3/4 Closed Right	- 3/4CR
3/4 Closed Left	- 3/4CL
3/4 Open Right	- 3/4OR
3/4 Open Left	- 3/4OL



The terms "facing camera" and "back to camera" are substituted in instances where it is felt that their use gives greater clarity or ease of reading.

CN	- the complete game equipment: a chestnut fitted on a string or shoe lace
Chestnut	- the nut part of the CN
chestnut	- the nut before it has been fitted on a string or shoe lace
target	- the CN subjected to attack
target nut	- the Chestnut which is subject to attack
striking position	- the stance adopted by the aggressor
target position	- the stance adopted by the player holding the target

The format varies slightly to accommodate the more abbreviated commentaries of Groups I and II. A summary heading does not appear and the total time of a game appears opposite the names of the players. The numbered paragraphs indicate change of turn. The Unit remains the major division of activity and although a game is also a unit, in the case of Gp II where only two long games are played in the nine minute segment, it has been necessary to break a game into units in order to provide reference points. Also in the Gp II commentary, a numbered paragraph reflects a new turn in the game although the player may not change.

Description of Recording Equipment Used

Sony PortaPack: Sony Video Camera AVC 3400DC12V #26143 with Sony TV Zoom lens f12.2-50 mm 1:1.8

Sony Videocorder

Tape: Memorex Chroma 8011B, 69S053TC04 B3 5C & 60S101TC01A1 1B - 2 30 minute tapes

VIDEOTAPE #2

GROUP 1: Total time of segment: 14 min. 35 sec.

Participants: John Squires (11), Bobby Breen (10) and Gary Breen (12)
Location: Pennywell Road, St. John's, Newfoundland
Time: Sunday, 24 October 1971, 10:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon
Weather: Sunny, clear and temperature reported at 32°. Slight breeze

U	G	R		Players and Description	PR
			000-010	Footage positioning and focusing camera. Establishing location: A city street in a primarily residential section adjoining one of the business areas of the city. The street, Pennywell Road, is a major thoroughfare leading from a major city artery, LeMarchant Road, and has moderately heavy traffic. On Sunday, the traffic is lighter than on a working day.	
			010-015	Chestnut tree and focusing	1/1
1	1		015-022	/Gary/John/	
				Gary 1st: 3 blows; CN knocked out of John's hand (14.5 sec)	
				The two boys, Gary and John, stand on the sidewalk in front of a city residence, 32 Pennywell Road. John, LP, and Gary, RP, face, bodies at an angle slightly greater than 180°, a distance of apptoximately 24" between them. John stands half a head taller than Gary. The game is already in progress.	1/2
				Although camera shows players from knee level up, it appears that John, in target position, stands with legs close together and right knee bent slightly, body erect, head bent forward slightly, eyes on target, holding target in right hand, arm held toward his right side and lowered, elbow bent slightly, fist at chest level, Chestnut at waist level, .5" from body. The length of the string is 5-6". His left hand rests in his parka pocket.	

U G R	Players and Description	PR

(1. 1 015-022) Gary assumes striking position: right foot forward, body loosely erect, head tilted forward slightly, chin tucked in, eyes on target, Chestnut held resting on upturned, cupped palm of left hand at mid-chest level, 6-7" from his body aimed at the target nut on a diagonal line, 4" back and 3" above it. He holds the lace in his right fist. The length of the string is approximately 4".

(1) One blow has been struck by Gary who is giggling. The target nut swings around John's right hand; he keeps his left hand in the pocket of his parka, taking it out only to examine his Chestnut after the blow. Gary continues to giggle; John laughs and is laughing when he turns and looks at the camera as does Gary a moment later.

(2) John resumes target position and as Gary delivers a diagonal blow from ear-level which strikes the target, Ross Marche, a chunky, blond boy of nine steps out of the yard of his home at 30 Pennywell Road, down onto the sidewalk and walks toward the players.

John purses his lips, examines the Chestnut after second blow, loops the string once around the index and third finger of the right hand and assumes target position holding the target in his right hand and resting his left hand in his parka pocket. Ross is nearly abreast of John.

(3) Ross passes behind John as the third blow knocks the CN out of John's hand and sends it flying to his right and off camera left. Gary shouts, "Yeayea". John starts to run while Gary pauses to glance at the camera, continuing the laughing and giggling which he has done throughout the game. As John moves off camera left, his left hand still in his parka pocket, he comments, "No good; what luck!"

During play neither boy moves significantly from the original area. There is little discernible conversation; sound consists largely of noise of the wind and passing cars, Gary's giggle and half-swallowed exclamations and an occasional comment which is unintelligible.

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(1	1	015-022)	Camera stops and picks up action several seconds later as Gary and John resume play.	
2	2	023-024)	/Gary/John/	
			Gary 1st: 1 blow - Chestnut knocked out of John's hand (1 sec)	
			As camera re-positions, players have returned to original area of play. John, 3/4CR, as he checks his CN and secures it in his hand, drily asks Gary, "Gonna win?" and then raises the CN into target position with his right hand; the left hand is already at rest in the parka pocket. Gary, who has been standing, LP, with his CN at the ready, replies, as he aims, "Might jus", and delivers a sharp diagonal blow which strikes the target and drives the Chestnut diagonally off camera left. Both boys chase after the CN. John keeps his left hand in his parka pocket during the short chase, as well as when he stoops to recover his CN. Gary, although ahead of John in the chase, waits for him to recover the CN without interference, assuring John, "I wouldn't have got it." Only the string is visible which John picks up from the edge of the curb to the right and in front of the area of play.	
3	3	026-032	/Gary/John/	
			Gary 1st: (1) 1 blow - Gary tangles CNs (3 sec) (2) John shoots and tangles CNs (3 sec) (3) Gary - 1 blow - Chestnut knocked off string (1.5 sec)	
			The boys take up the same positions in the same area as in Game 2. John's CN is intact and he resumes his usual style of target position with the exception that this time, he holds the target in his left hand and rests his right hand in his parka pocket.	
			(1) Gary tangles the strings with his first shot and untangles them by swinging his string in three quick unbroken counter-clockwise circles.	

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(3	3	026-032)	(2) The players change, John taking up striking position and Gary, the target position. The boys face one another, body angle slightly greater than 180° and the distance between them is 24-36". Gary stands, LP, legs together, weight evenly distributed, body erect, head cocked to the left, right arm holding target straight out to the right side and slightly above shoulder level, elbow bent 10°, fist level with breast bone, target nut level with stomach and 8-10" from body, length of lace, 6-7", left arm braced on hip. John stands, RP, feet together, weight evenly distributed, body erect but relaxed, head bent forward slightly, string held in right hand, Chestnut held in left, length of string, 4-5", both hands held on the same plane. John shoots a right lateral blow, tangling the CNs. He untangles them in much the same manner as Gary, but uses two slow counter clockwise circles, finally freeing the CNs by shaking the string moderately in lateral movements from left to right. As he starts shaking the CNs, Gary moves in to rescue his CN, all the while giggling. After the separation, Gary who giggles continually, glances at the camera. The players change turns. (3) At the point of the third blow by Gary, Ross, off camera, calls, "Paul, don't get in the way." The resulting third blow knocks the Chestnut off the string and Gary exults, "Yea, I won!" Ross, off camera, repeats, "Paul, don't get in the way." John disappears off screen left, presumably after his Chestnut while Gary stands, grinning at the camera.	
4		033-048	<u>Interview of Gary who displays CN and discusses its preparation</u> Camera re-positions on Ross, camera left, moving camera right to Gary who, with a swing of his left hand in which he holds his CN, announces, "Oh... This is one year old now."	

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(4		033-048)	Interviewer: (behind camera) Let's see it.	
			Bob: (off camera) Gair, where's the nail?	
			Gary catches the CN in his right hand, moves closer to the camera and displays it in his right hand in target position. He ignores the question from Bob.	1/3
			Interviewer: (behind camera) You just got that?	
			Gary: (still holding CN in target position) Yeah.	1/4
			Interviewer: (behind camera) How did you make it...	
			Interviewer: (continuing)...what...what've you got a string on it? (as voice at the same time, off camera, queries): Gary, did you see who got the nail?	
			Gary: (ignores questions of off camera group) Yeah, I put a nail through it. (handles the Chestnut with left hand while still holding it by the string in target position with right hand, rolls it quickly around in fingers of left hand and then lets it drop from his left hand)	
			Voice: (off camera) Gair, where's the nail?	
			Gary is still holding the Chestnut, hand in a fist position, knuckles facing out, thumb in anterior position, the lace wrapped once around the 1st joint of the index and third fingers of his left hand, thumb resting on top of the winding over index finger.	1/4
			Interviewer: (behind camera) What kind of string is that?	
			Gary: (still holding CN in display) Sn...sneaker lace.	
			Interviewer: (behind camera) Is that the best kind to have?	
			Gary: Yeah. (looking into camera)	

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(4		033-048)	Interviewer: (behind camera) Why do you choose that?	
			Gary: (quickly and slightly raises fist in which he holds CN while rotating palm towards face, thumb moving clockwise from twelve o'clock to one o'clock, lace lies across 2nd joint knuckle ridge. He looks at CN, drops his arm with a quick flick of the wrist for emphasis) It's stronger. (Pause)	1/5
			Interviewer (behind camera) Ah	
			Ross passes behind Gary.	
			Plaintive voice: (off camera) Gair-ree, where's that nail?	
			Gary: (catches and clasps top of Chestnut and posterior portion of lace in his left fist for a moment, drops his left hand and displays the CN again in his right. He drops his right arm slightly in a falling gesture, arrests the movement as though breaking a fall for emphasis) It won't fall out of your hand.	1/6
			John: (off camera) What did you do with the nail, Bob?	
			Gary looks to his right slightly, his attention directed to the owners of voices, off camera, who query, "...the nail!" "Whatcha do with it?" Gary gives a light, embarrassed laugh, glances at the camera, then backs toward the voices off camera and moves away slightly to camera right.	1/7
5		049-059	<u>Boys search for something to ream chestnut</u>	
			Camera re-positions on John and Bob, both back to the camera. John moves away looking for something. Bob stands between concrete gate posts which flank the driveway. Both boys are looking on the ground for something with which to ream a chestnut.	
			A small, blond boy moves up behind Bob and stops, turns, RP, when Ross, off camera, commands, "Paul,	

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(5		049-059)	don't get in the way...Paul!" Paul stands leaning against the gate post, hands in jacket pocket, head bent, eyes cast down, looking constrained.	1/8
6		060-100	Bob reams his chestnut with stick; boys banter and move about on and off camera	

Bob, back to camera, head bent forward, works with a chestnut, string dangling down along his right side. John moves around searching the ground with his eyes.

Bob: Gary, what did you do with that nail?

Gary: (off camera) I left it at home.

Suddenly Gary pops into the scene, bends over to inspect the ground more closely, throws a sour look in the direction of the camera, and backs away, camera right. 1/8

Bob, Ross, John and Paul move into camera range and mill about the small area that is the entrance to a narrow driveway, peering at the ground, looking for a suitable implement to ream chestnuts.

Camera re-positions on five boys, Bob, John, Gary, Paul and Ross grouped for a moment in a circle

J
B G
R P

which breaks up as Ross, crossing in front of Paul, moves away, camera right, followed by Gary. Bob, back to camera, elbows bent, works with something in his hands at waist level. John, LP, watches and Paul, back to camera, moves in to see better, closing the tight circle.

Gary moves on camera right, and standing 3/4CL, rests his hand on the small of Paul's back and gives him a push out of the way, moving Paul off to camera right. Gary, after several glances at the camera, moves in to take Paul's place in the circle.

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(6		060-100)	Bob, 3/4CR, reams vigorously with a stick, muttering and growling to himself (words inaudible). Gary begins to giggle and Bob turns quickly, RP, stopping his work momentarily as he looks at the camera and grins.	
			Bob or John speaks (words inaudible). They shift about. Bob, RP, holds stick in one hand as well as the string which dangles down in front of him.	1/9
			Gary moves off camera right. John and Bob look at the ground. Gary, LP, moves partially on camera right. John spots something on the ground at his right, takes a step toward it, bends partially and pushes it around with his left foot, steps back, glances self-consciously at the camera, lowers his eyes and watches Bob attempting to work a hole in his chestnut with a stick. John examines his CN and moves string and Chestnut around in his hands.	1/10
			Gary: (off camera) Put on your other...John.	
			Bob, RP, reams. John, full open, stands watching, his right arm at his side, string dangling from his right hand in which he loosely holds the CN.	
			John: I've got to get another.	
			Camera focuses on Bob, 3/4OR, only. Bob succeeds in getting the string through the chestnut.	
			Gary: (of camera) laughs, ahhhhahah	
			Bob, 3/4OR, looks up, grins, squints, right eye closed, continues reaming, shakes his head from left to right, in a slight gesture of dissatisfaction, and grimaces as he forces the stick through the chestnut.	
			John: (off camera) Does he have it?	
			Gary: (off camera) I think he does...hahahahahaah. (Pause) Get it through?	
			Bob: (RP, growls, scowls at nut, does not look up) Got too big a hole.	

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(6'		060-100)	Gary: (off camera) He just made another hole. (taunting laughter) ahhaha.	
			John: ...don't know how...pieces.	
			Bob: (RP, looks up, speaks through teeth) That's true, just made another hole.	
			Gary: What?	
			Bob: That's true.	
			Gary: (off camera; gleeful laughter) He just made another hole. (Tone is taunting)	
			John: (off camera; in disbelief) He didn't make another hole?	
			Bob: (RP, grimacing as he, with some effort, attempts to shove stick through chestnut, in a low deliberate growl) I can tell you one thing I'm not using it for... ease. It's a lovely knot hole.	
			(Laughter from the boys and noise of passing cars)	
			Gary: (off camera, taunting) He made another hole, ahhhhhhhhhahaha.	
			John: (off camera, quietly) Three holes, that's gonna go at one knock.	
			(Pause)	
			John: (off camera) There it is, Bob.	
			Camera moves off camera right, away from Bob, picking up Paul who is walking toward the camera and who turns partially, RP, to look back at something. He stands with hands in his jacket pockets.	
7		101-105	Gary waits for an opponent, dances and swings CN	
			Camera pans right picking up group of three boys toward whom Paul is looking: Gary, foreground; John alongside and at Gary's right; Ross, alongside and	1/11

U	G	R		Players and Description	PR
(7			101-105)	at John's right and partly hidden; all left profile, standing on sidewalk curb.	
				Gary step dances, glances back and forth at the camera and the boys, then stands and swings his CN, which he holds in his right hand, in circles around his fist; his left hand rests in his pants pocket.	1/11
				Paul, 3/4OR, who has been watching Gary, turns 3/4OL, and walks off camera left to watch Bob, who is off camera. Gary glances at the camera and back at Bob, off camera, to whom he promises with a smothered giggle, "I'll getcha now."	
8			106-108	John prepares CN watched by spectators	
				John, LP, stands at Gary's right side working with a chestnut while Ross, 3/4OL, standing at John's right, watches him. Paul moves between the group on camera and Bob, off camera. John, LP, walks directly forward to the concrete gate post and uses its hard side as a pressure plate to push the stick through the chestnut, an activity which attracts Paul, who moves in to watch him. Paul, foreground, stands back to camera with both hands in jacket pockets.	1/11
				Camera stops.	
9	4		109-111	/Gary/Bob/	
				Gary 1st: 2 blows - Chestnut cracked (6 sec)	
				Camera picks up action just as Gary, 3/4OL, takes careful aim at the target which Bob, RP, holds rather limply. After the successful first blow, Gary giggles sporadically throughout the game but maintains perfect silence when he aims and strikes.	1/12
				Bob holds the target very close to his body. After the first blow, he inspects his CN, looks at the camera with a grimace on his face. Paul and John, who have been standing behind the players, camera left, full open, move forward closely to see better. Paul is well in front of and to the right of John. Each time Gary hits, he looks at the spectators and	1/13 1/14

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(9	4	109-111)	intensifies his gleeful giggles. On the last blow, mingled with giggles, he cries, "I win" and bounces up and down. Bob walks off camera left, explaining to John, who stands, O, in background, "It cracked."	
10		112	Gary raises CN into the air in victory gesture Paul walks forward toward the camera turning his head camera left to watching a departing Bob as Gary, still giggling, examines his CN briefly and then holds it up into the air in his right hand over his head in a victory gesture as he looks toward John and Bob, who stand off camera. "Three year old", he boasts and laughs. Ross and Paul mill about. Ross walks past Gary holding something in the upturned palm of his left hand, commenting, "Some chestnuts here, look." He drops the contents of his hand on the ground and gives a tentative kick at whatever has fallen. Gary: (fishes something out of his left pants pocket with his left hand and pops it into his mouth. He still holds his CN in target position in his right hand. He calls to the group off camera) Two knocks, Jack. Two ya got me with...no three. (Giggles)	1/15
11		113-115	Grouping of players and spectators: Player's preparation and spectator's activity Bob, John, Ross and Paul are grouped in a tight circle at the entrance of the driveway watching Bob as he works on a chestnut. Gary stands approximately five to six feet from the group, right foreground, 3/4CL. J B R P G	
12		116-127	Camera reaction: Gary orders the show Gary joins the circle, standing 3/4CL, between Paul and Ross as Interviewer questions, "Why do	

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR

(12 116-127) they go so quickly?" All the boys partly turn to look at the camera as the question is asked.

John, open, who works with CN in both hands at waist level, grins and answers in barely audible voice, "because he put three holes in it."

Ross moves camera right, away from the group, stands facing camera, behind Gary. Gary, conscious of the camera, reaches out with his left hand and motions Paul out of the way, annoyance written on his face. Paul, who still stands in the circle, back to camera, watching Bob and John, moves camera left and is shortly thereafter followed by Ross.

Gary repeats John's answer loudly, "he put three holes in it," and dissolves into laughter. He still holds his CN in target position with his right hand. He extracts something from his left-hand pants pocket and puts it quickly into his mouth. As his left hand leaves his mouth, he stamps his left foot and gestures with his left hand toward Ross and Paul. His face registers annoyance as he orders, in a low voice, "Get out of the way." Paul and Ross move camera left a fraction of an inch. Gary, LP, glances toward the street, twirls his CN in circles around his right hand in which he holds the CN lace, studiously unconcerned but satisfied that the camera has an unobstructed view.

Ross moves into foreground, ignoring Gary's order, moves into the circle at the left of John who continues to work with his CN. At this, Gary moves into the circle as well, positioning himself at John's right and ordering, "Get out of the way, Ross," as he whips his hand out of his pocket toward Ross in an incompleted gesture of arrest. Ross pays no heed and the two boys stand on either side of John and watch him work.

Paul, camera left, LP, who has been watching, is attracted by something off camera right. He walks off camera right to investigate, followed by Ross. John, in the center of the group, facing the camera, continues to work on his CN, while Bob, camera left,

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(12		116-127)	3/4CR, reams his chestnut against the concrete gate post. Gary, camera right, LP, watches John and Bob. John and Bob hold a brief conference (words are lost in the noise of the wind and passing cars). Gary, LP, who is eating something small, possibly raisins, quietly fishes something out of his left pants pocket and pops it into his mouth. He steps backwards, swings his CN in his left hand, at the same time starting a brief dance by hopping up and down on his left foot, while maintaining watch over the proceedings between Bob, 3/4CR, and John, 3/4OL.	1/16
			Voice: (off camera) Who's that, Ross? Bob gives John the stick he used to ream his chestnut, rests from his work with his right hand in his pants pocket and watches John work his chestnut with the reamer.	
			Gary, LP, moves in more closely and reaches out with his left hand to help John, whereupon John returns the reamer to Bob, who stands, 3/4CR, hunched over, intent upon his chestnut. Gary moves away from the two boys, camera right, well back toward the curb. He stands, LP, glances at the camera, holds his CN in shooting position, addresses John, who is testing the knot on his CN, "ya want first knocks, do ya, Jack?"	1/17
			John: (turns 3/4OR and walks toward Gary who stands, LP, in the middle of the sidewalk). Yes. (As he walks, he winds the CN string around the index and third finger of his right hand, taking the striking position.)	
13	5	128-138	/John/Gary/ John 1st: (1) One shot which misses (1.5 sec) (2-6) Gary - 5 blows, 5th blow knocks Chestnut off camera right (23.5 sec) Gary exults; Gary, Paul and others race for Chestnut;	

U G R	Players and Description	PR
(13 5 128-138)	(1) Gary stands solidly, LP, feet apart 24", right arm fully extended at shoulder height, left hand braced on left hip. John, RP, takes quick aim, shoots and misses; Gary laughs and giggles. The two players stand in the middle of the sidewalk facing one another while three spectators stand on the curb, camera right, to the side and behind the players, like three birds on a wire: a boy in striped pants (name unknown, henceforth designated as Striped Pants), Ross, next, and last, Paul. Paul moves into closer viewing range and stands facing camera between the two players, but out of the range of play. At the same time, Bob moves alongside John and stands, 3/4OR, at his left.	1/18
	(2) Gary aims, shoots and hits as Bob asks, "Are you sure the lace didn't break; loose, isn't it?" Gary leans forward to look and to take close aim at the target nut at the same time replying to Bob, "No.". John extends his arm, moving the target closer to Gary.	
	(3) Gary, hitting the second blow, snorts, "It'd better be." As Gary prepares for the next blow, Bob inspects the target nut closely and asks, "That's only the second knock, isn't it?" As he aims, Gary asserts, "Oh, no, I got it split." Paul moves a step closer to the players.	
	(4) Gary aims and successfully strikes the third blow sending the target slowly circling John's hand. John draws the target toward himself to straighten and still the string. Both Bob and John look at the camera: Bob with a grin; John, with an expression of chagrin. Gary reaches out with his left hand to still the target string which John holds close to his body not yet having moved the CN to full target position. The spectators on the curb, Ross and Striped Pants, who have been watching intently, are drawn from the curb into the group by their interest and they stand just behind Paul.	1/19, 20 1/21 1/22
	(5) Gary, his left leg behind his right on which he rests his weight, hits a moderate fourth blow	1/22

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(13	5	128-138)	sending the CN circling John's hand. (During this game, John holds the target in his right hand and does not shift it between right and left hand as he did between games 2 and 3.) Gary stills the target with his left hand and Bob moves away from the group, stopping just in back of John, facing the camera. His hands are at his mouth as he uses his teeth to get the lace through a chestnut.	
			(6) Gary strikes the fifth blow which knocks the Chestnut off the lace, off camera right and into the street. The two players look at one another for a moment, then at the camera, both grinning. Gary throws both arms into the air, shouts, "Yea" and laughs. Paul starts after the Chestnut, running between John and Gary whereupon Gary races Paul to the Chestnut.	1/23 1/24
14		139-142	"Stampins"	
			John, who does not join the chase, starts walking in the direction of his fallen Chestnut and calls out from off camera, "No stampin's, Gary." Gary, pushed by Paul, overshoots the fallen Chestnut. Paul hesitates a moment before deciding to stamp and in that split second Gary kicks the Chestnut out of the way of Paul's descending foot and amid giggles and peals of laughter, enthusiastically stamps it himself with his right heel. John, who has moved onto the scene followed by the rest of the boys, stands by, making no attempt to rescue the ill-fated nut.	2/1 2/2 2/3 2/4
			Gary, laughing and squeaking, leaves the street while John bends down and picks up the squashed nut in his left hand. His elbows pulled into his sides, John quickly inspects the Chestnut, then holding it at arm's length on display, he turns, a mild smile on his face, and walks back to the sidewalk. From the curb, Gary, his left hand thrust into his pants pocket, laughs at him. He swings his winning CN in his right hand over his head and in the midst of giggles, exclaims, "My hero!"	2/5
			John raises his broken Chestnut close to his left eye as though to look through it and still smiling, turns to the spectators, off camera, to whom he	2/6 2/7

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR

(14 139-142) half extends the Chestnut in his left hand and asks good-naturedly, "Here, do you want to play with it?" He drops it into the gutter, swinging his left foot as though to kick it before it lands.

15 143-166 Bobby and John prepare again; Gary waits and watches

John, standing on the curb, facing camera, just behind and to the left of Gary, LP, reaches his left hand into his parka pocket, murmurs, "I only got one left." He pulls it out of his pocket with his left hand; shows it to Gary.

Gary: What?

John: (Repeats) I only got one left.

Paul, back to camera, stands in front of John and offers John something in his right hand. Gary examines his Chestnut, stops to look at John, returns his attention to the Chestnut, and in dramatic expression of sympathy at John's plight, exclaims, "Oh, no!", all the while glancing back and forth at the camera. 2/8

John, LP, walks off camera left, passing Bob, who reams a chestnut and Ross and Striped Pants who watch Bob ream. Paul, camera right, stamps his foot on something. John, RP, returns and intent upon something in his hands, comments, "I don't have a nut big enough." Paul, LP, eyes searching the ground, scuffs and kicks his feet past Bob who reams a chestnut. 2/9-10 2/11

Gary walks up to Bob, LP, stands, LP, at Bob's left, raises his CN under Bob's eyes and announces, "Bob, 4 year old." Bob, without interrupting his work, looks at it for a moment out of the corner of his eye without appearing to pay much attention, makes no comment and returns to shoving a stick through a chestnut with full attention.

Gary, LP, steps back, away from Bob, glances at the camera, and starts twirling his CN in his right hand,

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(15		143-166	while performing a slight dip. He continues to twirl the CN, glances back and forth between the camera and his CN, all the while chewing something in his mouth.	
			Bob reams as does John, who stands facing camera, just behind Bob at his right. They speak quietly in low voices.	
			John: I lost my three year old. (to Bob) Won't it go through?	
			Gary turns to Bob and John, holds his CN before them and banters, "John, p'raps this is your three year old." Gary pops something into his mouth and then inspects his CN which he holds in both hands at chest level.	
			Bob turns to John and in a low, mock-serious voice, says, "Don't you take over mine." All the boys, Bob, John, Gary and Striped Pants, who is now on camera left, laugh at the joke.	
			Striped Pants: (nudges John) How many ya got?	
			John: (tying knot in his string) This one's my last.	
			Bob uses all his force to shove reamer through chestnut, cupping both hands over the chestnut and reamer just under his chin.	
			Gary: (still inspecting his Chestnut) There's only the shell broke on mine. (Although Gary stands with the group, he seems to be subtly excluded from the intimacy of the other boys' conversation.)	
			Bob: (shakes his right hand in discomfort from the pressure he has been applying to the reamer) Ah jeepers. (Squats down on the sidewalk, using it to force the stick through the chestnut.)	2/12
			John: (continues to work on his chestnut; banters lightly) "What did you do with that, hey, put a mark on it?"	

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(15		143-166)	Bob: (squatting over chestnut and stick on the sidewalk) "Nope."	
			Bob stands up again and continues to work with chestnut. There are brief words spoken between the boys which are drowned by the noise of passing cars.	
16		167-172	Gary waits for a game with Bob.	
			Camera re-positions on Gary, alone, standing on the sidewalk alongside fence.	
			Gary, camera right, 3/4CL, waits by the fence, holding CN in both hands, looks up the sidewalk to someone off camera and calls, "Ready, Bob?" He turns full face to look at the camera while slowly winding CN lace twice around the second and third fingers of the right hand, tests string and Chestnut with a gentle tug, glances down at his hands, pushes both fists together, knuckle to knuckle, just under his chin, as a voice, off camera, calls, "Gary wins this one." He drops the Chestnut from his left hand and it dangles by the lace held in his right; he looks up the sidewalk again.	2/13-15
			Camera pans slightly left to pick up Bob as he walks toward camera and Gary, now momentarily off camera. Bob walks up slowly, holding a chestnut in both hands to his mouth, after the manner of a squirrel, as he attempts to catch the lace with his teeth. He stops, takes the chestnut out of his mouth and works with it in his left hand, the reamer in the right.	2/17,18
			Voices: (off camera) This is where the air horn blew up...three year old, Bob...that's goin'...it's goin'... (refers to camera)	
17		173-181	Gary helps Bob prepare his Chestnut (medium close-up)	
			Bob grunts and tugs with the chestnut while growling, "alright, alright," shoves at the stick and string with his right hand, attempting to force both through the chestnut. He stands facing camera, his head bent in concentration.	2/19

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(17		173-181	Holding the lace in his left hand, Bob tries to point the end of it with his right and thread it through the chestnut. He complains, "Jeepers, I can't get this through," walks toward Gary, off camera and asks, "Gary, ya got anything to get this through?", a tone of frustration in his voice.	
			Gary, off camera, taking charge, gruffly orders, "Here, gimme." He walks on camera, up to Bob; bends over, picks up a stick from the ground, takes the chestnut and string from Bob, and begins to work with them as he boasts, "Ah, Bobby, got this easy."	2/20
			Bob, 3/4OR, facing Gary, stands with tips of fingers in the top of pants pockets, head bent over watching, asks, "Is the thing too narrow?" Gary grunts, "Nope." Bob continues to watch intently as Gary pokes and pushes at the chestnut.	2/21-23
18		182	Camera Roll.	
19		183-185	Activity of 2nd group: John, Paul and Striped Pants	
			John, RP, stands on the edge of the curb, reaming a chestnut and talking to Striped Pants, who stands at his left, watching. John remarks to no one in particular, "I can't get it through." Paul, RP, stands at John's right in a position to watch both groups. He stares first at Bob and Gary, off camera, then turns to watch John.	2/24
			Gary: (off camera) ooohch	
20		185-186	Pan to Bob and Gary	
			Bob: (watching Gary intently) Did it go through?	
			Gary: (pushing the reamer with the heel of his right hand) Ouch, I don't know. (pulls reamer out of chestnut) Not much.	
21		186-188	Camera re-positions across street from players	

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
22		189-191	Boys in huddle (long shot); Gary organizes group for camera	3/1
			Gary, aware of the filming, assesses the camera position and with his right hand on Paul's left shoulder front, pushes him backwards to clear the view for the camera, at the same time ordering, "Get outa the way, Paul." Paul, uncomprehending and annoyed, jerks away from Gary's grasp and moves back into the tight circle. Gary grabs Paul's left arm and pulls him to the left away from the circle. Again Paul tries to return to his earlier position and once again Gary pulls him away. (The boys' voices can be heard but are less audible because of the distance and the words are lost in the noise of the wind and passing cars.) Gary succeeds in moving Paul away and to the left of the group where he stands, RP, looking impassively at the camera and then at the game and from which position he does not move until the game in progress ends.	3/2
			Gary pushes Striped Pants backwards, opening the group up on the right and Ross, who stands behind Striped Pants, moves back as well. Gary succeeds in opening up the group so that the game is visible.	3/3,4
			Ross and Striped Pants look at the camera, Striped Pants flicks something at Gary, and quickly backs off farther right. Gary, RP, pays no attention as he stands inspecting his CN which he holds in both hands at mid-chest level.	3/5
23	6	192-204	/Bob/John/	
			John 1st: (1) 1 blow - John tangles (2-7) Bob, 10 blows; 10th knocks Chestnut into the street (43 sec)	
			(1) The game in progress in the huddle becomes visible and John can be seen as he tangles the strings of both CNs. Both boys untangle the strings as Gary pushes Striped Pants backwards.	
			(2) (Medium shot) John holds CN in target position in his right hand. Bob winds lace around the	3/6,7

U G R	Players and Description	PR
(23 6 192-204)	right hand, momentarily inspecting it, aims, strikes an oblique blow from ear level to target at mid-chest level, hits the target sending it spinning in circles around John's right hand. Bob stills the target with his left hand.	
	(3) Bob delivers the second blow in the same manner as the first. It hits, spinning the target more rapidly around John's fist and for a longer period of time. John, maintaining body position, turns his head to his right to look at Gary who stands, RP, slightly back and to the left of John, reaming his chestnut. Bob stills the target with his right hand.	3/8
	(4) Bob strikes the third blow in the same manner as the first and second with the same result. Bob reaches out to still the target; John and Gary, who reams his chestnut, both glance at the camera.	
	(5) Bob, unvarying in his delivery, strikes the 4th blow with the same result as the previous three blows. Gary moves to the concrete gate post and, back to camera, continues to work a reamer against the post into the chestnut. Bob again stills the target nut with his left hand.	3/9
	(6) For the 5th blow, Bob changes his striking method and uses only his right hand, swinging the CN laterally from right to left. He pivots his body in the same manner, strikes the target with a blow that sends it spinning in circles around John's hand. He stills the target with his left hand.	
	(7) Bob repeats the method of blow 5 on the succeeding five blows, successfully hitting the target each time. Bob loses his balance slightly after the 8th blow. The camera moves in for close-up on the 9th blow. As Bob stills the target before the 10th shot, he inspects it for a moment before striking. On the 10th blow, Bob knocks the target flying out of John's hand, off camera left, apparently into the street. He follows through the victorious 10th strike with his body, lifting his left hand over his	3/9 3/10

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(23	6	192-204)	head with a cry of "yahoo!" Bob, facing camera, starts toward the street and John follows behind as Ross, LP, and Striped Pants, 3/40R, follow the activity.	
24		205-212	Boys search for missing CN	
			Bob and John, RP, walk camera right, up the sidewalk and into the street, followed by Ross. Bob calls to John who walks before him, "Got yer string?" All start to run as they cross the street. Paul, moving at last from the spot where Gary placed him, joins the others in the race and stops to look into the gutter when he gets across the street. Ross and John peer over a fence.	3/11-14
			Gary, off camera, who has not left the other side of the street, calls, "Anyone see that Chestnut?"	
			Striped Pants joins John and Ross. He looks over the fence and then toward a driveway. All three boys wander about looking for the Chestnut, and Ross moves toward the driveway with the words, "I bet it went in there."	
			Paul and Striped Pants move off camera leaving John and Ross who again look over the fence. Paul stands detached from the activity but watches it. John calls across the street, "Gary, did you see where that Chestnut went?"	
			Gary, off camera, replies, "No."	
25		213-215	CN is found	
			John stands looking over the four-foot fence, Ross bends over the fence and Paul stands watching the other two as Bob, off camera, shrieks, "By Jesus, Gary..."	
			Gary: (off camera) I got yer...(giggles)	
			Bob: (calls from off camera) Here's your string, Jack.	

U G R	Players and Description	PR
(25 213-215)	Camera pans across street; Striped Pants stands in the middle of the street.	
	Gary: (off camera) It got caught in Bobby's pants.	
	Camera picks up Gary and Bob at the end of the sentence. Bob stands, facing camera, left hand in pants pocket. Gary, RP, bending forward from the waist and rearing his head back, holds John's CN by a part of the string in his teeth, the rest dangling from his mouth. He holds his own CN in target position in his right hand. He jumps straight up in the air and flicks his head to the right, letting loose the CN which flies into the gutter just as John, 3/4CL, reaches him.	3/15-20
26 216-223	The boys stamp the Chestnut	
	John, facing camera, bends down and reaching into the gutter with his right hand, retrieves the CN string as Gary moves off camera left and Bob, LP, starts moving along the sidewalk twirling his CN in his right hand and kicking his left leg straight out in front of him.	3/21-23
	Paul walks up to John and passes a chestnut to him in his left hand. John takes it with his left hand, inspects it, and joins Gary and Bob at the gate post to whom he displays the chestnut. Paul follows along and the four form a small, close group in front of the gate post, backs to camera.	3/24-4/2
	Ross and Striped Pants stand together well at the right of the group of four, for a moment and then move to join the group. Striped Pants joins the group, but Ross moves around it, standing slightly apart and by the fence.	4/2 4/3
	John first holds the Chestnut in his right hand and then breaks it apart with both hands held at chin level. Bob takes the Chestnut from John, drops it to the ground and, moving John back with his left arm, steps on the Chestnut with his right foot as camera moves in for closeup.	4/4

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(26		216-233)	John steps forward in front of Bob, moving his right toe as though to step on a piece of chestnut lying on the sidewalk.	4/5,6
			Bob squashes a chestnut piece, stamping on it three times with the heel of his right boot. Paul, who has been standing in front and to the left of Bob, moves right and stamps a piece of chestnut, first with his left boot and then with both feet.	4/7
27		224-227	Gary and John prepare CNs; spectator activity	
			John, LP, pulls a chestnut out of his pants pocket with his left hand and starts to work with it. Bob, at John's right, 3/4OR, smiles and talks to him, swings his CN with his right hand, stands with left hand in jacket pocket, shifting from one foot to the other until gradually facing John.	4/8
			Gary, meanwhile, stands back to camera, at the gate post, left leg lifted off the ground and thrust out to the left as he uses the post as a pressure plate to force the reamer through the chestnut.	4/9
			Paul, camera foreground, full closed, keeps close to the group while Ross wanders from one side of Gary to the other. Striped Pants moves around to the right of the group.	
			Bob and John turn, back to camera, and start to move closer to Gary at the gate post. Bob raises his right arm from the fist of which dangles the CN, to the height of John's back, in a gesture of consolation.	4/9
			With the exception of Gary, working at the gate post, back to camera, all the boys mill about. John joins Gary and stands, LP, camera right. He is followed by Bob who stands between the two, 3/4CL. Paul stands, 3/4CL, foreground, immediately behind Bob.	4/10
28		228-245	Bicycle rider arrives	
			A boy on a bike appears camera left. The group	4/11

U G R	Players and Description	PR
(28 228-245)	of four, Gary, Paul, Bob and John pay little attention. Gary turns, RP, and Bob, facing camera, takes Gary's CN and reamer from him and works with it. Paul stands in front watching while John stands to the right of the group, facing camera, working with his chestnut. Ross and Striped Pants stand to the right of John, watching him.	4/12-14
	The cyclist, camera left, finally attracts the attention of the boys; first Gary, who stands in front of the front wheel, back to camera, and then the other boys, John, Bob, and Ross. Paul finds a spot to the left of Gary but not quite in the group. The attention of the boys remains with the preparation of chestnuts, but Striped Pants gives Ross a shove in the chest and they disappear off screen, leaving a group of three; Gary, Bob, and John. Paul moves on camera left, where he stands apart from the group. Bob reams; Gary and John talk (words inaudible). John holds his CN up in his right hand for inspection.	4/15
	Paul, who has been standing at the side of the front wheel, reaches up and gives the horn a tentative, single beep. The cyclist at last commands the boys' full attention and Gary immediately reaches out with his left hand and beeps the horn three times and a further three times. He stands back to camera with his right hand in his pants pocket. John, who stands beside Bob, watches the activity for a moment and then continues working with his chestnut and chatting to Bob, who stands, LP, head bent in concentration over the chestnut with which he toils with both hands held at chest level.	4/15
	Gary beeps the horn eight more times as Bob and John move into the new group around the cyclist. Bob continues to work with his chestnut even though he has joined the group; he stands camera right of the bicycle. John moves behind Bob and stands parallel to the front wheel, talking to the cyclist. (words inaudible)	4/16

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(28		228-245)	Gary turns away from the bicycle, speaks (words inaudible) to Bob, who is attempting to thread the lace through a chestnut. Bob: It's time to be getting home.	
29		245-246	Camera switches off and on	
30		246-250	Boys regroup, resume preparation of CNs for next game Paul, back to camera, hands in pockets, stands by the front wheel of the bicycle while John, Gary, Bob and Striped Pants have moved away from the bicycle three or four feet camera right and stand together in a circle. Gary stands, RP, right elbow raised as he pushes lace through chestnut. John stands at Gary's side, hands in parka pocket, FO, watches him for a moment and then pulls a chestnut from his right parka pocket and a string from his left and turns his attention to threading the chestnut. At the same time, Bob, LP, three feet from and facing Gary, moves up to him to see what he is doing, then drops back to his original position while fishing his chestnut from his right jacket pocket. As he waits for Gary to finish preparing his CN, Bob wraps his CN lace around his right hand and waits quietly, holding the CN in target position. He stands very straight, both feet planted firmly and close together, his right arm extended straight in front and level with his shoulder. The length of the target string is approximately 3".	4/17
			As Bob moves in more closely to him, Gary quickly inspects the knot on the bottom of his CN, wraps the lace rapidly twice around his right fist, moves into position, FC, dancing from left foot to right to left again, swiveling hips as he changes feet and chanting, "I've got cold feet."	4/18
31	7	250-255	/Gary/Bob/	

U G R	Players and Description	PR
(31 7 250-255)	Gary 1st: 2 blows - CN knocked from Bob's hand; boys scramble (7 sec)	
	(1) Shifting imperceptibly from his dance step to striking position, Gary, FC, immediately delivers a vertical blow, from the height of the right ear, striking the target which describes a full arc before Bob stops the swinging target and stills it with his left hand.	4/19-22
	During play, John stands near the stone gate post, FO, working with his CN; Paul stands, RP, hands in pockets, left of Gary and watches John. Striped Pants stands partially obscured by Bob, on his right, watching the game and looking back at something off camera.	
	(2) The second Bob drops his arm from steadying the target, Gary quickly strikes the target, dislodging it from Bob's hand. The CN flies in front of Gary to his left and out into the street. Both boys pause for an instant as they turn to watch the direction of flight, then race to get the fallen CN, Gary ahead of Bob.	4/23,24
	Bob: (off camera) Not fair...	
	Both boys kick the CN out of each other's grasp, at the same time pushing and shoving one another as Gary giggles and Bob cries, "Don't!"	5/1
	Gary pushes Bob to the ground on all fours and the CN is kicked and shoved from its initial resting place in the gutter to the middle of the street where Bob, having pushed Gary out of the way, bends over and picks it up.	
	Back to camera, Bob walks back to the sidewalk with his head bent forward inspecting the CN which he holds in both hands. Gary laughs and giggles all the while.	
	Bob: (just before reaching the sidewalk) Not broken yet.	

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(31	7	250-255)	Gary: Yea...(the rest lost in giggles).	
			As both boys stop onto the sidewalk, Bob passes in front of Gary, who stomps his feet in mock march steps.	
			Striped Pants and Ross, FO, stand on the sidewalk and watch the event with interest, then walk toward Bob and Gary. John, FC, camera left, apart from the group, continues to work with his CN against the gate post.	
32	8	256-264	/Gary/Bob/	
			Gary 1st: Spectator horseplay; 2 blows - Bob tricks Gary; Gary enraged (time unknown)	
			Paul moves on camera left, walking past John up to Striped Pants and Ross who stand behind Gary, all left profile. For a moment Bob is off camera right. Paul pulls his right hand out of his pants pocket and pokes Striped Pants in the right buttock. Striped Pants turns his attention from Gary and Bob only long enough to swat Paul and then resume watching the two boys, who have started their next game.	
			(1) Bob assumes target position and waits for Gary who quickly takes the striking position, and aims a diagonal blow from ear height.	5/2,3
			Just at the moment Gary's hands start the downstroke, Bob whisks the target out of position, away to his right. The downstroke finds no target waiting. Bob finds this joke so hilariously funny, he shakes and bends over in laughter.	5/4-6
			An unlaughing Gary screams, "I would've hit it!" and points an accusing left forefinger at Bob and, with rage, commands, "That's enough, Bobby." Bob continues to laugh and enjoy his joke. Petulantly Gary adds, "Not fair, Bobby" and irritably swings his right hand up to his chest to inspect his CN and then glances in the direction of the camera. A car passes. Bob prances backwards away from Gary at the same time examining his CN. He lifts his left foot, then the	5/7,8 5/9

U	C	R	Players and Description	PR

(32 8 256-264) right as though marching in place and then scrapes his left foot over the sidewalk as though cleaning his shoe all the while keeping just out of reach of his brother.

Gary moves, left foot forward; drops arms to his sides while still holding his CN in both hands, cocks his head slightly to the left and states with impatience and some irritation in his voice, "I could win, Bobby. C'mon."

Striped Pants and Paul, standing side by side, FO, at right angles to the two combatants, watch the action.

Gary thrusts his head up and his chin forward and shrieks, "C'mon, it's my turn."

Bob, undisturbed, turns toward Striped Pants and Paul, holds his CN with both hands above eye level and appears to be threading his CN. (precise action unclear from across street)

Gary further enraged, moves toward Bob, admonishing, "Bobby! Bobby, knock off, look..."

Cars pass and camera re-positions. Shrieks and talk off camera.

(2) Camera picks up the boys in a closely grouped circle: Gary, RP, camera left; Bob, LP, camera right; Striped Pants, FO, in background partially hidden by John, FC, center foreground. The game resumes, but the action is somewhat obscured. Gary sings out a trumpet call, "Da Dah" and his body moves into the blow, a crack is heard and Bob's CN swings in circles about his fist. A moment later, the CN again circles about Bob's fist. The blow is apparently successful because Gary, camera left, turns, separates from the group and exults with a prolonged shriek of "yeah" as he jumps, stiff-legged, up and down and turns from left to right profile, glancing at the camera for a brief moment during the turn, after which he swings his CN violently in circles about the fist of his 5/10

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(32	8	256-264)	right hand. As he sees the cyclist, who moves on camera left, Gary walks past Ross to the cyclist to whom he shows his winning CN.	5/11,12
33		265-266	CN preparation primary interest; cyclist becomes spectator	
			Bob quickly follows a few steps behind Gary but upon reaching the cyclist, turns about face, walks back to John, off camera right, taking something from his pants pocket as he does. He passes Ross, who stands by the fence, half way between the cyclist and John (approximately 15' to 20') and Striped Pants who is walking away from John toward the cyclist, kicking at something on the sidewalk with his right foot.	5/13
			Gary pauses on the rider's left only long enough to display his CN. He then starts back to John and Bob, calling out, "John, got any more?"	
			He joins John, FC, and Bob, FO, but partially obscured by John and stands, RP, camera left, waiting for an answer to his question. A muffled "yeah" is heard. Bob, grinning, appears to be answering Gary while looking at something which he holds at waist level in his right hand. Gary does not hear and asks, "what?"	5/14
34		267-271	Cyclist joins group; spectator horseplay	
			John, Bob and Gary are joined by the cyclist who rides on camera left, in front of Striped Pants who stands against the fence, FO, hands in pants pocket, alongside Bob, watching John work. Paul moves into the group from off camera right, walking slowly behind Bob, his head bent forward inspecting something which he holds in both hands.	5/15 5/16
			Paul passes behind Bob and comes abreast of Gary, who quickly backs away as Paul appears to throw something from his right hand. Paul jerks forward slightly as though poked from behind and Striped Pants grabs for what Paul is holding. Paul snatches his arm out of reach and the two scuffle slightly,	5/17

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(34		267-271	Striped Pants grabbing and twisting Paul's right arm as Paul tries to escape up the sidewalk, camera left, crying, "Ow, don't!" He drops whatever he held in his hand, turns around, 3/4CR, as he watches Striped Pants, who calls, "Paul" and then throws the object into Paul's face. Paul, LP, goes off camera left to retrieve the object which was thrown.	
			The cyclist, RP, camera left, sits watching the activity; Gary, 3/4CR, stands quietly on the right side of the cyclist, talking to him (words lost) while reaming a chestnut and noticing the mild horseplay. Ross, facing camera, but partially obscured, leans against first the fence and then the gate post as he watches the activity.	5/18-21
35.		272-276	John and Bob prepare CNs; Gary observes	
			Camera pans right, focusing on Bob and John who stand detached from the first group. John, camera right, LP, head bent forward, uses both hands at waist level preparing CN while Bob, camera left of John, FO, both hands resting on hips, head bent forward, watches John work.	5/22
			Gary moves from the side of the cyclist, joining John and Bob where he stands camera left of the two boys. As the horseplay of the first group continues on camera left, Gary, 3/4CR, pulls something from his pants pocket with his right hand and dangles his CN string in front of Bob, who pronounces loudly and definitely, "No fair!" This causes John to look up from his work for a moment. (Further conversation takes place but the words are lost.)	5/22-6/1
			Gary works vigorously with his CN and in a moment twirls the CN in his left hand, his right hand at rest in his jacket pocket. He turns, 3/4OR, to look for the camera, and starts swinging the CN in his right hand, first clockwise and then counter clockwise. He shifts the CN to his right hand without interrupting the movement or direction of the swinging CN, at the same time stamping his right foot. Bob helps John with his CN and Gary looks on, right hand in jacket pocket.	6/2-5

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
36		277	Camera switches off and on for a lapse of 1/2 second.	
37	9	278-285	/Gary/John/	
			Gary 1st: 1 blow - Chestnut knocked off string (3 sec)	
			Gary assumes his usual striking position, camera left, 3/4CR, John, in his usual target position, stands 3/4OL, target held in right hand. The cyclist, 3/4CR, on Gary's left and Bob, LP, on John's right, partially obscured, stands behind the players.	6/6
			Gary stills the target with his right hand, then delivers a short, quick blow at close range which strikes the target and sends the string swinging. Both boys turn camera left, remain motionless for a moment, then Bob, jittering up and down, screeches, "I hee hee," while John, body motionless, searches for the fallen Chestnut with his eyes. Bob, in his excitement, turns, FC, then 3/4OL. As he turns, he searches the ground for the Chestnut.	6/7
			John starts to move, shoves Gary in the back with both hands, sending him flying well past the spot on the sidewalk where the Chestnut landed. John bends over and picks up the Chestnut with his left hand just before Gary recovers his balance and returns. Gary shouts as he reaches John, "He got it, he got it."	6/8,9
			Bob reaches John's side and peers over his right shoulder at the Chestnut which John inspects. John stands, LP, examining his Chestnut. Around him group Gary, facing him, 3/4OR, Striped Pants, FO, but obscured by John on whose right he stands, Ross, LP, behind and partially obscured on Gary's right. Bob has moved camera left and stands, LP, with his Chestnut held to his mouth in the manner of a squirrel, behind Gary, looking over his shoulder. The cyclist watches from two feet away, camera right. All are interested in the condition of the Chestnut.	6/10
			Bob, Gary and John turn and look at the camera. Bob and Gary move slightly to camera left, revealing	6/11

U G R	Players and Description	PR
(37 9 278-285)	Ross as Striped Pants reaches out and squeezes the bicycle horn, causing John to look back over his shoulder.	6/12
	John drops the Chestnut to the ground and stamps on it with his left foot, looks at it and stamps again. Gary throws both arms into the air with a shout of "yea".	6/13-16
End	John turns his back to the camera and shoves his left hand in his left-hand parka pocket.	

VIDEOTAPE #2

GROUP II: Total time of segment: 9 min 35½ sec

Participants: Michael Moreton (12), Francis Gillespie (11), Sean Gillespie (7)

Location: Open field, Waterford Bridge Road, St. John's, Newfoundland

Date & Time: 24 October 1971, 1:00 - 2:00 p.m.

Weather: Sunny, clear and temperature reported at 32° Breezy

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
			The location is that of an open field on the east corner of Waterford Bridge Road and Molloy's Lane. The southwest end of Bowring Park, the largest and most popular of the city parks, lies opposite and the Waterford Hospital lies several hundred yards to the east. On Sunday afternoon the traffic is heavy.	
			Mike and Frank have just started their game and Frank's younger brother Sean, standing in the background, challenges, "I'll play the winner, Frank."	
			(Time of 1st portion of segment: 5 min 10½ sec)	
1	1		/Frank/Mike/ (Time of game: 5 min 10½ sec)	
		309	(1) Mike: 1 blow - misses and exclaims "Oh, gee." (1 sec)	6/17-24
		310-317	(2) Frank: 6 blows - misses on 6th (24 sec)	7/1-24 & 8/1-8
			Frank examines his CN after each blow. On blow 1, Mike murmurs, "There's no stampins." Noise of passing cars drowns desultory comments of Sean and unidentified spectator.	
		318-319	(3) Mike: 2 blows - 1st hit dubious, misses blow 2 (5 sec)	8/9-22

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(1	1)	319-322	(4) Frank: 3 blows - misses blow 3 Frank examines his CN after each blow. Spectators laugh when Frank misses (4 sec)	8/23, 24 & 9/1-5
		323-325	(5) Mike: 1 blow - misses, laughs, "Oh gee, did it again." (2 sec)	
		325-330	(6) Frank: 4 blows - blow 4 drives CN out of Mike's hand, off camera left. Blow 3 is a dubious hit, but slow motion review shows string shift. (14 sec)	
			After blow 1, Sean comments, "Frank might crack his tryin' to crack yours." Voice agrees, "Oh yeah, he might."	
			After blow 4, Mike runs after his CN as he calls out, "No stampins." As he returns to playing position, Sean asks, "Did he crack it, Frank?" Frank replies, "Yep" and delivers blow 1 of turn 7.	
		331-348	(7) Frank continues with 14 blows, driving the CN out of Mike's hand, off camera left, on blow 14. Mike retrieves his CN. Frank, unmoving, examines his CN while waiting for Mike. (60 sec)	
			(Normally a player has won if the CN is knocked out of the opponent's hand, however, these two players do not appear to observe this rule and treat their play as one on-going game, the winner having to break or destroy the other's CN.)	
			After blow 1, Mike exclaims, "Oh gee...ja see that piece fly?" The unidentified spectator observes, "Got a crack in that."	
			After blow 3 and during blow 5 and 6, Sean walks off camera right, calling out, "Rick I play you...got yer chestnut?...what?... I'll play the winner then."	

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(1	1	331-348)	Sean, returning on camera after blow 5, comments after blow 7, "It's cracked." Mike inspects his CN for some seconds. Frank leans forward to look, bounces back into playing position and rocks back and forth on his feet like a boxer. Mike proclaims, "It's not!" After blow 9, Frank quietly asserts, "It's cracked now." Mike looks carefully at his CN. After blow 10, Mike complains, "C'mon." After blow 12, Sean, adopting a stance like an old fashioned pugilist takes a practice shot, declaiming, "I wanna play Frank his bubble gum." Both Frank and Mike examine their respective CNs. After blow 13, Sean exclaims, "Oh boy" and laughs. He then taunts, "Oh Frank, Frank." Mike sighs, "Oh gee" and inspects his CN. After Mike, having retrieved his CN following blow 14, returns to his playing position, the unidentified spectator advises, "Oh ya got a crack in it, Mike." Sean dances, laughs and points at Mike, "Oh he's a dirty out." Both Mike and Frank resume playing positions.	9/6-9 9/10-12
2	1	349-362	(8) Frank delivers 10 blows driving CN out of Mike's hand, off camera left, on blow 10. (46 sec) Before blow 1, Sean comments on Frank's more intense approach, "Oooh Frank's gonna get this one." After blow 1, Sean exclaims, "Ooh Frank!" Mike slumps his shoulders in a gesture of fatigue. After blow 3, Sean again exclaims, "Ooh Frank!" A voice comments, "He just took...no he just took a..."	

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(2	1	349-362)	(8) Mike observes, "He knocked a piece off his own," which is followed by laughter from the spectators.	
			For blow 5, Mike slowly elevates his target until the target nut is level with Frank's chin. The spectators react with laughter. Frank, without complaint or comment follows the target, adjusting his aim to suit.	9/13,14
			Frank hits the shifted target on blow 5, looks back at the camera with a grin and a laugh and returns quickly to the target for blow 6.	
			A voice off camera, demands urgently, during blow 6, "Get them off the street." Following blow 6, Mike drops his arm back to his usual level. The voice calls out again, "Get them off the street, Karen."	
			On blow 7 and 8, a boy runs in back of the players to a small group of three children and a dog. Two of the children are in the street, one is on the curb. Mike, Frank, Sean and the unidentified spectator turn, watch the activity in the street for a moment, then return attention to the game.	
			On blow 8, Sean dips and gestures with his CN as though shooting a gun as he torments, "Oh boy, Moike."	
			Following blow 10, Sean shouts, "Yeaaaaa."	
3		368	Mike and Sean walk after the fallen CN. Sean gets to it first, picks it up and hands it to Mike who inspects it and re-positions it as target. At the same time, Sean advises, "Frank, you should rush out there and stamp on it." Frank replies laconically, "No, he said no stampins."	
4		364-370	(9) Frank: 7 blows - blow 7 drives CN from Mike's hand. There is no conversation during play and Frank takes especial care in aiming for blow 7. After the final blow, Frank waits patiently for Mike to get his CN. (21 sec)	9/15,16

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
5		371-375	(10) Frank: 3 blows - blow 3 drives target out of Mike's hand. (8 sec)	
			Frank's style of play is unvarying. His aim is careful and deliberate before each blow and after each blow, he examines his CN extensively.	
			Preceding blow 1 Mike asks, "How many's that?" Frank replies, "I don't know." After blow 2, Sean advises Frank, "I'm gonna beat you."	
			After blow 3, and while Mike retrieves his CN, Sean and the spectator call after him in taunt, "Watch out...stampins."	
			Mike finds his CN and resumes target position.	
6		376-384	(1) Frank: 7 blows - misses on blow 7 Frank examines his CN after each blow (35 sec)	
			Preceding blow 1, Sean asks Frank, "Let's see yours." Frank shows the CN to him and as Sean looks at it, he comments, "Good enough."	
			Mike carefully examines his CN after blow 2.	
			As Frank examines his CN after blow 3, Mike moves in to look at it, laughs, bounces back into position exclaiming, "Ooh, one more hit."	
			On blow 4, Sean states, "Yours did that." The reference is unclear.	
			Camera close up for blow 5. After blow 5, unidentified spectator comments, "No, but you're murdering your own chestnut." Mike shifts the target from his right hand to his left and holds it extended straight from his shoulder at 45° from the front of his body. Frank, unperturbed, adjusts to the new position and hits the CN blow 6. Mike swings his arm slowly until it is straight out in front of him.	9/7

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(6		376-384)	(11) Frank clearly misses blow 7 but it appears that a piece flies from his Chestnut into the field behind. A chorus of "yea" and "oh" goes up.	
		385-386	(12) Mike: 1 blow - misses (3 sec)	
			Mike aims at close range. On the downstroke, Sean taunts, "Look at that," and Mike, who then misses, laughs, stamps his foot and still laughing declares in disbelief, "I missed that!" The other boys shout with laughter and Sean repeats, "Frank, look at it."	
		387-388	(13) Frank: 1 blow - misses (3 sec)	
			After the blow, the target string moves, blown by the wind. The two players pause a moment, then change turns.	
		389-393	(14) Mike: 5 blows - tape runs out (14 sec)	9/18
			After blow 2, unidentified spectator observes, "Frank's gonna get murdered next time." After blow 3, Sean comments, "Frank did that to himself."	
			This group was videotaped on two separate tapes; the first five minutes on one tape, the remaining four and one half minutes on a second tape. Consequently there is a break in continuity since ten to fifteen minutes were taken up to reload videotape recorder. During this time, Frank and Sean looked for chestnuts and Mike spent his time between a group of boys playing baseball and Sean and Frank.	
			(Time of 2nd portion of segment: 4 min 25 sec)	
7		395-401	Pre-game interlude	
			Frank and Sean walk around looking on the ground for chestnuts. Sean checks his breast pockets.	9/19,20

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(7		395-401)	Frank, looking off camera right, calls, "Mike, c'mere, Mike." Mike, off camera, answering an unheard question, "I don't know where it is."	9/22
			Sean, alone on camera, searches his pockets and calls, "She's ready."	9/21
			Mike runs up, picks shoelace pieces off ground, ties them together as Frank stands alongside and watches. Camera close up of Mike alone as he ties knot. A slight smile creeps over his face as he ties the knot during spectator comment made off camera.	9/23,24 10/1
			Voice: (off camera) Frank's playin' another game, boy. Sean: (off camera) Here's yer chance to beat o'im. Voice: How many years old is that?	
			Camera pans right to pick up spectators	
			Frank: (on camera) That was a hundred and nine. Sean: (on camera) How many years old was that one? Answer: lost Sean: (pointing to Mike) How many years old was his? Frank: Whose, Mike?	
			The questions are forgotten as Mike presents himself, ready for play.	
8	2		/Mike/Frank/ (Time of game: 26 sec)	
		402-403	(1) Mike: 1 blow - misses (3 sec)	
		403-406	(2) Frank: 3 blows - misses blow 3 (9 sec)	
			As Frank delivers blow 1, the unidentified spectator calculates, "you had six or seven, his'd be eight."	
			After blow 3, Mike grins and calls, "Whoa."	

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(8	2	407	(3) Mike: 1 blow - misses (2 sec)	
		408-409	(4) Frank: 1 blow - misses (3 sec) Wind blows target. Aircraft overhead attracts Mike's attention.	10/2-8
		410.	(5) Mike: 1 blow - misses (2 sec)	
		411-417	(6) Frank: 6 blows - tangles and drives Mike's CN into gutter. Close up for blows 2 and 3. (23 sec)	10/9
		418-420	(7) Mike: 1 blow - knocks Chestnut off lace. (4 sec)	
			Mike raises arms, laughs goodnaturedly and exults, "oooh who."	10/11-13
			Frank stands, his face an unsmiling mask.	
9		421-424	Baseball interlude: Mike moves directly from chestnuts to baseball as he catches a rolling ball and tosses it to the batter who knocks a fly ball.	10/14-15
			Sean and Michael move around. Mike looks for something on the ground.	10/16
10		425-458	Interview of Frank who stands holding CN with which he illustrates his remarks. Close up of hands.	10/17
			Frank: you wanta take pictures of it, do you?	
			Interviewer: Yeah, how'd ya get it so hard?	
			Frank: I dunno. I left it in the drawer for about a week.	
			I: What were you telling me about fellas putting chestnuts on both ends?	

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR

(10 425-458) Frank: Well you're supposed to...uh shall I tell you how to put 'em on?

Interviewer: Yeah, sure.

Frank: Well first you get something like a thing that you put on chickens when you put 'em in the oven an' you drill a hole through it when they're weak.

I: Yeah

Frank: An' then you put the string through it an' ya, ya know, ya tie an ordinary knot there an' then you just put it in the drawer for about a week an' it gets hard as rock. An' sometimes if you do that, this'll come off (refers to shell). Well, then the inside will be as hard as rock too. That's it. The outside is just the shell an' that's the nut inside.

I: Um. What is it about putting a nut on the other end? That's cheating, though...is...

Frank: Yeah, that's cheating because like buddy can knock out yours an' then you have one on the other end but uh rightfully he would have won but you'd be cheatin' by puttin' another one on the other end.

I: Yeah. Do very many people do that?

Frank: No.

I: Have you ever had it happen to you?

Frank: Um.

I: You can't remember?

Frank: (shakes head no)

Interviewer: No. Wait now...tell me your name.

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR

(10 425-458) Frank: Hello, my name is Francis Gillespie

Interviewer: Where do you live?

Frank: 292 Waterford Bridge Road

I: What grade are you in?

Frank: Six, we go to St. Bon's.

I: And how old are you?

Frank: Uh...eleven.

I: And have you always lived in St. John's?

Frank: Uh, yeah except two years when we went to Nova Scotia in Halifax.

I: Where'd you learn to play chestnuts?

Frank: Oh I learned it here about two years ago.

I: Who taught you?

Frank: Uh in school, you know, I just saw people play.

I: How long...you've been playing for two years then?

Frank: Yeah.

I: Where do you get your chestnuts?

Frank: I get my chestnuts from the tree over there on the...on in the park, way over in the park.

I: Does the superintendent mind if you get 'em?

Frank: Well, not if you pick 'em up but he sends you away if you get 'em...

I: Um, very good, thanks a lot.

VIDEOTAPE #2

GROUP III: Total time of segment: 9 minutes 35½ seconds

Participants: Douglas Puddester (11), Leonard Redman (10), Randy Dunne (10)
Location: Corner of Empire Avenue and Forest Road, St. John's, Newfoundland

Date & Time: 24 October 1971, 4:00 - 5:00 p.m.
Weather: Clear, cold and calm

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
			The location is the southwest corner of Empire Avenue and Forest Road, a residential area of the city which adjoins H.M. Penitentiary and a major hospital complex consisting of The St. John's General Hospital, the Orthopedic Hospital and the Fever Hospital. The Church of England Cemetery lies on the northeast corner of the two roads. Both pedestrian and motor traffic are heavy on Sunday afternoon. A chestnut tree flourishes on private property on the northwest corner of the intersection.	
1		462-464	Three boys lean against a concrete retaining wall: Doug, Len and Randy. Doug and Len ream chestnuts.	10/18-20
2		465-477	Interviewing the boys who continue to work with their chestnuts. Doug blows through chestnut.	10/21-24
			Interviewer: Wait a minute. I'll tell you when, it's got to warm up.	
			Doug: Thas all. He's gotta puf his through now.	
			I: You found one too, did ya?	
			Doug: Yeah.	
			I: What's your names by the way?	
			Doug: Dougie Puddester and Leonard (unclear)	
			I: You're Dougie? How old are you Dougie?	

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(2		465-477)	Doug: Eleven	
			Interviewer: And where do you go to school?	
			Doug: St. Patrick's Hall	
			I: Do ya? What grade?	
			Doug: Five	
			I: An' Leonard, is that your brother?	
			Doug and Len: No	
			I: You're related?	
			Both: No	
			I: How old are you Leonard?	
			Len: Ten	
			I: And where do you go to school?	
			Len: St. Patrick's Hall	
			I: And what grade are you in?	
			Len: Five	
			I: And what's your name?	
			Randy: Randy	
			Doug: Randy Dunne	
			I: Randy? Randy what?	
			Doug: Randy Dunne	
			I: Randy Dunne where do you go to school?	
			Randy and Doug: St. Pat's.	

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(2		465-477)	Interviewer: Same school?	
			Doug: Yeah	
			I: What grade?	
			Randy: Uh...grade four	
			I: And you're how old?	
			Randy: Ten	
			I: Ten. Have you fellas always gone to St. Pat's or have you gone to any other school?	
			Doug: No	
3		477-479	Black out - adjusting camera	
4		480-481	Doug and Len huddle together working on CNs as Randy looks on.	11/1
			I: Why did you say you wanted to play in the shade...instead of the sun?	
			Doug: (walking toward camera) Sun gets in yer eyes an' you don't get a good knock.	
			Len: (following Doug) It's cooler.	
			Boys take playing positions.	
5	1	482-512	/Len/Doug/ (2 min 8 sec)	
			(1) Len: 2 blows - misses blow 2 (6 sec)	11/2-7
			I: (after first blow) How'd you figure out who went first?	
			D: (changing turns after blow 2) Oh ah, you pick a choice.	
			(2) Doug: 1 blow - misses, chestnut falls off string. (2½ sec)	11/8-20

U. C. R	Players and Description	PR
(5 1 482-512)	Doug: (stoops to pick up fallen Chestnut) It fell off. (snickers)	11/21, 22
	Len: Hah hah	
	Doug: (restoring Chestnut to string) Not a good knot in it.	11/23,24
	Interviewer: (as Doug threads Chestnut and Len works with his CN) Did ya have trouble getting the rope?	
	Doug: (without looking up) No...uh...ya see the rope was a bit too small.	
	I: Too short?	
	Doug: No, too small...too skinny.	
	I: Too skinny for the hole you made?	
	Doug: Answer inaudible	
	Pause	
	I: How long should the rope be?	
	Doug: (smiles and murmurs) Dunno.	
	Boys move into playing position. Len pushes Doug away from him into the position he wants Doug to take.	12/1,2
	(3) Len: 2 blows - tangles on blow 2 (8 sec)	
	Len: (after blow 1) Got that.	12/3-8
	Doug: (after blow 2, reaches for tangled strings which Len holds) C'mere.	12/9
	I: What happens when you tangle like that?	
	Doug: (looking at camera) Oh, uh'll, uh'll, uh'll uh'll get the shot.	

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(5	1	482-512)	Interviewer: One?	
			(4) Doug: 5 blows - misses blow 5 (18 sec)	12/10
			Doug: (after blow 1) I'll get another shot.	
			I: (during blow 2) How many shots do you get?	
			Doug: makes no response	
			Len: (after blow 3) No you just keep...	
			After blow 4, Doug shifts his stance, sliding right foot farther ahead, broadening spraddle and lowering his height.	12/11,12
			(5) Len: 1 blow - misses (1½ sec)	
			(6) Doug: 1 blow - misses (2 sec)	
			(7) Len: 2 blows - misses blow 2 (7½ sec)	
			Doug: (after a hard crack on blow 1) Oh! (examines his CN while Len watches)	12/13
			(8) Doug: 2 blows - blow 2 cracks his Chestnut, knocking it off the string. (7 sec)	
6		512	Doug picks up the fallen Chestnut, tosses it into the air and catches it with his left hand as the other two boys shout, "Yea." Doug walks toward the camera	
			I: What happened?	
			Randy: (off camera) It broke.	
			Doug: Nuttin', it cracked.	
7		513	Doug: (close up of hands as he explains and rolls the two halves around in each hand) Oh he got the best knock.	12/14,15
			Len: Randy, get another one now, we'll have another game.	

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
8		516	Randy acts as banker and withdraws a chestnut from his right hand jacket pocket	12/16-24 13/1
			Doug: (turning toward and moving on top of the camera) Remember that thing you had?	
9		517-518	Doug, having moved to the car fender, takes a chestnut out of a plastic bag. Leonard stands at Doug's left, partially obscured. Randy stands behind both boys. They talk as Len and Doug prepare CNs but the words are lost.	13/2,3
10		518-527	Boys interviewed while they work preparing their CNs.	13/4,5
			Interviewer: Is there any way you can cheat... playing chestnuts?	
			Doug: (After long pause, looks at camera, then turns back) No.	
			I: Dougie, how long have you been playing chestnuts?	
			Doug: I dunno, about five years.	
			I: Five years? Who taught you?	
			Doug: No one, I just know...	
			I: You just know?	
			Doug: ...saw people playing then I caught on to it and played.	
			I: Yeah? You play at school?	
			Doug: Yeah.	
			I: How long do you play it...until your chestnuts run out?	
			All three: Until yer chestnut's broke.	
			I: Yeah, but did you play it all year long?	
			Len & Doug: Yeah.	
			I: You do?	

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(10		518-527)	Randy: Ya wait till they be real brown an' then they be hard to break.	
			Interviewer: Yeah, well have you got a chestnut that will...have you had chestnuts that last all year?	
			Len: (nodding head yes) Yeah, I have.	
			I: And you've played it all year long?	
			Len: (nods head yes)	
			Wind blows bag and Len reaches out to catch it while Doug uses his teeth to pull string through chestnut.	13/6
			I: Have you ever put a chestnut at both ends of the string?	
			Len: I have one that has over six chestnuts on it.	
			I: Do you play with it that way?	
			Len: (nods head yes)	
			I: Is that fair?	
			Len, who has been waiting for the reamer, reaches for it from Doug who has finished with it. Len does not answer the question, his attention taken with getting the reamer.	13/7,8
		528-536	Len turns away from the car fender for something just behind Randy while Doug backs away from the car fender, all the while working with his CN; the string dangles long from his hands. Doug starts winding the end of the string around his left hand.	13/9-11
11		537-538	Snow storm (tape has oxidized and not been cleaned; this was the condition of all the tape before salvage).	

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
12	2	539-540	/Doug/Len/	
			(1) Len: 4 blows - cracks his own CN (Game started earlier in snow; total time of game, 22 sec; visible time, 14 sec.)	
13		541-542	Doug inspects his CN	
			Interviewer: What happened to that?	
			Doug: I cracked it.	
14		543-550	Doug: (walks toward camera, holding string in left hand and rolling the Chestnut in his right) Mine's two years old.	
			I: How do you score?	
			Doug: (virtually on top of camera, right profile) Look...when he took a shot...when they're, when they're startin', there's a nut not, not, not a year old yet, so when ya take another shot...see he cracked mine (points hand at Len) an...he's a year old.	13/12-15
			Len, holding string in his mouth, reams a chestnut. Randy is bent over searching the ground.	
			Randy: (finds Chestnut, walks up to camera holding Chestnut up in right hand, with a smile, interrupts) Here's half a nut. (turns back into middle ground)	13/16,17
			Doug: ...and I cracked his so mine's four years old. See a year old he was...(starts to join other boys, swings CN in air with right hand)	13/18
			Randy finds second half of Chestnut and Doug walks up to him and takes it.	13/19
			Doug: (walks toward camera) See the way it cracks? (holds chestnut half up for viewing) look...you can see the part...	13/20-22

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(14		543-550)	Interviewer: Yeah...not too close.	
			Doug: ...where the thing went through.	
			I: Yeah. What thing was that?	
			Doug: That...that was when yer puttin' a hole in with the stick. You see the mark in it.	
15		551-554	Doug rejoins Randy and Len at the car fender where Len works preparing a CN.	13/23
			Len backs away from the car as he winds string around hand ready for play.	13/24
			Doug follows after him, adjusting his CN to striking position.	14/1
16	3	555-571	/Len/Doug/ (1 min 54 sec)	
			Boys talk in subdued voices through the game but words are lost in street noise.	
			(1) Len: 1 blow - misses (1½ sec)	
			(2) Doug: 1 blow - misses (4 sec) In preparation for blow, Doug winds string feverishly and bobs his head.	
			Randy walks on camera, takes a position alongside the two players, camera right foreground, which partially blocks view of the action.	
			(3) Len: 1 blow - misses (3 sec)	
			At Doug's instruction, Randy moves camera left, unblocking the view.	
			(4) Doug: 6 blows - misses blow 6 (19 sec)	
			For blow 1, Doug adjusts his CN to striking position in a frenzied and elaborate string winding procedure. After the blow, which sends the target nut spinning, Doug carefully examines his CN.	

U G R	Players and Description	PR
(16 3 555-571)	Doug clearly misses blow 2 and although Len has been gazing into the distance as Doug aims, he is looking at the target when Doug misses. Doug starts to unravel his CN, preparatory to changing turns, but when Len makes no move to shift from the target position, Doug quickly rewinds into striking position, aims and strikes again.	14/2-7
	Blow 3 sends the target nut spinning around Len's hand. He catches it and examines it carefully.	
	Following blow 4, Doug glances at the camera.	
	(5) Len: 5 blows - misses blow 5 (55½ sec)	
	After blow 1, Len turns, speaks to Randy who moves out of the way and as Len moves back, he slips and lurches backwards.	14/8 14/9
	For blow 2, Len shifts his playing position from right profile to 3/4CR.	
	For blow 3, Len swings arms high to ear level, holds the stance for several moments, delivers the blow with a force which sends target nut spinning about Doug's hand three or four times.	14/10
	Camera slips - view of boys' feet	
	Blow 4 is a light tap which just wrinkles the string. Doug examines his CN at length and Randy leans forward to look, as does Len, RP, who holds his CN in striking position.	14/11 14/12
	For blow 5, Len shifts playing position from right profile to 3/4OR and pushes Doug into position with his left hand	14/13
	(6) Doug: 1 blow - misses	14/14-17
	Randy, holding up a chestnut in his right hand, interrupts but the boys pay little attention and he puts it away.	14/18

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(16	3	555-571)	(7) Len: 2 blows - misses both (6 sec)	
			Doug starts to assume striking position but Len murmurs "hit" with a straight face and Doug re-assumes target position without argument.	14/19-23
			After blow 2 which Len misses, he turns slightly toward Randy, says something and grins as he changes turn.	14/24
			(8) Doug: 1 blow knocks the target nut from the string. (5½ sec)	15/1
			After the blow, Doug walks toward camera, swinging his CN by the string, murmurs, "Three years old" and turns finally to the car fender. During this time, Len looks on the ground.	15/2 15/3
17		572-582	Doug grabs another chestnut from the plastic bag which lies on the fender, walks back to Len and reaches for something from Len's right hand.	15/4 15/5
			He turns to Randy and takes something from Randy's right hand.	15/6
			Doug turns away from Randy, faces camera and with head down begins to ream a chestnut. His CN string dangles loosely from his left hand.	15/7
			Randy walks behind Doug as he works, the CN string still clutched in his hand.	15/8
			Camera close-up of Doug's hands as he reams and threads the chestnut.	15/9-17
			When his CN is ready, Doug takes up his playing position with Len.	

U	G	R	Players and Description		PR
18	4	982-605	/Len/Doug/ (1 min 48½ sec)		
			(1) Doug: 1 blow - misses	(1½ sec)	
			Randy stands camera foreground and partially blocks view of the action.		15/18
			(2) Len: 2 blows - tangles blow 2	(7½ sec)	15/19-24
			As Len changes turns, he speaks to Randy who then moves out of the way of the camera.		16/1
			(3) Doug: 1 blow - misses	(7 sec)	
			Pace of play appears to be increased.		
			(4) Len: 1 blow - misses	(2 sec)	
			(5) Doug: 2 blows - misses blow 2	(5 sec)	
			(6) Len: 1 blow - misses	(3 sec)	
			(7) Doug: 2 blows - misses blow 2	(11 3/4 sec)	16/2-6
			Len droups his CN prior to blow 1. Len grins when Doug misses blow 2. Randy stands between the players watching, in the background, hands in pockets and facing the camera		
			(8) Len: 1 blow - misses	(8½ sec)	
			Prior to blow 1, Doug turns his attention away from game, looking off camera right. Len urges, "Come on," and Doug takes the target position. There are voices and laughter off camera.		16/7-9
			(9) Doug: 5 blows - misses blow 5	(24½ sec)	16/10-12
			Prior to blow 1, Doug reaches out to still the target and accidentally pulls it out of Len's hand. It falls to the ground.		
			(10) Len: 3 blows - misses blow 3	(9 sec)	16/13,14

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
(18	4	582-605)	(11) Doug: 2 blows - Doug's Chestnut flies off the string. (12 sec) Doug: (retrieves Chestnut and walks forward to show camera) No, it's not cracked...look. Thing came through the hole, look. (shows the Chestnut to the camera operator and walks to the car fender, followed by Len)	
19		606-614	Len tosses his CN in the air while Doug prepares another CN; Randy stands in the middle just behind them.	16/15
			Interviewer: What happens when that...can you step on it?	
			Chorus: Yea	
			I: You fellows aren't stampin' though...why is that?	
			Len: Don't want to.	16/16
			I: You don't want to?...well that's a good reason. (Pause) Isn't it fair?	
			Len: It's fair but...	
			Doug: Not fair, it's really not fair.	
			Len: It's fair, but...	
			Doug: Yer really s'posed to break it, y'know, hittin' it. It's really not fair if ya, ya know, stamp on it.	
			I: I see	
			Len continues to play with his CN while he waits for Doug to get ready. Doug returns reamer to car fender and gets quickly into playing position.	16/17 16/18

U	G	R	Players and Description	PR
20	5	615-622	/Len/Doug/ (Visible: 24 sec)	

(1) Len: 1 blow - tangles (2½ sec)

When Len shoots, he maintains a long, overhead holding position before striking which is typical of his style.

Interviewer: (after the CNs tangle) Now... does Dougie get three shots now?

Doug: No, one.

I: Just one?

Doug: No answer.

(2) Doug: 3 blows - misses blow 3 (15 sec)

After the first blow, Doug stills the swinging target, instructs Len to hold it higher, Len drops it lower appearing to misunderstand and Doug gestures with his right index finger and repeats, "Hold it up." Len does not change.

Doug appears to accept the situation and delivers blow 2 without changing either his or Len's position.

Preparatory for blow 3, Doug slides his feet apart into a wider spraddle and aims slightly above the target nut. After he delivers his blow which misses, he slides and slips, hops upright and assumes target position. 16/19-21

(3) Len: 1 blow - misses (1½ sec)

(4) Doug: 2 blows - misses blow 2 (5 sec)

Doug: (prior to delivering blow 1) This is gonna be the last game.

Battery runs out second before game finishes.

CHAPTER 7

DESCRIPTIVE COMMENTARY: VIDEOTAPE #3

Format Headings

R' Footage reading of revolution counter

PR' Photographic reference

Description and Dialogue: the transcript is presented in the general form of a television script. Dialogue is double spaced. Description and explanation where separate from dialogue are single spaced. When description or explanation ocurs in dialogue, it is contained within parentheses.

Major changes in camera focus are indicated by the terminology "Camera take on ..." and are enclosed within parentheses.

	Description of Equipment	PR
Cameras:	3 Houston Fearless EMI 4½" Image Orthicon, cradle tilt head of which two are Zoom cameras with Varitol 16-160 mm (10.1 zoom) lens and one is a fixed lens camera with 5 changeable lenses: 12½ mm, 25 mm, 50 mm, 75 mm, 150 mm.	20/24
Microphones	1 Electrovoice 668, hand held	
	1 overhead AKG Condensor microphone.	
Tape:	2" Memorex quaduplex 78V-SR-7632-L3, 2" x 2400' SN KJ675037DE15A1-5A	
Lighting:	4 600 watt floodlights	
Recording Equipment:	Ampex Mx7800 Production Videotape Recorder	20/18-20

VIDEOTAPE #3

Participants: Billy Erving (10), Patty Erving (11), Bobby Erving (12), Greg Williams (12), Ricky Heisinger (13), and Michael Moreton (12)
Location: Studio A, ETV, Arts-Education Building, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland.
Date & Time: 27 October 1971, 2:00 - 4:30 p.m.
Length: One hour and fifteen minutes

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	Studio A is the main television studio of the Educational Television section of the university. It is a room which measures forty by fifty feet. The control booth lies behind glass windows in the west wall, the remaining three walls are curtained.	20/16-24 21/1,2
	Floodlights and one microphone hang from light battens in the ceiling. There is an overhead monitor hanging from the ceiling of the northwest corner and a large boom mike and stand is stationed out of the way on the north side of the room.	
	A portable cart carrying a video tape recorder and monitor for use during the later part of the filming is positioned in the southeast corner of the center section of the floor. In front of the cart is a small table covered with a rubber mat. On top of the mat is a sprinkling of chestnuts. This table will be referred to as "the chestnut table".	
	Masking tape has been used to mark three large squares in the centre of the floor which designate the playing areas for three pairs of youngsters. They are so positioned as to form a rough triangle. For reference, when necessary, the square lying in the apex of the triangle is designated "A", the square lying in the northwest corner of the base, "B" and the square lying in the northeast corner of the base, "C".	
	Three movable television cameras will be used for the filming. One is positioned in the southeast corner of the room; the other two, in the northwest and southwest corners respectively.	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	Prior to the filming the youngsters have been told only that they are to pick a partner and a square for their games.	
000	(Camera take on EAV)	
	EAV: Ok, take a partner and pick a square...	
	Go ahead, play...	
	Bobby and Greg take Square A; Patty and Billy, Square B; Ricky and Mike, Square C. Their play is subdued and there is little conversation.	
002	Caption reading: CHESTNUTS	21/3
	(Camera take on Bob and Greg playing with Mike and Ricky in background).	21/4
007	Caption reading: I. Playing and Interviews	21/5
011	(Take on Bob and Greg with Mike and Ricky in background)	21/6
022	(Take on Mike and Ricky who play a game and then shove one another from the fallen CN.)	21/7
	EAV: You know you can still make noise. Where was all that noise of earlier?	
	Children: Laugh.	
	The children play in their respective squares as Interviewer Jennifer Davis, playing the role of an interested spectator, moves among the players asking questions about the game of which she has no prior knowledge. The audio portion of the videotape carries her conversation although the video may focus on action elsewhere and not on children being interviewed.	21/8-10
	(Camera take on Jennifer)	
054	Jennifer watches Mike and Ricky play and talks to them.	21/11-13

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

Jennifer: S'cuse me for a minute. I've been watching you play this. This thing here, what is it you're doing, you want to tell me?

Mike: Well, I try to break his chestnut by hitting it with mine.

Billy: (off camera) Three knocks.

Ricky: Yeah, we go on like that.

Jennifer: Oh well isn't that kind of pointless? I mean, you just hit each other's chestnuts all day? What d'ya do it for, d'ya want to tell me?

Ricky: And if he breaks my chestnut apart...

Jennifer: Yeah?

Ricky: ...then his chestnut is one years old and say his was six years old and this one was nothing, this one becomes seven because his was six and you add one more on so that makes seven. This one's seven here.

Jennifer: What difference does it make how old the chestnut is? I mean, is a harder chestnut older or how does it work?

Ricky: The harder one works better, you know. Can't break apart so easily.

Jennifer: Where do you get the hard chestnuts and the young chestnuts, do you know?

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	Jennifer: They got lots of money to buy hockey cards and bubble gum. Couldn't you afford to buy chestnuts too if you wanted them?	
	Ricky: No, but they're...you'd just bust them up, I think and they're...it's just as easy getting them yourself.	
	Jennifer: Oh, I see. So you just go around and get	
109	them. (Camera take on Greg and Bobby playing in Square A) What if there weren't any chestnuts in Newfoundland? What do you think you'd do then. Do you want to tell me?	21/16
	Mike: I haven't the faintest idea.	
	Jennifer: You don't know, eh? Maybe you can invent another little thing to use instead. Did you ever think of that?	
	Mike: Rocks. (Camera take on Square C)	
	Jennifer: Rocks? But you couldn't get a rope through a rock.	
	Mike: Tie it around...	
	Ricky: Get a drill...	
	Jennifer: (voice rises in incredulity) A drill? Sure that'd cost you ten times more than a million chestnuts, wouldn't it?	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	Jennifer: D'ya rob crab apples too?	
	Mike: Uh well, I don't know if there are as many crab apple trees around where we live.	
	Jennifer: If you were a big man and if you were about seventy years old and you spent all your life growing chestnut trees and some little guys came and climbed up in your tree and broke up the tree robbing chestnuts, what would you do?	
	Mike: Bawl them out.	
	Jennifer: Would you?	
	Mike: Yeah.	
	Jennifer: Do you mind when old men bawl you out now for robbing chestnuts?	
	Mike: W e l l, sort of, yeh.	
	Jennifer: Oh, don't you think you should be able to buy chestnuts instead... wouldn't that make it easier?	
	Ricky: Yes, but they would be a bit expensive?	
	Jennifer: Why would they be expensive?	
	Ricky: Well kids don't...not very often kids get all	
102	that much money, ya know. (Camera take on Billy and Patty, playing in Square B) Their parents don't always go givin' them money all the time to buy chestnuts.	21/15

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

Mike: You can bake them in the oven for a little while or soak 'em in vinegar...soak 'em in vinegar see so you won't break so easily.

Jennifer: Where do you get them in the first place?

Ricky: Off the chestnut tree or anywhere at all.

Jennifer: Who owns the chestnut trees?

Ricky: Well, I've my own, that's how.

Jennifer: Oh you do eh? Any of you guys ever got in trouble for robbin' chestnuts off chestnut trees?

083 Mike: (laughs)

Jennifer: (to Mike) You look kind of guilty?

Mike: W e l l l (ducks head as though avoiding an imaginary blow) yeah. 21/14

Jennifer: Was it here in St. John's? And what happened?

Mike: Well, he came on down and told us to get out of there, so...

Jennifer: Who the guy that owned the land?

Mike: Oh...yeah.

Jennifer: And you turn tail and run?

Mike: Yeah.

Jennifer: I bet ya've been back since though, haven't ya?

Mike: Yes.

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	Ricky: My father already has one.	
	Jennifer: Oh, but how many kids got a father that got a drill? He'd be popular then, wouldn't he?	
	Mike and Ricky: (one after the other) Yeh.	
	Jennifer: Ok, you play on and I'll talk to some other friends, ok?	
118	(Camera take on Square B; Patty and Billy. Billy is swinging his chestnut as though it were a bat and he had just struck a home run.)	21/17
119	EAV: Come right in here, I want to ask a question. What's the problem...this business about your holding that straight?	
	Patty: I kept, I kept telling him to hold it up and every time I used to make him go like that (raises her arm above her head) to make his chestnut straight, he used to go down like that again. (demonstrates by dropping her arm)	21/18
	Billy: (watching, laughs)	
	EAV: Is that cheating?	
	Billy: (lifts his right arm in which he holds his CN, over his head)	
	Patty: No, he's too lazy to hold it up.	
	Billy: (drops his arm as he protests) No!	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	EAV: I see.	
	Jennifer: (to Billy) You lazy?	
	Billy: No, she gets down and gets me usually to hold it like that (raises arm again, straining on tip toe to demonstrate how high he must hold the target to meet Patty's demand) so she can go like that (delivers an imaginary blow upward)...I get tired.	21/19 21/20,21
	EAV: Why do you need it so high, Patty?	
	(Voices from other players intrude drowning Patty's answer)	
	Jennifer: (to Patty) You're just as tall as he is, isn't that fair?	
	Patty: No, I'm taller than he...	
	Billy: (to test her statement, Billy goes up to Patty and stands face to face, then steps back)	21/22
	Jennifer: Just put your head next to his...(the two children stand face to face again)	
	Billy: She's taller than...	
	Jennifer: No, not very much taller. Your arms aren't much longer.	
	Patty: Well I'm not...I just thought I can hit better and I told him just to... (directs the remaining words to Billy) hold up your chestnut. (to Jennifer) Now, I	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	told him to put it higher and every time I used to go	21/23
	like that, it was swinging and I used to go down like	
	that (runs her fingers down the string to still it) and	21/24
	he used to pull it right back down again.	
	EAV: Uh, I see.	
	Jennifer: Maybe he doesn't tie it around his finger	
	tight enough?	
	EAV: Does that give you special privileges to hold	
144	it up higher or lower? (Camera take on chestnut table	22/1
	and Mike reaming a chestnut)	
	Billy: No.	
	EAV: No? What about going down on your knee like	
	I saw Roger do?	
	Billy: He's bigger than me. If you want to you can	
	go down on your knee and the persons, like you know,	
	doesn't want to hold it up high, you can get down on	
	your knee...	
149	(Camera take on Billy)	
	Jennifer: Is there any way of cheating in chestnuts or	
	knockers?	
	Billy: Yeah.	
	Jennifer: How can you cheat? (Both children start	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

to talk)

Jennifer: (turns first to Billy) Ok, you tell me what he knows (to Patty) and then you tell me what you know about cheating, ok? How can you cheat?

Billy: Well you can put vinegar on it and glue.

Jennifer: (doubtfully) Vinegar and glue? But don't you put vinegar on it anyway when you put it in the oven to cook it?

Billy: Yeh, I put vinegar on mine an' I put it in the oven an' it didn't work, but when I put vinegar on mine I put glue on it, it works.

Jennifer: An' what happens when you put the glue on it? What's the difference?

Billy: Well there's not very much difference, but you can see like its light brown here (shows chestnut to Jennifer) you see more shiny and it will be harder.

Jennifer: Oh, I see. What happens if you put bubble gum on it?

165 (Camera close-up of string and Chestnut held by Greg) 22/2-4

Billy: Bubble gum? (He is amused at the prospect)

Jennifer: Will it stick?

Billy: (laughs) You probably go to hit his...

Jennifer: (interrupting) uunh?

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

Billy: An unh...unh...

Jennifer: ...it would stick?

Billy: Yeh.

Jennifer: And that's cheating, isn't it?

Both children: Yeh.

Jennifer: Do you cheat?

Both: No.

Jennifer: You don't, eh? Ok. Now you're the

170 first girl I've seen playing knockers (camera take on Patty) and you know I grew up in St. John's and I never played knockers in my life. Where'd you learn to play knockers?

Patty: In school.

Jennifer: In school? Do all the other girls play knockers too?

Patty: Some of them.

Jennifer: Girls as good as the guys?

Patty: Sometimes.

Jennifer: Sometimes? How come not all the times?

Patty: Depends on the chestnut you have.

Jennifer: Oh I see, so it's the same, girl and boy can play the same if you've got a good chestnut.

Patty: Right.

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

Jennifer: So are guys better at getting good chestnuts than girls?

Patty: Yes.

Jennifer: They are? How come?

Patty: They can climb trees better.

Jennifer: Ahhh, can't you climb a tree as well as he can? You're just as strong...bigger.

Patty: I'm afraid of high heights...

Jennifer: Ahhh.

Patty: ...the way he gets up. (indicating Billy)

188 (camera take on Jennifer, Patty and Billy)

Jennifer: (to Billy) How do you get up?

Billy: (Laughs)

Patty: We were chasing him the other day and he was this far away from the top of the tree and I couldn't catch him. (Hand gesture not visible)

Jennifer: (to Billy) You couldn't, eh? Well you little monkey. I thought you got chestnuts off the ground. Don't you get them when they fall to the ground?

Patty: That's if it's windy and you're there around to catch them.

Billy: Then there's...a...nother way. When they get like...if you go up in a tree when it's early, they'll

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

be gr...uh...green with little sharp humps on it but as you wait a long while, they'll start to open, get brown and start to open and the chestnuts will fall.

Jennifer: Oh, I see...oh yeah. (To Patty) And just tell me from one girl to another (camera take on Patty) do you think girls should play knockers with guys?

Patty: Yeah.

Jennifer: Does it ever get rough sometimes?

Patty: Yeah.

Jennifer: What happens when it gets rough?

Patty: W e l l it's a...there was a girl playing in our class, you know, and she called...well the other...she was playing with a boy and he called "no stampings"...

Jennifer: What's "no stampings"? I never heard that before.

Patty: Uh...step on it and squash it. Then...

Jennifer: When it falls off the rope you can't step on it?

Patty: No, when it falls out of their hand or something or when it goes off and it's not broken.

Jennifer: Oh it's still on the string then, eh?

Patty: Yeh.

R / Description and Dialogue PR

Jennifer: Yeh, ok.

Patty: And uh...he was knocking hers and it fell out of her hand...

Jennifer: Yeh...

Patty: ...an' he stamped it then you know she got mad because he had finished calling "you're not allowed" and she got mad and grabbed his chestnut and squat it with her hand.

Jennifer: Oh she wasn't hurt or anything...she wasn't... being roughed on then was she?

Patty: No.

Jennifer: So it's not a dangerous game for girls?

Patty: Well, only if you're hit with it, you know.

Jennifer: On the head or something?

Patty: Yeh.

Jennifer: Do you ever get bruises or anything playing knockers?

Patty: No.

Jennifer: Oh, that's good. Well I thought with "no stampings"...don't they have set rules in the game? I mean, how come you can make up, say, "no stampings" in the middle of it? Isn't it a set rule?

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	Patty: Yeh, well sometimes. If you just think of it... no one's called it during the game you can...	
	Billy: You can say...like uh...	
	Jennifer: Oh so you...	
	Billy: You can say if you're just about to begin, you say "ssstampings" before the other person, like I mean, "stampins" and they say "no" after and if you said it first, they're allowed to stamp...er...like hit his	
222	off (pretends to chase after and step on a chestnut)	22/5
	Kerrunch...like that.	
223	(Camera take on Greg by chestnut table)	
	Jennifer: So you kinda make up the rules in the beginning of the game?	
	Billy: Ummmm...	
	Jennifer: And do the rules change very often?	
	Billy: Ahhh...yes.	
	Jennifer: Oh, depending on what your mood...	
	Billy: Yeh.	
	Jennifer: I see...ok.	
227	(Camera take on Billy and Jennifer)	
	Billy: Like ah you were talking to her about somebody getting a bruise?	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	Jennifer: Yeh?	
	Billy: I know somebody, I think got a broken arm when they were playing with a guy an'...got hit with a chestnut.	
229	(Camera take on Greg and Bobby at chestnut table)	22/6
	Jennifer: (incredulously) Broke his arm?	
	Billy: Hit his arm...	
	Jennifer: Must have been awful bully did that, eh? Did he...	
	Patty: Yeh, Bull Parsons.	
	Jennifer: Bull Parsons? Then he had a cast on his arm and didn't hurt at all after that did it? Could knock as far or as hard as he wants, eh?	
	Patty: Bobby, my brother, had a cast on...	
	Jennifer: That sounds awfully dangerous for a girl.	
236	(Camera take on Ricky and Mike)	22/7
	Patty: Ah well...	
	Jennifer: Now you've got to be as tough as the guys, eh? That's the spirit. Ok, you play a bit more and I'll ask your friends some more questions, ok?	
	Patty: (calls) Billy.	
	Jennifer: ...playing with the girls...she's trying to beat you up.	
	Billy: Oh she's got one.	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	Jennifer: Ok.	
241	Jennifer joins Greg and Bobby (off camera) and talks to them.	
	Jennifer: I just want to ask you guys a serious question about chestnuts or is it knockers, you call it?	
	Bobby: No.	
	Jennifer: What do you call the game?	
	Bobby: Chestnuts.	
243	(Camera take on Greg and Bobby at the chestnut table where Bob is trying to ream a hole in a chestnut with a wooden handled kitchen serving fork.	22/8
	Jennifer: Chestnuts, ok. I was just knowing about the game and everything but I just wanted to know where you think the game started? (To Bob) Where did you learn to play it?	
	Bobby: School.	
	Jennifer: In school? (To Greg) And where did you learn to play it?	
	Greg: School.	
	Jennifer: So you learned from friends just like yourself in school, eh?	
	Both: Uh huh.	
	Jennifer: And where do you think they learned?	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	Greg: I dunno. Haven't a clue.	
	Jennifer: Do you ever wonder about where these things started that you play?	
	Greg: Yes.	
	Jennifer: And what did you think when you wondered that?	
	Greg: I dunno.	
	Jennifer: You don't think...do you think little boys and girls maybe a hundred years ago played chestnuts? When you think of little guys like Peter Pan and all these guys, don't you think they played knockers, too? Chestnuts?	
	Greg: I don't think so.	
	Jennifer: You don't? Why not? What do you think?	
	Bobby: (Laughs and continues to force chestnut onto tine of fork)	22/9
	Jennifer: You're pushin' awful hard, aren't you? What are you trying to do?	
247	Bobby: (Says nothing, gestures with fork showing chestnut impaled on the tine in answer)	22/10
	Jennifer: Oh well, don't stick it in your finger, now. Just tell me though, what do you think about whoever played chestnuts before you? Did your mother and father play it?	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	Bobby: (shakes head, no)	
	Jennifer: Did you ever ask them?	
	Bobby: (nods head, yes and murmurs) hmhmm.	
	Jennifer: Oh, what do you think my father, he grew up in Carbonear and he used to play it when he was a little boy.	
	Bobby: Yeah.	
263	(Camera take on close-up of string and chestnut held by Billy for Patty)	22/11-13
	Jennifer: So nobody your age invented it? (Pause) How do you think a game like that started? Do you think little guys just sorta saw little chestnuts hanging off a string in a tree one day and started playing it or how do you think it happened?	
266	Greg: Playing with a rock.	
	Jennifer: Playing with a rock? The guys over there were saying play with a rock but that's something hard isn't it to get a string through a rock?	
	Greg: I don't know.	
	EAV: Greg has a special chestnut that's four hundred and one.	
	Greg: (off camera) This one's special...here.	
	Jennifer: Yeah, why don't you just come over here	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

in the circle and you can show us how you play with your old one, ok? D'ya want to come over too? Do you have a chestnut to play with?

Greg: Hurry up, Bob.

Jennifer: Ok, while you're getting ready, just come over here and I want you to tell me about this special chestnut, ok? Which is the very old one, this one?

Greg: It's one thousand three hundred and five.

Jennifer: Now how can you tell it's that old?

(Camera take on Jennifer, Greg and Bob in Square A; EAV on the periphery)

Greg: Like when they...I beat someone else's chestnut, that's five. This gains five plus one...

Jennifer: So by multiplying and multiplying it, it's finally that old? Now do you really think that that chestnut is been around for that long?

Greg: No.

Jennifer: Well why do you say it is when you don't think it really is?

Greg: It's just the way they play.

Jennifer: It's just the way they play? So the object of the game is to get the oldest kind of chestnut, is that what you want to do?

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	Bob and Greg: Yeah.	
	Jennifer: Is that right?	
	Greg: Yes.	
287	EAV: ...hold it so the camera can see.	
	Jennifer: So lemme see. What's special about this one here, then? (Greg passes the Chestnut to her but holds on to the end of the string)	22/14
	Greg: It's two hunderd and (pause) ten? (Looks to Bobby for corroboration)	
	Bobby: How old was it first?	
	Greg: I dunno.	
	Bobby: Was two hunderd...	
	Greg: It's two hunderd and one.	
292	Jennifer: So this is two hundred and one (refers to Chestnut which she holds in her left hand) and this is how old? (She opens her palm on which lies a second chestnut at the same time dropping the first)	22/15 22/16
	Greg: One thousand three hundred and...five.	
	Jennifer: So you guys ever trade nuts or anything when you get them...like this is a pretty special one, isn't it? Now you're pretty proud of that one aren't you?	
	Greg: Yes.	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

Jennifer: Would you trade it with anybody like you trade hockey cards and all these things? Would you trade it?

Greg: No.

Bobby: Yes.

Greg: I wouldn't.

Jennifer: You wouldn't (to Greg) but you would? (to Bobby)

Bobby. Yes.

Jennifer: How come you would?

Bobby: 'Cause hockey cards, hockey cards...you can sell hockey cards...can't sell chestnuts.

Jennifer: You can't sell chestnuts? Well if this is such a special one, that you'd think somebody'd like to buy it just like they buy hockey cards.

Greg: No, because if they bought it, it would go back to zero.

Jennifer: Go back to zero, so you...

Bobby: So he'd have another chestnut too...

Greg: Same thing.

Jennifer: Oh, so like...it's a thousand years old for you, but for you it's nothing? Is that how it works?

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

Bobby: Right.

Jennifer: Oh but that's kind of silly. I mean, how old do you think it really is? Do you think it's a year old?

Greg: No...'bout two weeks.

Jennifer: Where'd you get it?

Greg: Bairds.

Jennifer: In...in St. John's?

Greg: Yes.

Jennifer: And it was sitting on the ground and you came home and knocked it up to be a thousand years old, eh? That's pretty good. You still haven't figured out where the game started, eh? Do you think little boys and girls in China might be playing this game?

Bobby: No. (Shakes head, no)

Jennifer: Why not?

Bobby: I don't know. They probably have different games to play. (Shrugs shoulders)

Jennifer: Why do you play games like this?

Bobby: For fun.

Jennifer: For fun? So it is fun when ya go bashin' up chestnuts, is it?

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	Bobby: Yah. (Looks at Greg and laughs)	
	Jennifer: Yay, ok then, you play and don't get your gum stuck in your chestnut now. (Refers to Bobby's bubble gum which he has been cracking and blowing bubbles with)	
	Bobby: Pardon?	
	Jennifer: Ok.	
316	Jennifer moves off camera.	
317	(Camera take on chestnut table, then on Billy and EAV in Square B. Jennifer joins the two. As an experiment to test what the youngsters consider fair play or cheating, the CN with which EAV plays has one Chestnut on one end of the lace and three on the other end which are partly hidden in the palm of the hand. At each change of turns or after a particularly hard blow on the regular Chestnut, the lace is reversed, introducing a fresh Chestnut into play. While Billy claims not to know whether or not this is fair, he becomes irritated and sullen as the game progresses.)	22/17
319	Jennifer: (to Billy) Did you lose your chestnut? Does it happen very often?	
	Billy: Dah! (Recovering from blow by CN on the hand)	22/18
	Jennifer: Did you get your hand hurt?	
	EAV: Are you all right?	
	Billy: Yeah.	
	Jennifer: Gotta watch these rough women, you know.	
	EAV: (to Billy) Sure I didn't even hit it; you hit it. Are you ready? It's my turn now.	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

Jennifer: Do. you have to stand so far from each other?

Billy: (speaking at the same time as Jennifer) You get three hits 'cause you tangled.

Jennifer: Does it matter?

EAV: I don't know. I think it's a question of style.

325 Jennifer: Does it hurt your arm? (trying to hold it up) It's a hard game this is, isn't it?

Billy: As long as those three don't hit my knuckles. (braces right hand with left hand supporting right elbow)

EAV: You don't notice anything about those three, then? It's ok to use three is it? 22/19

Billy: Oh I don't know.

EAV: Have you ever used them?

Billy: [illegible]

Jennifer: Look she's got three small ones and you've got one big one. Isn't that fair?

Billy: (sullenly) I dunno. 22/20-23

332 Jennifer: Ya don't? (walks off camera to talk to Patty) While your friends are playing, I was just wondering if you can tell me where you think the game started because these little boys over there, they didn't know when it started.

Patty: Well, I'm not sure. I just started it this year. It was on last year, I just started to try it this year.

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

Jennifer: It was on? Does that mean it was a big fad?

Patty: Yeh.

Jennifer: Do you think little boys and girls that are a bit older than you used to play it?

Patty: Yeh.

Jennifer: Then where do you think they learned how to play it?

Patty: Uh, I don't know.

Jennifer: Did your mummy and your daddy ever tell you that they used to play knockers?

Patty: No.

Jennifer: They didn't? But when they see you play, do they know what you're doing?

Patty: Uh, sometimes. They don't like us to do it in the livingroom, you know, because it might fly all around and mess it up.

341 (Camera take on Jennifer and Patty)

Jennifer: Yeah, but it's happened, eh?

Patty: Yeh.

Jennifer: Good. Why don't you just try to think now of where this kind of thing started. A game like that. Can you make up something? Like if somebody said that

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

I give you a thousand dollars to tell me where the game started, what would you say? Would you know what to say?

Patty: I'd make up something.

Jennifer: Would you? What would you make up?

Patty: Well uh...that...

Jennifer: Something real juicy.

349 (Take on Billy and EAV with Patty in background)

Patty: I found the green thing on the (Bobby walks partially on camera right, blows a large bubble with bubble gum) ground and someone hid it and they kept it for awhile. It turned brown and got hard and they started this game and all. 22/24

Jennifer: What's the green thing, the baby chestnut?

352 Patty: No, that's the covering.

Jennifer: Did you realize that each one of these is a whole tree? A baby tree? Did you know that?

Patty: (shakes head, no)

Jennifer: Did you know that if you left that in the ground alone, it would grow up to be a big chestnut tree? That would give millions of more chestnuts than your...did you know that?

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

Bobby: Nope.

Jennifer: Didn't you know the same with acorns and oak trees and things like that? Didn't you know that this is the seed of the tree? That's a big tree you're playing with, didn't you realize that? (To Bobby) Ok, you going to play with the girl now and see what happens? Do you like playing with girls?

Bobby: Nope.

Jennifer: Why not?

Bobby: (referring to Greg, off camera) He likes playing with girls.

Jennifer: Oh you like playing with girls, eh?

Greg: (now on camera, grins but says nothing)

Jennifer: You like the girls, eh?

Greg: Yes.

Jennifer: How come you like girls?

Greg: (referring to Bobby) Same reason he likes 'em.

Jennifer: Oh, you like 'em, too, eh?

Bobby: (nods head, yes) Yeh.

Jennifer: (to Patty) You like girls?

Patty: Of course, I'M a girl.

Jennifer: That's the spirit. (To Bobby) Why don't you play with the girls, then?

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

Bobby: (shrugs shoulders)

Jennifer: You don't know? You must have a reason.

Greg: 'Fraid they might beat 'im.

Jennifer: Busy blowing bubbles are you?

Bobby: What?

Jennifer: Busy blowing bubble gum?

Bobby: Um.

Jennifer: Ok, why don't you play with the girl now and let's see who wins. Oh, is there a winning in this game...like does somebody win or do you jus'...

Bobby: (starts to explain but words are not clear)

Jennifer: You win by having the oldest knock or something like that?

Bobby: See if I crack her chestnut, then I win see, first one...

Jennifer: Oh, so all these chestnuts that are broken all over the floor, that means that somebody won?

Bobby: (nods head, yes) Hmm.

Jennifer: How long do you have to go on before you can crack somebody's nut?

Greg: It might be forever.

375 Bobby: (clowning) Well first off would be...you could go on for days and days and days and years.

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

Jennifer: Have you ever gone for years for somebody's nut?

Greg: No.

Bobby: (shakes head, no)

Jennifer: You never, eh? What's the longest time you've taken to crack somebody's nut?

Bobby: An hour.

Jennifer: An hour? Are you about the best guy around? At this game?

378 (Camera take on Mike - close-up. He holds CN string in his mouth) 23/1

Bobby: Yeah.

Jennifer: Are you?

Greg: (sarcastically) Yeh, sure.

Jennifer: (repeats) Are you?

Greg: Not really.

Jennifer: Who's the best here?

Bobby: I am. (Pause, then seriously, acknowledging Greg) No, he is.

Jennifer: (to Greg) You're better, eh?

382 (Camera take on group being interviewed)

Patty: He's best here but not the best at our school.

Jennifer: (to Greg) Would you like to be the best?

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

Greg: Yes.

Jennifer: Where's the best guy in the school? He's not here today, eh?

380 Bobby: (clowning) Yes he is, yes he is. (Pats his chest to imply himself)

Jennifer: (to Patty) How many...how...what makes him (refers to Bobby) so good? I mean, you know...you...

Bob: What makes me?

Jennifer: What makes you so good, yeah?

Bobby: I get all the hard nuts.

Jennifer: You get all the hard nuts?

Bobby: Yeah.

Jennifer: So what...you go out in the woods and hunt for them.

Bobby: Yeah, I shoot them and everything.

Jennifer: (incredulously) You shoot them?

387 (Camera take on Mike and EAV in Square B playing a game)

Bobby: (seriously) No. You go to a person's yard. You know...

Jennifer: Yeah, someone else's yard, isn't it?

Bobby: ...and you throw sticks up in the tree and sometimes you can climb the tree and get them down and crack 'er open and you keep 'em in air tight bags and they get right hard.

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	Jennifer: Oh, and like, you're the best because you do that best. Is that how it works?	
	Bobby: Yeah.	
	Jennifer: Oh, I see. Ok, let's see who's the best now. You play your little game.	
	Bob: Yeh.	
	Jennifer: Ok, good.	
394	Jennifer comes on camera, joining Mike and EAV. Mike has tangled the last shot.	
	EAV: Now I have three knocks.	
395	(Camera take on Greg and Ricky playing in Square C. Bob stands camera left, RP, flicking his CN at the target which Ricky holds and generally torments the players.)	23/2,3
	Jennifer: Who's doing well over here? Isn't that the real old one, over there?	
	Mike: No, it's a real baby.	
	EAV: It's getting to be nothing.	
	Jennifer: Yours is nothing, too? The smaller it is, the harder it must be to hit? Are you trying to beat it up now, are you? Oop, stand back.	
400	(Camera take on Jennifer, Mike and EAV)	
	Jennifer: (to Mike) How many years have you been playing this game?	
	Mike: Oh about three years.	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	Jennifer: Oh you should be a professional by now.	
	Mike: (laughs) Oh not really.	
	The experiment to test attitudes to fair play and cheating tried earlier on Billy is now being tried on Mike. In addition to the three hidden chestnuts, variations of the striking swing are tried.	
	EAV: (striking target with a lateral swing in the manner of a baseball batter) Is that fair?	
	Mike: Yeah, ok. (Although he holds the target in play, his attention is diverted to the interview.)	23/4
	Jennifer: (Target is struck with a lateral blow) Ah, that was a dead on one. Do you think it's a hard game to play?	
406	Mike: Yeah...well...not really.	
	Jennifer: Takes a lot of practice, eh?	
	Mike: Yes. (CNs tangle. Mike takes striking position)	
	Jennifer: You play every day?	
	Mike: Um...(aims at target) when I can. (hits the target)	
	Jennifer: Oh boy, good aim, eh? (Mike aims again)	23/5
	EAV: (inspects CN) Ah, it's still there.	
	Jennifer: Are they hard to crack if they haven't been cooked right and stuff?	
	Mike: Yeah. (Reaches out to still target)	23/6

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

Jennifer: (looks off camera right) This one looks like it's still wet. (moves off camera, joining Patty and Billy)

Jennifer: Oh your four year old one, is it cracked now?

Patty: One hit.

Jennifer: Did you do that? (Pause) That strong girl, she got to demolish it now, eh?

415 (Camera take on Jennifer with Patty and Billy. Bobby, in the background, clowns for the camera, raising his arm and waving and making a V sign with his index and third fingers.) 23/7,8

Jennifer: (looks at the target nut which Billy holds) There's not much left of that, is there?

Patty: Half...missed.

Billy: (takes aim) Unhunh.

Jennifer: His isn't as strong as yours now, see. Did you want another chestnut? There might be some on the table. (Billy hits the target nut)

Patty: 'Ray, yours cracked. (raises her CN in victory)

Jennifer: (looks at Billy's CN) Not much left is there?

Billy: (inspects his CN. A large piece is missing) Ok.

420 I'll hit it. (swings CN gently at target. Bob clowns with Greg for the camera, in the background.) 23/9

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

Jennifer: Ah, that's awfully gentle. (Billy fires a fast hard shot and his Chestnut is heard to bounce off the floor) Whooo...

Patty: Yea.

Jennifer: What happened there? His fell off and you didn't knock it off?

Patty: His was four years old so I get it. You see his was demolished.

Billy accepts the loss and walks to the chestnut table.

Jennifer: You get it? There's only a little left on it. You still want it?

Patty: Yeah.

Jennifer: What are you going to do with it?

Patty: With the shell?

Jennifer: Yeah.

Patty: Ah...you can use it to keep the other chestnuts fresh.

Jennifer: How does that work? You put them in a bag with all the rest of the nuts?

Patty: Yes.

Jennifer: Oh, I see. That's good then. Do you have anyone else to play with now? Got to keep the girls

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
428	victorious, you know. (Camera take on Ricky walking past Greg) This guy here (referring to Bobby) he's not going to play with you.	
429	(Camera take on Bob, Greg, Patty and Jennifer) Bobby: I got no chestnuts. Jennifer: Are all the chestnuts gone? Bobby: Yeah. Jennifer: Aren't there any on the floor? Do you ever sort of resurrect some that are half broken and use them then? Bobby: (shakes head, no) Jennifer: You don't. Should have brought a great big bash of them, eh?	
432	As he walks past Jennifer, Bobby blows a large bubble and Jennifer quickly smacks it with her hand, breaking it over Bobby's face. (Camera take on Jennifer) Jennifer: (Laughs) Do you ever get your bubble gum in the way of playing chestnuts? You don't, eh? Bobby: I just go along like this.	23/10-12
434	Jennifer: It takes a lot of concentration, doesn't it to chew gum and play knockers at the same time?	
436	(Take on Patty and Greg playing a game. Greg's CN tangles with Patty's as Jennifer joins them.) Jennifer: Oooh, does that happen very often? Do they get stuck together?	23/13

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
440	(Camera take on chestnut table)	
	EAV: Yeah, it's kind of hard.	
	Jennifer: (to Patty) Do you play at recess time, too?	
	Patty: No, I play charge.	
	Jennifer: What's charge? Is that another game like this?	
	Patty: No, you play it outdoors and most of the people	
	play at school and someone is it and they call "charge"	
	(Bobby comes to the chestnut table followed by Billy and Ricky. Bobby tests the chestnuts which he picks from the supply on the table, takes five which he puts in his shirt pocket and departs.) and you've got to try	23/14
	to get from one end of the school to the other without	
	being caught.	
	Jennifer: Oh, that's a different kind of game, isn't	
	it? This keeps you in one place when you play knockers?	
	Do you usually play it with another girl or do you play	
	it with boys?	
	Patty: Boys, mostly.	
	Jennifer: Why's that? Why don't you play with girls?	
444	(Camera take on Greg and Patty) They're not as good?	
	Patty: More boys playing	
	Jennifer: I see. Ok.	
	Bobby: (stands alongside Patty threading his chestnut.	
	Without lifting his head, challenges) First knocks,	
	Williams.	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

Jennifer: What's first knocks mean?

Bobby: I get to hit his chestnut first.

Jennifer: Oop...what if he doesn't win? Do you still want to knock his chestnut, but you don't want to knock hers?

Bobby: What do you mean if she doesn't win?

Jennifer: Well why did you tell him that you want first knocks instead of her?

Bobby: I don't know. Cause I...(mumbles). (Jennifer is not aware that Bobby and Patty are brother and sister, which is the reason Bobby does not want to play Patty)

Jennifer: I see...and first knocks, that means you get to grab his knocks first.

Bobby: Right.

Jennifer: Ah, I see. What happens if you both say first knocks together? D'ya have a fight?

Bobby: (Laughs) Yeh.

Patty: You got to say "first jinx".

Jennifer: "Jinx"? What does that mean?

(Camera take on Patty)

Patty: I don't know.

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
458	(Camera take on Patty and Greg as they play)	
	Bobby: That means that you're not allowed to talk until somebody sez yer name.	
	Greg strikes twice. Patty inspects her CN and says, "Not cracked, yet." Greg replies "Mine is". Patty, exclaiming "whee" raises her arms in jubilation. Greg walks off camera right.	
	Jennifer: (off camera) But then there's only two of you there?	
	Bobby: (off camera) What?	
	Jennifer: There's only two of you there.	
	Bobby: Yeah but the person who sez "jinx on you" first...it's up to him to say your name and if he doesn't want to say your name, well, he doesn't say your name. (Ricky walks on camera right and challenges Patty, "I'll take you on.")	
	Jennifer: Oh, and then you can go first then, or he goes first?	
	Bobby: First what?	
	Jennifer: First knocks.	
	Bobby: I go first because I said "first".	
	Jennifer: Oooh I see, ok.	
	Jennifer: (off camera, to Greg) You tired of playing then? Oh, you broke your nut.	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
465	Patty and Ricky play in Square B. Ricky knocks a chunk out of Patty's target on the third blow and shatters what remains on the fourth.	23/15, 16
	Greg: Yep.	
	Jennifer: How many you got there in your pocket?	
	Very many?	
	Greg: Eight.	
	Jennifer: This is your really good one, isn't it? Is	
467	this your thousand year old one? (Patty shrugs her	
	shoulders and walks away) Don't you want to save it	
	or are you going to play with it?	
469	(Camera take on Ricky)	
	Greg: Play with it. (Ricky challenges, "I'll	
	take you on, Mike. Mike replies, "First knocks.")	
	Jennifer: Will you be sorry if you broke it?	
	Greg: Yes.	
	Jennifer: Because that's a good one, isn't it?	
	EAV: I think that ought to be good enough. We can	
472	cut to the second segment.	
473-476	Caption reading: 2. Reaction to Unknown Group	23/17
	The camera fades from caption into a shot of the children seated in two rows of chairs facing the portable monitor in the southeast corner. The purpose of this segment is being explained. Group I and III of Videotape #2 is to be screened for the children's reaction.	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
476	EAV: Right. Now, I just got through telling you to watch this and to make any comments. Whether the boys can play chestnuts, whether they're good players. Do you think you're better or are they better?	23/18
	(Camera take on rear view of children as they watch)	23/19
	(Camera take, close-up, on Greg as he watches the monitor, without expression)	23/20
	By and large, the children watch attentively, are quiet for children, occasionally look back at the overhead monitor and say little.	
	Billy: Where is it, anyway?	
	EAV: Ah. Down on Forest Road.	
	(Camera take on children in front row, 3/40L. Bobby, at the far end of the row, leans forward, hunched over, a large bubble formed at his mouth. Greg, next to him, sits quietly.)	23/21
	A segment of the videotape of interview with and play of three boys (Doug Puddester, Randy Dunne and Leonard Redman - Videotape #2, Group III) not known to the participants in Videotape #3, is being shown.	
	The quality of the video at this showing, for some reason, is not good.	
495	As Randy, Leonard and Doug are being questioned about their age and grade in school, Mike comments to Ricky and Bob to Greg, all unheard.	23/22,23
496-506	The camera plays over the faces of the spectators, lingering for a few seconds first on Bobby, then Greg, and finally Billy in the back row. All sit in rapt attention.	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	The three boys have made a point of playing in the shade so the sun would not interfere with their aim.	
	(Camera take on group, side view, 3/40L.)	
507	EAV: Do you ever worry about the sun, Ricky?	
	Mike: He had two chestnuts on. (It appears so because of poor definition of the picture which causes "ghosts".)	
	Ricky: Sometimes.	
	EAV: He has two chestnuts on? (Pause) And that's not fair?	
	Mike: Well...	
	Bob turns around and facing the control booth, raises two fingers in a "V" sign.	23/24
	The boys have trouble keeping the chestnut on the string and explain when questioned, that it is because the string is "too skinny".	
	Mike: That makes sense.	
	EAV: What?	
	Mike: The string was too small for the hole.	
	The boys are questioned as to how long they should hold the string but the answer provokes no comment or obvious interest from anyone.	
	EAV: (to Mike) How far do you stand apart?	
	Mike: Oh, about two or three feet away.	
	EAV: See he pushed him. Did you see that?	
	Mike: Um.	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

Patty: Just then?

EAV: Yeah.

The boys on the videotape miss frequently.

531 EAV: Not very good shots, are they?

Mike: No, they're holding it too short. They're holding it like that. (demonstration not visible)

EAV: You have to move in closer if you're going to hold it short?

(Camera take on rear of group) 24/1

Mike: Yeah.

Billy has been speaking during the last interchange with Mike and EAV.

EAV: What did you say, Billy?

Billy: I say thing, the boy ah on the one that's... wait now...the one right there that's coming toward the camera right there showing...chestnut...ah he has like it's two...I thought I saw two strings... like he puts down for he can hold like that.

EAV: You mean the way he wraps it around his hand?

Billy: No, he takes it like a string, you know a string...

EAV: Yeah?

Billy: ...straight...he'd fold it down and push it

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

through a thing and tie it together before he has hand hooked over it...it's not the right way, I think.

EAV: Yeah. (the explanation is unclear)

EAV: Can you see it well enough? (No response)

EAV: Are they very good players, Greg?

Greg: Yeah, I guess...a bit. (Bob and Greg look at one another and grin.) (To Greg) Are you better?

Greg: (nods head, yes)

EAV: You are? What are they doing wrong, do you think?

Bobby: They should lean off more.

EAV: You mean they're too close.

Bobby: Yeah.

EAV: Are they holding their string too closely?

Greg: They're holding it too short.

EAV: Too short? That's the problem. You know that business about the sun? Do you worry about the sun?

Bob and Greg: (together) No.

EAV: It never blinds you?

563 Bob: No.

564-565 Caption reading: 3. Self-Reaction 24/2

The children are in the same position. They are to be shown excerpts from Videotape #1 which they made earlier
570 and which have been pre-selected for explanation. While 24/3 they wait for the tape to start, Mike and Ricky play chestnuts seated in their chairs but get up and scuffle for the Chestnut when it is dislodged.

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
572	EAV: Just bits and pieces. There won't be time to see it all. (To Billy, who has become fascinated with the overhead monitor behind him) Now you're supposed to be watching that. (Refers to small monitor in front) (Turns him around) You'll see it all in a minute.	24/4
	Billy: That there?	
	EAV: Yes.	
	EAV: Why isn't Roger down on his knees when you're playing with him?	
	Billy: Well, too big. He's high.	
	EAV: But he should go down, shouldn't he?	
	Billy: For me he should go down. See, he bends his leg...	
	EAV: Oh.	
	There is much restlessness. Mike and Ricky continue their game, disinterested in the tape. The children murmur to one another but the words are unclear.	24/5
	EAV: Why was it you...didn't want to play Roger again, Billy?	
	Billy: Where?	
	Patty: 'Cause he's afraid he might beat him.	
	EAV: Remember...you said you didn't...he said he'd play..."Play me again" and you said, "no".	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	Billy: 'Cause you see I got mine another big point. His is twenty two and he put on a real big fat one and I'll say I'll play you again. Just look, it might show the big fat one. And I said, "Ah hah".	24/6
	EAV: But then you did go back and play him?	
	Billy: Yeah.	
	EAV: But you didn't want to play him because the... he had a bigger one and what? You'd just won, had you?	
	Billy: Yeah. Willy played me then and Willy won.	
	EAV: Ok, Billy. (Billy is watching the overhead monitor.)	
	Billy: Can you see me in the face this way? I don't get it as I face this way... (tries to figure out how his picture is getting on the monitor behind him)	
	EAV: You're supposed to be watching this.	
	Billy: So they get my face.	
	EAV: That's the ticket. (addressed to Mark, the technician operating the videocorder) You want to run ahead on the next approximate...We're going to jump ahead...ok?	
	EAV: What happened, Greg?	24/7

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	Greg: (smiles, puts chin on hands) Just knocked it off.	24/8 24/9
	The monitor displays a game between Bob and Greg. Both laugh when they see it. Bob works with his bubble gum.	24/10
	EAV: (to Mike) Do you play better? Will you play better when you're out by yourself with some fellows, rather...	
	Mike: I don't know.	
	EAV: Are you a good player?	
	Mike: Not really. (makes a face indicating distaste)	24/12
	Ricky: Not out of the house, he isn't.	
	EAV: What does that mean?	
	Ricky: (Explains, but the words are lost)	
	EAV: Is that right? I see. You need to be under pressure, do you?	
	Mike: (Embarrassed laugh)	
	EAV: (to Ricky) Who's a better player? Francis? Yeh? No, You're the champion are you in that area?	
	Ricky: (Grins) Michael and I...	
	EAV: Modestly, he said. You share the honors.	
	EAV: You missed. Why did you miss then, Michael?	
	Mike: Hm.	
	EAV: You missed seeing you missed.	
	Mike: ...that's why.	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	EAV: (to Patty) You're a good shot.	
	Patty: What?	
	EAV: You're a good shot.	
	Patty: (shakes her head)	
	EAV: You're hitting there. (refers to action on monitor). What happened there?	
	Patty: Mine blew up.	24/13
	Greg and Bobby watch the monitor with interest, then laugh.	24/14
667	EAV: (to Mark) You want to jump ahead.	
	Children talk while videocorder is being advanced to next selection.	
	Patty: Greg, you should see yourself (mimicing Greg's reaction of embarrassment).	24/15,16
	EAV: (to Greg) You don't like performing on TV, then?	
	Greg: No.	
675	Patty: (whispers to EAV)	
	EAV: Yeah, tell me a secret.	
	Patty: That's the secret.	
	EAV: Oh yeah. I'll tell my friends not to tell.	
	Patty: No, don't say anything.	
	EAV: (has not heard the whispered confidence) I won't tell...and that's easy.	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	Billy and the others clown and perform for the cameras expecting to see themselves on the large overhead monitor behind.	
	EAV: (to Billy) You're wasting all this energy for nothing. The monitor isn't even on.	24/17
	Bob & Greg: (together) What time is it? What time is it?	
	EAV: Five...	
	Mike: No, twenty five to four.	
	Mike and Ricky play a game of chestnuts in the seats where they sit. Greg and Bobby leave their seats for a moment.	
	EAV: You fellows want to see this?	
	Mike: Yeah.	
	EAV: Ok...it's kinda hard to see with you playing.	
	Ricky: We saw it all.	
	EAV: You saw it all?	
	Ricky: We didn't see it all, but we saw most of it when we were doing it ourselves.	
	EAV: When you were doing what?	
	Ricky: When we watched each other doing it.	
	EAV: Ah, I see.	
	Ricky: This is a bit boring (grins).	
	EAV: Ah ha.	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	Ricky: What's the point of showing this back to us?	
	EAV: Well I want to see if you see anything that you could have done better, for example. Or anything. The way anybody else is playing..	
	Ricky: Oh, I can see a lot of things...	
	EAV: ... for example?	
	Ricky: ...the way I was holding it...I found it was better holding it like that (demonstration not visible).	
	EAV: You're holding it like?	
	Ricky: ...but if you've got it roughin' around, it's tighter.	
	EAV: ...it doesn't...ok what else?	
	Ricky: Sometimes I stand up and hold it like that	
713	(demonstrates a striking hold with a short string).	24/18
	It's better to have a longer string, you know. There's more power behind it...the shot's harder.	
	EAV: And that's why those other kids were messing up 'cause they had theirs too short?	
	Ricky: Yeh.	
	Mike: Yeh.	
	Mike: (3/4CL) You can get more accuracy but less power that way. If you have it right up here (gesture not visible) you know, get more power, but less accuracy..	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

EAV: Ok, what was the deal with...there's somewhere along here (refers to action on monitor) doing some very light taps. Bobby was tapping Greg's, just touching it. What's the point of that?

Ricky: Just to knock it loose a bit and then you can let go.

EAV: Soften it up then with soft blows...keeps you in the game?

Ricky: Yeh.

Mike: (full open) The guy named Roger, he was making

723 my arm hurt really. He was going like this and like this (mimics a gentle, rolling blow, the string about an inch long). I was holding it up there for about ten minutes you know... 24/19,20

EAV: Have you noticed in there, for example, Ricky, that you hold yours about two inches? Look how...

Ricky: Yeah, that's another thing, too. I also learned another thing...you should hold it at least eight inches.

EAV: So you were actually holding it too short when this was filmed?

Ricky: Yeah, but I usually hold like that (gesture not visible).

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

Ricky: They're not filming all this?

EAV: Go ahead.

Ricky: That's about all.

EAV: Yeah, they're filming.

Ricky: But another thing. When I'm holding it like

731 that (holds CN in target position, string about 9" long), 24/21
it's easier. I think it's a bit harder for him to hit it.
It's safer for yourself 'cause you could hurt your hand
if you got it that close.

EAV: How are these other guys you were playing with?
(Refers to CAVE technicians, David Snook and Rick Harris
who played Chestnuts with the youngsters in Videotape #1)
How was this fellow? (Refers to David Snook) Did you
play with him?

Ricky: The tall man?

EAV: Yes. Was he a good player?

Ricky and Mike: Yeah.

Ricky: He's a pretty good player.

EAV: Is he as good as your dad?

Ricky: I don't know. I couldn't really say. Dad's
pretty...he uh you know, he uh...it's not very often
you find you have a chance to hit on his chestnut.

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

EAV: You end up with a broken chestnut if he gets first knocks?

Ricky: Yeah.

Ricky: Roger, that tall guy that was there...I can't remember his name.

EAV: Yeah, that's right.

Ricky: He still does the same thing I used to do. He holds it like that (demonstrates a striking position in which the CN string is about two inches) That's no good, either.

EAV: It's too short.

Ricky: It's too short.

EAV: Accuracy but no power?

Ricky: And this right here...I found another thing, if

742 you hold like that (holds both hands in the striking 24/22
position, on line and on the same elevation with the thumb cocked like a sight of a gun) you get better accuracy, too. So you should aim...

EAV: What do you do, sight it on your thumb?

Ricky: Yeah. 24/23

EAV: Have you ever...what about taking it...I've seen some people take the thing and swing it around.

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

Ricky: Well we were only kidding around like this (swings CN in circles).

EAV: Yeah, but when you get to hit, instead of going this way (demonstrates a vertical blow), you swing it this way (demonstrates a lateral blow). Have you ever done that?

Ricky: No.

Mike: Well, if it's soft on the side...that's the best way to hit it, you know, 'cause it cracks up inside.

EAV: So you can use that kind of a ...

Mike: But if it's softer on top, you hit it on top.

Noise and action on monitor attracts Mike's attention and he laughs.

EAV: Who was that?

Mike: It was Ricky...(rest of comment lost in noise from monitor).

Ricky and Mike: (Laugh).

EAV: What happens?

Mike: He goes in front of the camera like that.

(Refers to Roger clowning for the camera, ducking his head on camera and making a face in VT#1.)

Mike: (watches monitor, then turns to Ricky, his CN is raised position) Hit. We're playing.

R	Description and Dialogue	PR
	Ricky: (half watching the monitor, half Mike, lifts his CN into garget position).	
	Mike: (misses) No stampins at all.	
	Ricky strikes a blow.	
	Mike: Ya missed.	
762	Ricky changes to target position and on Mike's command, "Up", raises the target. Mike hits the target four times. Billy begins shooting his CN at the chair.	24/24
	Mike: How old's that?	
	Ricky: Why don't you hold yours like that, anyway?	25/1
	The TV technicians play with the children in E23 on the monitor.	
	EAV: Now, what was he like? What was David like?	
	Ricky: That man right there?	
	EAV: Yeah.	
	Ricky: Well, I wasn't really watching him, just...	
	EAV: Who played with David?	
	Ricky: That tall guy. The big guy that was there.	
	EAV: Roger?	
	Ricky: He's not here today.	
	EAV: No.	
	Ricky: Sometimes...when uh ya hit it across like	
771	this (demonstrates a looping, lateral blow)...you	
	often see people hitting it across like that?	

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

That's not all that good because you always like... see he hits his across like that and you tangle it up easier and that's a penalty of three, three shots.

EAV: Right, but if you can knock it out of his hand, you can stomp on it. Do you try to get that?

Ricky: Well, it's safer if you just hit it on an angle like that (demonstrates a slanted blow), instead of a straight line. Just try to hit it and knock it out of his hand.

EAV: Ahhh. (Pause) What about the knots on the end that holds the thing on? Can you tell when they've got a poor knot?

Ricky: Yes...you got to be at least something like that (shows the double knot on his CN) so it holds. So if it keeps on going, it gets bigger all the way up, so that...

EAV: Right. Now have you ever taken advantage of someone who you recognize has got a poor knot?

Ricky: Yes.

EAV: How do you do that?

Ricky: Well, say his knot is pretty poor so you

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

take it down. You tangle it up and you pull...

EAV: Ah, you try to pull it off.

782 Ricky: ...pull it down like that (yanks hand down). See if I had a poor knot, he'd be able to beat me, see.

EAV: UMhm

Mike: He'd be able to beat you anyway.

Ricky: Like that.

Billy: (holds his CN in target position in front of Ricky's nose) Take a swing. (Ricky strikes the target three blows and on the third knocks it out of Billy's hand.

EAV: That's the end of that. (To Ricky) Did you stamp it? (To Billy) Take that home and glue it (refers to the cracked nut).

Billy: Yeh.

Ricky: I don't think it's fair gluing it.

EAV: You don't? You don't use anything like that?

Ricky: No, I don't use glue. I might put it in vinegar but...

EAV: And what does vinegar...I really don't see what the vinegar does.

Ricky: Well, vinegar's...goes uh...gets into the soggy parts of it and when vinegar dries up, it makes

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

it harder, sort of. I don't know in what way, but...
(strikes Billy's target CN which he dangles in front of Ricky's nose, driving it in pieces, some of which hit Mike and Mark at the videocorder).

EAV: I see...I think that...

Ricky: (to Billy) How old is that?

Mike: It was me as well, Ricky.

EAV: (to Mark) Do you get hazard pay?

Ricky: pardon?...destruction!

EAV: Does that cover the...does that cover all that I've got on there?

Mark: Pardon?

EAV: Have we covered all the sections that I've marked?

Mark: Uh, I think so.

EAV: Yeah...do you want to see any more of this? Greg? Or...

797 Greg: (turns his head which has been resting on his hands braced on his knees and nods, yes)

EAV: You want to see any more of that...You do? Ok we'll run another few minutes.

Patty: Edie, where do you go to get a drink of water?

EAV: You know how you came in, don't you?

Patty: Yeh.

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

EAV: Well, there's this fountain right there. You remember that?

Mike and Ricky continue to play in their seats.

Patty: Yeh.

EAV: Do you have to get a drink?

Patty: Yes.

EAV: Alright, ok, ok, pay attention now and don't get lost.

Billy: Can I use the bathroom?

EAV: You know where to go? Will we ever see you again if you leave?

Billy: Yeh, I'll be back.

(Camera take on Bob and Greg sitting more or less quietly, watching the monitor)

EAV: (to control booth) Ok, that's good. That's it,

806 that's fine. It's just...they're getting bored. Ok.

In continuation of the "Self-reaction" section, the first twelve minutes of this tape was played back for the participants.

ooo Tape opens on youngsters calling countdown for the picture to start.

Mike teases Ricky during replay of Ricky's remarks in the first interview. Each youngster laughs and pokes another. 25/2-23

R	Description and Dialogue	PR

Billy watches himself in engrossed delight, grins, laughs at himself and is thoroughly fascinated.

There are many self-conscious grins and smirks.

The camera moves from the monitor to the faces of the particular child or children who have just appeared on the monitor.

Bobby and Greg watch their interview with interest. Bobby leans forward in concentration. Greg buries his head in his parka in acute embarrassment from the depths of which he views himself. He wraps the lace of his CN around his finger and bites the knot of the CN as he watches.

276 Fade.

CHAPTER 8

GAME SUMMARY OF VIDEOTAPE # 1 AND SUPPLEMENTARY PHOTO RECORD OF VIDEOTAPES #1, #2 AND #3

GAME SUMMARY OF VIDEOTAPE #1

Format Headings

R - Footage reading of revolution counter. Readings are given for the start and finish of a specific game.

G - Game. The specific games are listed chronologically and are numbered sequentially.

Time - The duration of a given game. Minutes are designated by an Apostrophe, seconds by Quotation Marks. Five minutes, three seconds = 5' 3".

Players - The first names of the two players of a specific game are listed, the starting player given first.

Winner and Remarks - The name of the winner appears at the beginning of the column and is followed by relevant comment. When the outcome of a game is unknown, nothing will be recorded in the column, or when no comment follows the name of the winner, the action has taken place off camera. In such cases, timing of game determined from audio portion of tape.

Description of Equipment

Shibaden TV Camera FP 100 #TVC 201 (Refer: 20/7-10)

Shibaden SV 700 Videorecorder (Refer: 20/3-5)

Two Shure Unidyne microphones, low impedence, unidirectional, dynamic (Refer: 20/6)

Memorex Videotape Chroma 80-8B ½" x 2400', 69S053TC0/A1^10B #S-68-71

Description of Location

E-23, a room used exclusively for speech and drama by the Faculty of Education, Memorial University of Newfoundland, is approximately forty five feet square, and is designed to be used by children, as well as university students, in various forms of creative dramatics, during which video equipment is frequently used.

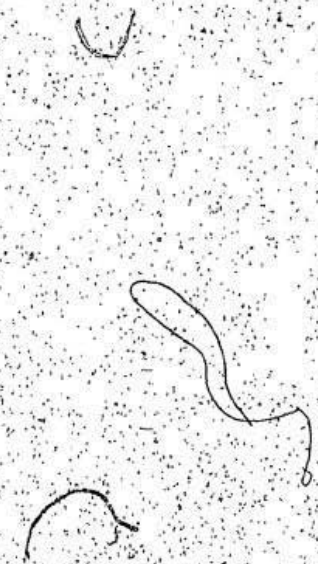
There are draped windows on the west wall and a blackboard each on the north and east walls. Accoustic tile dot the concrete block walls and the floor is carpeted. A puppet theatre is positioned in the southwest corner of the room and chairs line the east wall. There are two exits, one on each end of the east wall.

A table is located in the centre and a few feet from the north wall. A microphone and stand is located several feet in front and several feet to the left of the table.

The television camera on a movable stand, a microphone and standard, and the videocorder on a movable cart are located in the center of and approximately five feet from the south wall.

The window drapes are open allowing in the room the light of a bright sunny day. The room ceiling lights are on.

(Refer: 20/1-3. The photographs referred to are of E-23 in which the equipment setting has been simulated. The second microphone is missing.



VIDEOTAPE #1

Participants: Billy Erving (10), Patty Erving (11), Bobby Erving (12), Greg Williams (12), Roger Puddester (14), Ricky Heistinger (13), and Michael Moreton (12)
Location: Room E-23, Arts-Education Building, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland.
Date & Time: 17 October 1971, 3:00 - 5:00 p.m.
Length: Sixty minutes (Within the tape, there is a fifteen minute segment which is blank)

R	G	Players	Time	Winner and Remarks
002-005	1	Bobby & Greg	7"	Greg: knocks Bob's Chestnut off
009-022	2	Bobby & Roger	7"	Roger: Bob's Chestnut falls off as he strikes.
021-032	3	Ricky & Billy	1'57"	Ricky: knocks target nut off.
024-037	4	Roger & Greg	31"	Greg: knocks target nut off.
048-055	5	Patty & Mike	15"	Patty: Mike strikes, tangles, and loses his Chestnut
058-059	6	Roger & Greg	4"	Undetermined, both boys CNs intact
059-104	7	Ricky & Bob	1'45"	Bob: Ricky tangled, both CNs stamped.
075-078	8	Patty & Greg	10"	Greg: knocks Patty's Chestnut off string.
080-083	9	Roger & Greg	6"	Greg: knocks target nut off string on second blow
117-121	10	Roger & Greg	11"	Greg: knocks target nut off string on first blow
117-137	11	Billy & Mike	51"	Mike: knocks target nut off
124-131	12	Ricky & Greg	20"	Inconclusive: Ricky knocks target nut off as well as his own

R	G	Players	Time	Winner and Remarks
146-153	13	Mike & Roger	21"	Mike: knocks target nut off
150-175	14	Ricky & Patty	68"	Patty: knocks target nut off
155-184	15	Bobby & Roger	1'37"	Roger: knocks target nut off, stamps Chestnut
181-188	16	Ricky & Billy	22"	Billy: knocks target nut off
186-200	17	Mike & Greg	45½"	Greg: Mike cracks his Chestnut, striking Greg's
192-241	18	Billy & Roger	2'30"	Roger: knocks target nut off
227-230	19	Patty & Mike	13"	Patty: -
227-357	20	Ricky & Bobby	7'54"	Bobby: -
230-238	21	Greg & Mike	20"	- -
248-256	22	Mike & Greg	23"	- -
262-281	23	Billy & Roger	1'21"	- -
272-276	24	Mike & Greg	15"	- -
286-288	25	Greg & Roger	7"	- -
302-353	26	Mike & Roger	3'11"	Roger: knocks target nut off
314-319	27	Billy & Patty	18"	Patty: -
323-329	28	Greg & Patty	22"	- -
337-339	29	Billy & Greg	9"	- -
344-357	30	Patty & Greg	44"	- -
359-369	31	Ricky & Bobby	34"	Ricky: pulls off target nut after tangling; stamps on it
386-594		Break in tape		

R	G	Players	Time	Winner and Remarks
595-629	32	Billy & EAV	2'57"	Billy: knocks target out of EAV's hand; Bobby, who passes by, stamps it
607-619	33	Roger & Greg	1'11"	Roger: -
623-634	34	Mike & Ricky	1'	Mike: -
636-646	35	Billy & Bobby	1'	Bobby: -
637-647	36	Mike & Ricky	52"	Ricky: off camera last 5"
651-653	37	Billy & Greg	4"	Greg -
654-657	38	EAV & Patty	20"	Patty: cracks EAV's Chestnut
655-683	39	Greg & Bobby	2'32"	Undetermined
665-690	40	Mike & Roger	1'44"	-
675-687	41	Patty & EAV	1'8"	Undetermined - camera moves
690-691	42	Greg & Ricky	3"	Greg: -
695-711	43	Ricky & Bobby	1'9"	Bobby: -
703-707	44	Greg & Mike	18"	Greg: -
711-732	45	Harris & Billy	1'45"	Billy: Harris holds Billy's hand up in victory
716-722	46	Bobby & Greg	35"	Bobby: Greg knocks his own Chestnut off string
722-723	47	Bobby & Roger	7"	Roger: knocks target nut off on first blow
734-744	48	Mike & EAV	56"	Mike: -
735-737	49	Billy & Ricky	7"	Ricky: -
745-752	50	Bobby & Roger	35"	Roger: knocks target nut off
755-765	51	Greg & Ricky	52"	Ricky: tangles target nut and pulls it off

R	G	Players	Time	Winner and Remarks
771-775	52	EAV & Patty	28"	Patty: -
792-798	53	Mike & Ricky	38"	Mike: knocks target nut off
799-	54	Snook & Roger	42"	Undetermined - players move off camera at R805; time recorded for visible portion
805-815	55	Greg & Mike	35"	- -
833-838	56	EAV & Billy	30"	Billy: cracks target nut
842-844	57	Mike & Ricky	14"	Mike: tangles target nut from string and stamps
847-849	58	Harris & Patty	9"	Patty: -
860-864	59	Mike & Ricky	19"	Mike: -
866-870	60	Harris & Billy	21"	Harris: target nut shattered
884-894	61	Mike & Ricky	1'17"	- -
895-898	62	Billy & Greg	15"	- -

(David Snook and Rick Harris were the technicians present at the time of filming. The youngsters wanted to run the camera and the technicians were challenged to play.)

Certain children played more games than others and the number of games played by each individual, ranked in order, is given below:

Greg Williams	24	Bobby Erving	12
Michael Moreton	19	Patty Erving	11
Ricky Heistinger	17	E A Verrall	6
Roger Puddester	16	Rick Harris	3
Billy Erving	15	David Snook	1

Certain children played together with greater frequency than others. Not all the individuals were known to one another before the taping session while some are good friends. Certain individuals did not play together at all.

The pairs who played with one another, together with the number of games played are listed below; both children and adults are included.

The relationship of each pair is designated by a capital letter preceding the first name: F for friends, CF for close friends, S for strangers and R for relatives.

CF	Greg and Roger	6
S	Greg and Mike	6
CF	Mike and Ricky	6
CF	Bobby and Roger	4
S	Bobby and Ricky	4
CF	Bobby and Greg	3
F	Billy and Greg	3
S	Billy and Ricky	3
F	Patty and Greg	3
F	Patty and EAV	3
S	Greg and Ricky	3
S	Roger and Mike	3
F	Billy and Roger	2
F	Billy and EAV	2
S	Billy and R. Harris	2
S	Patty and Mike	2
R	Billy and Bobby	1
R	Billy and Patty	1
S	Billy and Mike	1
S	Patty and Ricky	1
S	Patty and R. Harris	1
S	Roger and D. Snook	1
S	Mike and EAV	1
R	Bobby and Patty	0
S	Bobby and Mike	0
F	Bobby and EAV	0
F	Patty and Roger	0
S	Roger and Ricky	0

Nine pairs of friends accounted for thirty two of the sixty one games played.

Relatives, two pairs, played a total of two games.

Eleven pairs of strangers played twenty eight games.













PLATE I













PLATE 2













PLATE 3













PLATE 4


1 2 3 4


5 6 7 8


9 10 11 12


13 14 15 16


17 18 19 20


21 22 23 24

PLATE 5













PLATE 6













PLATE 7













PLATE 8













PLATE 9













PLATE 10













PLATE II













PLATE 12













PLATE 13









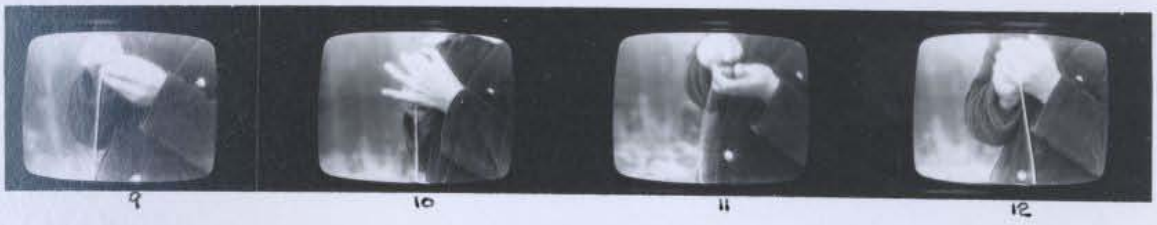




PLATE 14







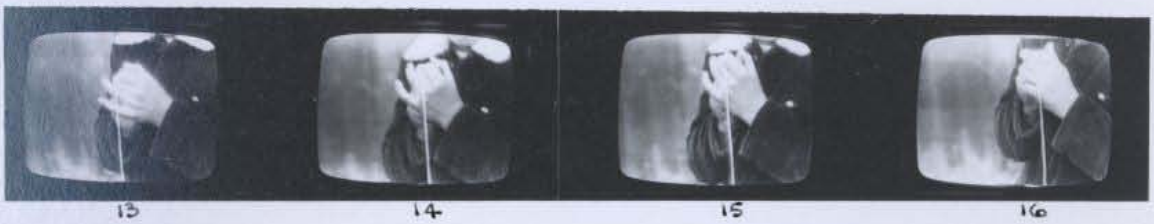






PLATE 15













PLATE 16













PLATE 17













PLATE 18









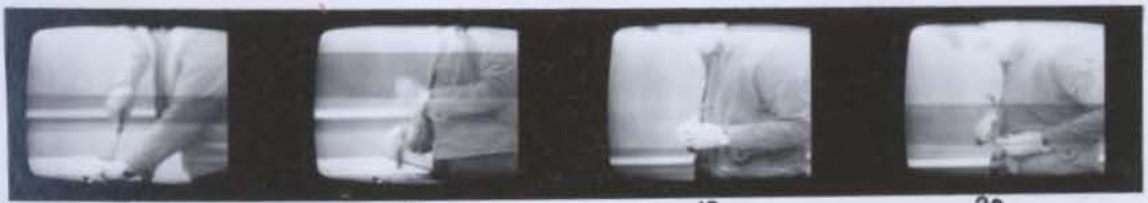
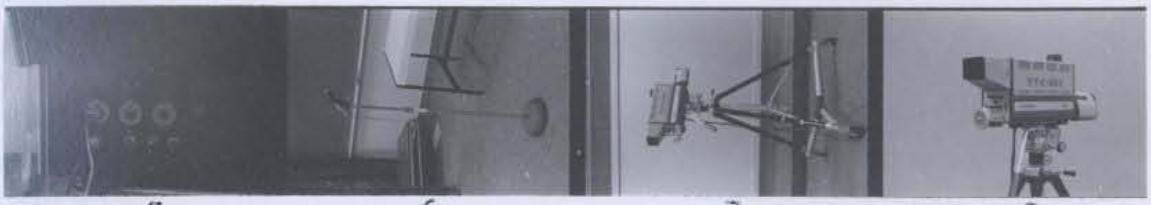




PLATE 19



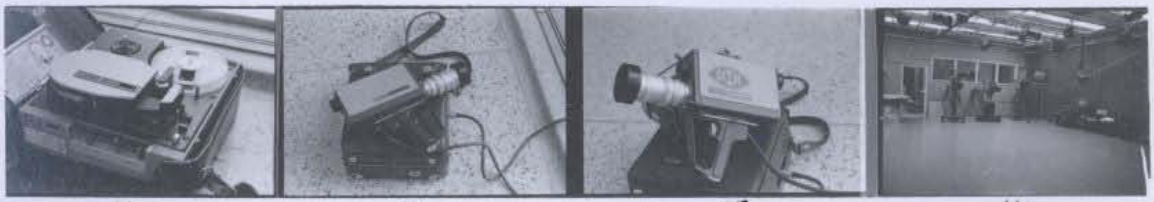
1 2 3 4



5 6 7 8



9 10 11 12



13 14 15 16



17 18 19 20



21 22 23 24

PLATE 20



1 2 3 4



5 6 7 8



9 10 11 12



13 14 15 16



17 18 19 20



21 22 23 24

PLATE 21

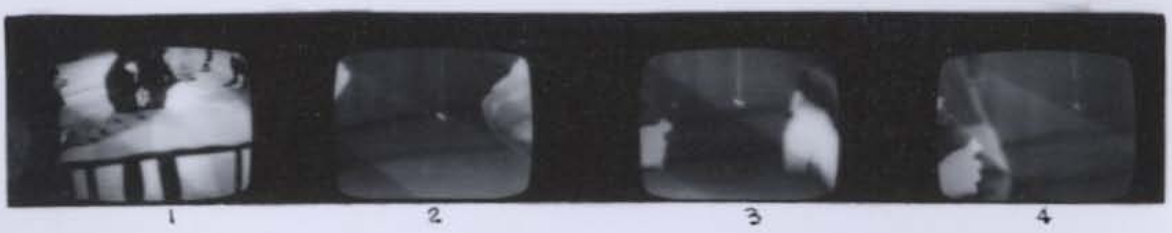












PLATE 22













PLATE 23



1 2 3 4



5 6 7 8



9 10 11 12



13 14 15 16



17 18 19 20



21 22 23 24

PLATE 24













PLATE 25

Plate	No	Detail
	20	Target struck; striking style and follow through posture
	21	Camera reaction (John Squires)
	22	Stilling the target
	23	Victory reaction (Gary Breen)
	24	Race for the chestnut
2	1-4	Stampins sequence
	5,6	Loser reaction (John Squires)
	7	Winner reaction (Gary Breen)
	8	CN examination (Gary Breen)
	9-11	CN preparation (group)
	12	Use of pavement to ream chestnut (Bobby Breen)
	13-15	Waiting for a player (Gary Breen)
	16-23	Difficulties in CN preparation
	24	Spectator interest in CN preparation
3	1-4	Camera reaction
	5,6	Spectator interest
	7	Striking style and follow through posture (Bobby Breen)
	8	Examining the CN for damage (Bobby Breen)
	9	Stilling the target (Bobby Breen)
	10	Victory reaction (Bobby Breen)
	11	Race for CN
	12-14	Search for CN
	15-21	Antics of a trickster (Gary Breen)
	22	Recovering the CN
	23-24	Horseplay

Plate	No	Detail
4	1-7	Stampins sequence
	8-14	CN preparation
	15	Diversion
	16	Threading the CN
	17-24	Game sequence
5	1	Kicking the CN
	2-6	Tricking sequence
	7-9	Reaction to trick
	10	Winner reaction
	11,12	Interest in cyclist
	13-15	CN preparation
	16-18	Spectator horseplay
	19-21	Conversation
	22-24	CN preparation
6	1-5	CN preparation
	6	Target position (John Squires)
	7-9	Race and shoving for CN
	10-12	Examination of fallen CN
	13-16	Loser stamps CN
		[Videotape #2 Group II: PR 6/17 - 10/17]
	17-24	Target position and striking sequence
		(Sequence of body, arm and hand positions in slow motion: game 1, turn 2, blows 1-5 PR 7/1 - 8/8)
7	1,2	Target being moved into position by Mike; Frank adjusting to striking position

Plate	No	Detail
	3	Frank aims for blow 1
	4	Frank drops hands in preliminary downstroke
	5-9	Frank examines CN; Mike inspects his CN as he adjusts and moves it into target position
	10-11	Frank aims as Mike moves target into final position
	12-14	Frank starts the upstroke of his blow, #12; reaches the peak at ear level, #13; starts downstroke, #14
	15	Blow 2, target 45° from vertical. Frank in follow through position
	16	Mike moves left hand into position to catch the swinging CN; Frank stands in relaxed striking position, watching
	17	Mike catches target nut in the left hand, stilling it
	18,19	Mike drops left arm to side and moves target into position as Frank adjusts to aiming phase of striking position
	20	Frank aims
	21	Frank in initial phase of upstroke stage of blow 3
	22	Frank in initial phase of downstroke of blow 3
	23	Frank in mid phase of down stroke of blow 3
	24	Blow 3 delivered, target 80° from vertical, swinging camera left
8	1	Target 80° from vertical, swinging camera right; Mike moves left arm to catch target
	2	Target 50° from vertical, swinging camera left; Mike's hand raised to catch target
	3	Mike stills target; Frank inspects his CN
	4	Blow 4, target 45° from vertical
	5	Close-up of target in position; Frank in relaxed striking position
	6	Close-up of Frank in aiming stage of blow 5

Plate	No	Detail
	7,8	Close-up of Mike stilling target after blow 6 and adjusting to striking position
		(Game 1 Turn 3, 2 blows - PR 8/9 - 22)
	9	Frank stills target; Mike changes to striking position
	10	Mike aims
	11	Upstroke of blow 1
	12	Downstroke of blow 1, slight shift of string
	13	Frank maintains target position
	14	Mike moves into striking position for blow 2
	15,16	Mike aims
	17	Upstroke of blow 2
	18-22	Changing turns
		(Game 1 Turn 4, 3 blows - PR 8/23 - 9/5)
	23	Aim for blow 2
	24	Upstroke of blow 2
9	1	Peak of upstroke
	2-5	Inspecting CNs after blow 2
		(Game 1 Turn 7, 14 blows - PR 9/6 - 18)
	6-9	Following blow 12
	10-12	Following blow 14
		(Game 1 Turn 9, 7 blows - PR 9/13 - 16)
	13,14	Arm elevation shift preceding blow 5
	15	Aim for blow 7
	16	Frank's follow through on blow 7
	17	Game 1, Turn 11; change in target position following blow 5

Plate	No	Detail
	18	Game 6, Turn 14; Mike's careful aim
	19-21	Looking for chestnuts
	22	Calling for play to begin
	23,24	Repairing shoe lace
10	1	Repairing shoe lace
	2-9	Trying to hit a moving target
	10	Retrieving the fallen chestnut
	11	Winner and loser reaction
	12	Victory gesture
	13	Loser examines chestnut
	14-16	Baseball interlude
	17	Francis Gillespie displays CN
		[Videotape #2 Group III: PR 10/18 - 16/21]
	18-24	Reaming CNs
11	1	Working on CNs
	2	Target position (Dougie Puddester)
	3-8	Striking sequence
	9-14	Changing turns
	15	Target position (Leonard Redman)
	16	Aiming
	17,18	Upstroke
	19,20	Downstroke
	21,22	Chestnut falls off string
	23,24	Restoring chestnut to string

Plate	No	Detail
12	1,2	Pushing opponent into position
	3-8	Successful striking sequence
	9	Tangled strings
	10	Stilling the CN
	11,12	Shifting striking stance
	13	Examining CN for damage
	14,15	Displaying the broken chestnut
	16-24	Randy provides a new chestnut
13	1-8	Preparing CNs for a new game
	9	Examining the new CN
	10-24	Pre-game preparation and activity
14	1	Winding the string into striking position
	2-7	Cheating - hit falsely claimed
	8,9	Changing turns
	10-12	Striking sequence
	13	Pushing opponent into position
	14	Changing turns
	15	Aim
	16	Initial downstroke
	17	Peak of upstroke
	18	Interruption of play
	19-24	Cheating - hit falsely claimed
15	1,2	Winner reaction
	3-7	Preparing new CNs
	8-17	Close-up of reaming a chestnut (in slow motion)

Plate	No	Detail
	18	Striking stance (Dougie Puddester)
	19-24	Tangles
16	1,2	Changing turns
	3-6	Striking sequence; target missed
	7,8	Changing turns
	9	Peak of upstroke (Leonard Redman); target position (Dougie Puddester)
	10-12	Aim and hit
	13,14	Aiming position (Leonard Redman)
	15	Winner's gesture
	16-18	CN preparation
	19-21	Shifting striking stance
	22	Physical set-up for making still photographs from videotape monitor
		[Videotape #1: PR 17/1 - 19/24]
17	1	Game between Billy Erving and Roger Puddester
	2-7	Game between Ricky Heistinger and Bobby Erving
	8,9	Game between Rober Puddester and Bobby Erving
	10,11	The winner, Roger Puddester plays Greg Williams
	12	Bobby Erving holds target for Roger Puddester
	13	Michael Moreton and Greg Williams
	14,15	Around the table preparing CNs
	16	Roger Puddester in target position
	17	Bobby Erving aims at target held by Roger Puddester
	18	Examining the CNs after a hit
	19,20	Game between Bobby Erving and Roger Puddester

Plate	No	Detail
	21	Videotape "breaking up"
	22	Ricky Heistinger holds target for Bobby Erving
	23	Ricky Heistinger aims
	24	Tangling
18	1	Preparing CNs
	2	Ricky Heistinger holds target for Greg Williams
	3	Roger Puddester aims while Greg Williams holds the target
	4	Preparing CNs
	5,6	Game between Patty Erving and Michael Moreton
	7	Target held on short string
	8	Target held on long string
	9	Shooting up at the target
	10	Roger holds target for Greg
	11,12	Delivering a hit
	13	Race for the fallen chestnut
	14,15	Game between Bobby Erving and Roger Puddester
	16	Ricky aims
	17	Bobby Erving holds target for Ricky Heistinger
	18	Striking from kneeling position
	19,20	Consultation
	21-23	Displaying CNs
	24	Preparing CNs
19	1-3	Showing off
	4-6	Game between Greg and Ricky
	7	Reaction of a player who has been hit

Plate	No	Detail
	8-11	Reaming the chestnut
	12	Displaying a CN
	13	Michael Moreton examines his CN
	14,15	Michael displays his CN
	16-20	Ricky reams a chestnut
	21	Consultation
	22	Holding the chestnut
	23	Camera reaction
	24	Video raster bar
		[Videotape #1: Recording Location and Equipment Placement in Room E-23, PR 20/1 - 10]
20	1	View of location taken from northeast corner
	2	View of location from north wall
	3	View of location from south wall
	4	Shibaden SV-800UL videotape recorder console
	5	Back of console
	6	Shure Unidyne microphone placement
	7-10	Shibaden TV Camera FP 100 #TVC 201
	11-15	[Videotape #2: Views of Sony portapack: AV-3400 recorder and AVC-3400 camera]
		[Videotape #3: Recording Location and Equipment Placement in Studio A, ETVC, PR 20/11 - 21/2]
	16	View from southeast corner
	17	View from west wall
	18,19	Control booth
	20	Master Recording Control Room

Plate	No	Detail
	21-23	Designated playing areas
	24	Three Houston Fearless EMI 4½" Image Orthicon video cameras
21	1,2	Waiting to play
		[Videotape #3, Part I: PR 21/3 - 23/16]
	3	Introductory caption
	4-24	Playing and interviews
22	1	Reaming the chestnut
	2-4	Aiming sequence
	5-10	Playing and interviews
	11	Length of target string held by Billy Erving
	12	A missed shot
	13	Stilling the target
	14-16	Interview
	17	Preparing chestnuts
	18	Reacting to a wrenched hand
	19	Billy Erving holding target
	20-23	Aiming and striking sequence (Billy Erving)
	24	Bobby Erving and bubble gum
23	1	Michael Moreton
	2,3	Game between Bobby Erving and Ricky Heistinger
	4-6	Testing for reaction to cheating
	7	Bobby Erving showing off for camera
	8,9	Game between Billy and Patty Erving
	10-13	Bursting a bubble
	14	Preparing CNs

Plate	No	Detail
	15,16	Game between Patty Erving and Ricky Heistinger
		[Videotape #3, Part 2: PR 23/17 - 24/1]
	17-24	Watching an unknown group of players on videoscreen
24	1	Watching an unknown group of players on videoscreen
		[Videotape #3, Part 3, Self-Reaction: PR 24/2 - 25/23]
	2	Caption
	3	Scuffle for chestnut before "show" begins
	4	Patty and Billy Erving watch rear monitor
	5	Michael and Ricky have a game during the showing of VT#1
	6	Billy Erving explains
	7-11	Greg and Bobby react to themselves in a game on VT#1
	12	Michael Moreton reacts to himself
	13	Patty explains
	14	Greg laughs at Bobby
	15,16	Patty mimics Greg
	17	Billy watches the rear monitor
	18	Ricky demonstrates striking position
	19,20	Michael demonstrates a striking method
	21-24	Ricky demonstrates his new aiming technique
25	1	Boys play Chestnuts during showing of VT#1
	2	Ricky interested in his interview from the first part of VT#3
	3	Michael teases Ricky about interview
	4	Billy watches himself in VT#3
	5	Michael and Ricky find their interview funny

Plate No	Detail
6	Patty and Billy are amused at themselves.
7-9	Billy is fascinated by what he sees of himself
10-23	Greg reacts with embarrassed fascination

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

Videotape recording proved to be an effective method for collecting folklore material which can be presented in a form acceptable for publication and analysis. There is no question about the usefulness and importance of this equipment in any research which requires a record of movement or of more than one dimension of experience. The VTR was found to be a versatile recording device with much potential for use in folklore research and which the non-professional can learn to handle effectively. Children's games, especially those of fixed and limited locale, invite recording by this method.

The extent to which the recording equipment influences the event itself is never easy to determine. It is visible and one might wonder if the children might be overawed or alternatively whether they might be inclined to perform for the camera. Observation of the children of this study suggests that their behaviour was more influenced in structured circumstances than in unstructured. In both, however, the degree of influence of the equipment varied with individual children. Television is an integral part of the life of today's child, and the adaptability of children is known; therefore one can say that children are good subjects for videotaping because, as a group, they are less influenced by the equipment being used. For most of the children in this study, the recording equipment quickly became part of the play situation and in certain instances served as a passport to confidence and cooperation.

There are technical problems involved in the use of VTR equipment, but in this area I feel the most important consideration is that the researcher have either technical aptitude and a natural mechanical bent or else an assistant available who does. As a random

example; the individual with a feel for equipment is more apt to clean the heads of a videocorder, after they have completely stopped, gently and with great care because they damage easily and damaged equipment stops or impedes research. Of equal importance is that the researcher have a basic and up to date knowledge of the technology--the capability of available equipment--which is more than theoretical. It is not my intent to rule out the use of VTR equipment for the person who has no knowledge or experience with it. Both knowledge and experience are easily gained since audio-visual education has become a way of life. It is stating the obvious to say that the more knowledge and experience with equipment which one possesses, the more efficiently and effectively he can use that equipment. However, it goes beyond that. By knowing what types of VTR equipment exist and the features which are available, one can tailor the research more effectively and efficiently. For example, had I been aware of the existence of a special effects generator in the ETVC studios, I would have altered the way in which the studio production was done in order to capitalize on the special effects generator which could provide a split screen image of the event in overview and in several aspects of the same event in detail. Television viewers are familiar with the technique which is used frequently with sports events, particularly golf tournaments. It is sufficient to say that special equipment is for special situations. For the researcher whose general requirement is for equipment which can be operated simply and single-handedly with the least amount of trouble, the portapack is the standard equipment being used.

The major problem of using VTR equipment is the method of reduction or abstraction of the information from the tapes and that is determined by the type of research. Whatever method of abstraction is used, the videotapes constitute the basic document of information. However, a narrative of some sort is required for the first level of information reduction and a necessary supplement is the still photograph. One of my goals was to learn as much as I could about the game of Chestnuts in order to describe it as fully as possible. The language I chose was that of a detailed narrative. I dismissed the idea of a special language in favor of a clear, graphic and as standard English as possible in order to make the description available to as many disciplines as might have interest in such research. That process proved lengthy. At the time I started the work, it was new and the method experimental. But technology advances quickly and what was innovative when I began, has now become commonplace. Those same advances prove my point about keeping up to date with the technology. There are now available video time lapse tape recorders which for my particular work would have been invaluable had they been available. The viewing of the tapes both for narrative description and photography would have been so much easier and taken much less time with far better results had this equipment, specially designed to "stretch", "compress", "speed", "slow" or "stop" time, been available. The manufacturer's specifications for two of these machines, the Apollo laser X-400 VTR and XL-5000 are included in Appendix II.

This thesis presents a description of some pioneering work, together with detailed descriptions from which analysis can be made. I have not attempted to analyze the material for spatial or kinetic relationship. I have not looked at the full scale dramatic scenario nor have I considered the material in terms of the myriad game theories. I have made some summary observations about the game which I studied, that is, the way in which certain children in St. John's play that game. That summary follows and concludes this work.

The game of Chestnuts is in its simplest form, a single game and, in its most elaborate form, a game-complex. Functional attributes of the game are easily missed or confused until it is recognized that the level of game complexity changes and that a given child may play Chestnuts at different levels, either as elaborately or as simply as circumstances and his nature warrant.

In simple form, the game is that of a contest between two combatants, the object of which is to break the opponent's weapon-status symbol with one's own or, as an option, with one's foot. The roles of the combatants alternate between attacker and attacked. As a preliminary to the contest, a weapon is made quickly, perfunctorily, and with little show or fuss. As the level of play becomes increasingly complex, the elements of the single game develop either into elaborate rituals and procedures or into related but self-contained games. In its most elaborate form, the game-complex, the contest remains the central element of the game, essentially unchanged, but is preceded by a game which I have designated "hunt and hazard" which is linked by a ritual

preparation for combat that cannot take place until the completion of "hunt and hazard." The contest may or may not incorporate a game of "race and chase; destroy or save".

One or more players may join in "hunt and hazard". The object is two-fold: to hunt or raid the best chestnuts, almost invariably from forbidden territory, and then to escape with the chestnuts by avoiding, outwitting, or outrunning the adversary, the owner or custodian of the property. A safety factor may be introduced to lessen the hazard, raiding in the dark, or raiding the property of an elderly person or the property of an owner known to be absent. Ingenuity, physical agility in tree climbing and running, and hand-eye coordination in striking the chestnuts from the trees are functions of "hunt and hazard."

The number of participants in the distribution stage of the ritual preparation may vary, but if there are two or more, transactions or encounters occur which are best described as a game of "negotiation". The object of "negotiation" is to acquire preferred chestnuts from a common pool, preferably by mutual agreement, but often by "sweet reason", cajolery, bluff, threat, anger, sometimes theft or force. The interactions of "negotiation" are those of the social world in microcosm. "Negotiation" provides the opportunity to develop verbal skills and mental acumen in the assessment of situation and personality. When all else fails in a force situation, physical agility or superiority is a decided asset.

The preparation of the nut involves the use of tools; some kind of probing or reaming device. Depending on ingenuity and manipulative

skills the reaming and threading of the nut can be a skillfully and quickly executed act or an agonizing ordeal. The youngster who conditions the chestnut follows a set pattern which he has developed and which is his characteristic ritual. The ritual is based in part on judgement which in turn is based on the experience which the child has had with champion nuts. In addition, judgement developed from experience determines the type of chestnut selected for preparation.

"Stampins," in simple form, is an optional procedure for action in the contest. However, it can develop into a game of its own which has similarities to football. The distinction between the contest roles of active "attacker" and passive "attacked" changes in "stampins". Although in "stampins" the roles are offensive and defensive, both are active roles which change spontaneously and which involve body contact. The object of the game is to race and chase in order to save or destroy the chestnut by whatever means possible. "Race and chase; destroy or save" is a game for which there are no restrictive rules nor confinement to place as required in the central contest to which "race and chase; destroy or save" is ancillary. "Stampins" provides respite from the central contest and it serves to release inhibitions and aggression, satisfying as it does the destructive impulse. "Stampins" sanctions taboo behavior more directly than the central contest.

In Sutton-Smith's game typology, Conkers is designated as a hitting game of skill (K-8);[1] Leslie Daiken characterizes it as a game

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[1] Sutton-Smith, p. 152.

of skill of "the Conquest group";[2] and the Opies classify it under "Duelling: Duels by Proxy."[3] To the observer, Chestnuts is a game of skill and one analagous to fencing or boxing, with certain similarities to shooting. The youngster sights, aims and shoots; this is the terminology used and it is the terminology of shooting. And he shoots at a target, although he does not use the term. The closeness of the target switches the analogy from shooting to boxing or fencing where the fencer practices alone with a dummy. A child need not be highly skilled to play the game, yet there are very skilled players and, as might be expected, they are frequently more successful in winning games than are the less skilled. To watch serious players in contest is to see graceful and lightningly dextrous use of the hands. As a target game Chestnuts sharpens motor skills; manipulative dexterity, hand-eye coordination and a sense of timing are functional derivatives.

Chestnuts is a game in which strategy is employed in varying degrees, consciously and unconsciously. On the one hand, strategies may be employed in imitation of the actions of other players without any clear understanding of cause and effect or without conscious planning. On the other hand, a player may actively assess an opponent's vulnerabilities and personality in order to formulate strategies by

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[2] Daiken, p. 167.

[3] Opie, Children's Games, p. 228.

which he may seize game advantage. Some players continually assess and evaluate game play, adjusting strategies accordingly. Deliberately or unwittingly, a youngster will maneuver his opponent into a position which tires him or throws him off balance or causes him to break his concentration. "Kibitzing" may or may not be deliberately used for the same purposes. A player may consciously or unconsciously rely on strategies to offset limitations in skill, he may regard strategies as a concomitant of skill, or as an addition to skill which will increase his game playing capability.

Cheating is the corollary of strategy. The clever strategy of one player is inferred as cheating by another. There is more variation in game play and less complaint of cheating among skilled players who employ strategic moves. Certainly there are cries of "not fair," but generally they are nothing more than a bluffing strategy. Many children create their own rules as they go along which is acceptable behavior for some groups but not for others. Rules and ethics of the game vary from rigid, restrictive play to extremely liberal and improvised play. The play reflects the social and emotional background and nature of the child.

Chance has an interesting role in the game and its identity lies in the way that players regard their chestnuts. That the chestnut wins or loses the game is the overt claim, either because it is better or because it is not as good as the nut it opposes. And it is the winning chestnut that acquires status. Gary Breen, when he wins with his chestnut, raises it aloft with a cry, "My hero," and youngsters speak of

their champion chestnuts with pride. The child owns the chestnut and prizes the champion in the same way a pet dog is owned and prized. Although the status of the chestnut is associated with the player (it reverts to age "0" if traded), the status is reflected to the owner rather than projected to the chestnut. The player enjoys status as the owner of a champion nut in the same way as the owner of a champion dog or horse. The chestnut is a possession which has an identity of its own separate from that of the child. That identity is an unknown factor. The child knows that the chestnut will win only if it is the harder nut, a quality which can be enhanced by conditioning and tested in contest but which is ultimately beyond the control of the owner; a matter of chance. That the chestnut is regarded as a separate entity and not a projection of self is confirmed by several adult informants, one of whom provided the analogy to the pet dog and recalled that although he considered skill important, the chestnut had for him a certain "magic". When the child assigns responsibility for victory or defeat to the chestnut, he makes the claim that it is a game of chance which he plays. Therefore, chance is a major dimension of the game.

Most children disclaim skill or special strategies. They acknowledge good players and "best" players, but may ascribe the success of such players to luck or to a skill independent of the actual contest; the skill for finding the hard nuts, "the good nuts." Despite disclaimers to the contrary, the children of VT##1 and 3 tacitly acknowledge the game as one of skill when, as they watch other players who are unknown to them, they specify what they think those players are

doing wrong. Their attitude in acknowledging these skills may be regarded as a form of covert behaviour.

In the game the chestnut itself has a dual nature. When Chestnuts operates as a game of skill, the nut functions as a projection of power; as a game of chance, the nut is the projection of chance. The real opponent against whom the child pits his skill is chance and at the same time chance is also his teammate. The element of chance ameliorates the competitive quality of the game, by proscribing humiliation and the trauma associated with failure. The overt role claimed for the chestnut functions as a safety valve--a face-saving device. Not only does a child learn how to avoid conflict and how to handle failure, he also learns how to avoid responsibility.

Chestnuts is a game-complex, the intrinsic character of which is multi-dimensional. The measures of the game are skill, strategy and chance, and are player-determined. One player approaches the contest as one of chance which may require some skill. For another, it is primarily a game of skill in which there is some dimension of strategy and chance. A third player may regard the contest as one of skill and strategy in equal measure or strategy as an adjunct of skill, with chance playing a small or negligible role. The possible combinations of chance, skill and strategy, and the degree of each, are infinite, and together with the covert nature of elements in the varying game approaches, tend to obscure the exact function of the game. A better understanding of the significance of body and space use by players would provide a better understanding of the game function for individual children. However,

that calls for close kinesic and proxemic analysis which although feasible with the use of videotapes, lies outside the scope of this research. Also feasible and promising but not a part of this work is analysis of player interaction. What does emerge is the fact that the game functions differently for different children. The way in which the game functions for each child is dependent on both the personality and the social background of the individual child.

APPENDIX I

This appendix provides background information about the children who participated in the videotape recordings as well as about the adults who provided information relative to the game being studied. The amount of biographical detail and ethnographic description of specific children represents how well I knew a youngster and had opportunity to observe him or her. I knew three, the Erving children, quite well before the study began and became better acquainted with two of their friends. The ethnographic description of each of the Ervings and the two friends, Greg and Roger, reflects the interaction between members of the Erving family and the friends as I interpreted it and is therefore to some degree subjective. I also became better acquainted with Ricky Heistinger and Michael Moreton during the course of two videotape recordings. The boys, together with the three Ervings and Greg Williams, participated in both VT#1 and VT#3. Michael also participated in VT#2 Gp II. Seven of the children were completely unknown to me, They are the children, excluding Michael, recorded in VT#2 whom I set out specifically to find and to record as any group of children playing Chestnuts outdoors.

The participating children come from four areas of the city of St. John's, Newfoundland: the Northeast, East, Central and West. Included in this appendix is a map showing the approximate location of streets mentioned in the study, schools attended by the participants, the three locales where VT#2 was made and significant landmarks.

The following six children participated in VT#1 and VT#3:

Billy Erving, 10 years old, 21 Montgomery Street,
Grade 5, Vanier Elementary School
Patty Erving, 11 years old, 21 Montgomery Street,
Grade 6, Vanier Elementary School
Bobby Erving, 12 years old, 21 Montgomery Street,
Grade 7, Vanier Elementary School
Greg Williams, 12 years old, 15 Dunfield Street,
Grade 7, Vanier Elementary School
Ricky Heistinger, 13 years old, 286 Waterford Bridge Road,
Grade 8, St. Bonaventure's College
Michael Moreton, 12 years old, 302 Waterford Bridge Road,
Grade 7, I.J. Sampson Memorial School.

The following participated in VT#1:

Roger Puddester, 14 years old, 56 Ennis Avenue,
Grade 7, Vanier Elementary School.

Mrs. Pat Erving and I are friends and it was in her home that I first saw the game of Chestnuts being played by the Erving youngsters and their friends. The Ervings are U.S. Nationals who at the time of this study had lived in Newfoundland for six years, having moved frist to Corner Brook from the New England region of the United States and then to St. John's where Mrs. Erving teaches Business Education in the Vocational Education system.

Billy, the youngest of the Erving children is regarded by the others as "kooky", that is, odd, eccentric and weird. It is true that he lives in his own special world and goes his own way; he is a dreamer. He is artistic, creative and quite independent. He hoards--particularly paper of all sizes and colors. Family members must go on bended knee to Billy if they need paper to write a note, letter or assignment and I have observed the occasion to be one of great rage and frustration for the suppliant who is sent away so the secret hiding place may not be

compromised. During the VT#1 taping session, he would disappear behind the puppet stand in the corner of E-23 and reappear shortly: it was behind the puppet theatre that Billy had squirreled away his secret hoard of chestnuts. He is quite dramatic and sees most things in very dramatic terms. He will exaggerate shamelessly to make a point. In considering the danger of playing chestnuts, a story about bruised knuckles reached the state of a broken wrist by about the sixth telling. Yet he is quite alert to the real world and knows what is going on. It is never a good idea to discount what Billy says, because often he is right. He likes school, but does not do too well.

Patty Erving is the most responsible and mature of the three, taking things very seriously but she is also very exuberant and rowdy. She would be described in Newfoundland parlance as "house devil, street angel." When outside the boundaries of home and friends, her spontaneous, gay, exhaustingly active behavior becomes quite circumspect and thoughtful. While a boisterous and very athletic little girl, she is nonetheless alert and sensitive to other people and situations. For her, the taping sessions were very important because they were part of a school assignment important to me. Several times during the videotaping of VT#1, she was clearly annoyed with her two brothers, Roger and Greg, when they behaved in a manner which she felt was spoiling the point of the videotaping. She came to me several times, concerned that my work would be ruined if Roger and Bobby did not behave. Had I not assured her that all was well, she would have taken on both Bobby and Roger, singly or together, with disastrous consequences for both of them.

From time to time she inquires about the outcome of the project. Billy also saw the project as important but his concern was less direct. He went his own way by writing a short dissertation on how to make and play chestnuts just in case the tape recording was not all that it should be. The night preceding the taping of VT#1, he spent some time preparing his chestnuts in readiness for the next day. This involved soaking them in vinegar and baking them in the oven. The oven was too high, the chestnuts shrunk and were not good for play. His distress was evident in the taping session, his plans had gone awry and he did not have proper chestnuts with which to play the game. One point which should be noted as a possible influence on Billy's attitude and also on the play generally, is that there were seven players, an unequal number. Billy, as the youngest, was frequently the odd man out. In the initial stages of the videotape, Patty does not appear to the same extent as she would had she not been under the scrutiny of the camera. She is very outgoing and aggressive and under normal circumstances would have been in the thick of the action, taking on all comers regardless of size or sex. Her inhibition is not due so much to sensitivity to the camera as to a preconceived notion as to proper behavior under formal circumstances of some importance to someone else for whom she has respect.

Bobby is regarded as the great martyr of the family and his behavior is interesting within the context of establishing an identity and a role. I should say that Bobby and Patty have reversed roles until recently and Bobby is trying to find and maintain his own position

in the family and within the context of friends. Patty is the one of the three younger children who fights their battles rather than Bobby. There is an older girl Betsy, 14, who is second in command to her mother. Patty is a better athlete than Bobby. Bobby is very moody, often feels that he is put upon and taken advantage of, consequently he complains mightily, loudly and frequently. He is a boy of considerable intellect, but this is not apparent until one gets to know him. As an example, for a school assignment in current events for Grade 7, he prepared a research paper on the FLQ of a quality which caused his teacher to call his mother and tell her that it was advanced beyond anything he had seen. While Bobby was busy playing chestnuts and while the taping of VT#1 was going on, I was totally unaware of the fact that he was in conversation with David Snook, 25, the senior technician from CAVE, but when we got back to Montgomery Street, he was full of information about the provincial election, the various viewpoints, which it seems he had discussed at length with David. The game of Chestnuts for Bobby is more a conformity. He likes to play but when asked to rank the game, hockey and a dozen other games come well before it. He plays only as a last resort or because his friend Greg plays.

Greg Williams, sometimes called "Willy" or "Wills", is one of the two native Newfoundlanders in the group of seven participating in VT#1. His father is an electrician and Greg, at twelve is an outstanding hockey player. He was a member of the bantam team scheduled for the national play-offs in Toronto in 1972. He is, as well, a good all-round athlete. Greg happens to rank Chestnut playing fairly

high on his game list--hockey, of course, being slightly more important, but only slightly. Greg, I have observed, in most of his dealings with Bobby and the other Erving children is fairly mature. He is quiet, retiring and modest. He will protest when there is some circumstance where Bobby or another youngster tries to take advantage of him but he will give way not through fear or intimidation but rather because of a maturity stemming from self-confidence.

I know little of Roger Puddester's background beyond the fact that his mother is a nurse. He is the other native-born Newfoundlander of the group. Roger, no doubt, has some problems. He is fourteen years of age and a classmate in grade seven with both Greg and Bobby who are twelve. While all the children when given free rein can play Chestnuts in a very rough way, it is Roger who contributes and provokes some of the rougher play, not all of it on camera. He seems more sophisticated in some of his playing attitudes.

Ricky Heistinger and Michael Moreton are friends and neighbors but attend different schools in the city. Both are extremely intelligent boys, helpful, good natured and somewhat formal in their behavior.

Michael was born in Britain and emigrated with his parents about three or four years prior to this study, first to Halifax and then to St. John's. Michael's father is a psychiatrist practicing in one of the local city hospitals.

Ricky's mother is a native Newfoundlander, but his father was born and educated in Germany. He is a professional engineer. When I called Mrs. Heistinger to make arrangements about the videotaping sessions, she said she was interested in the project because the game is

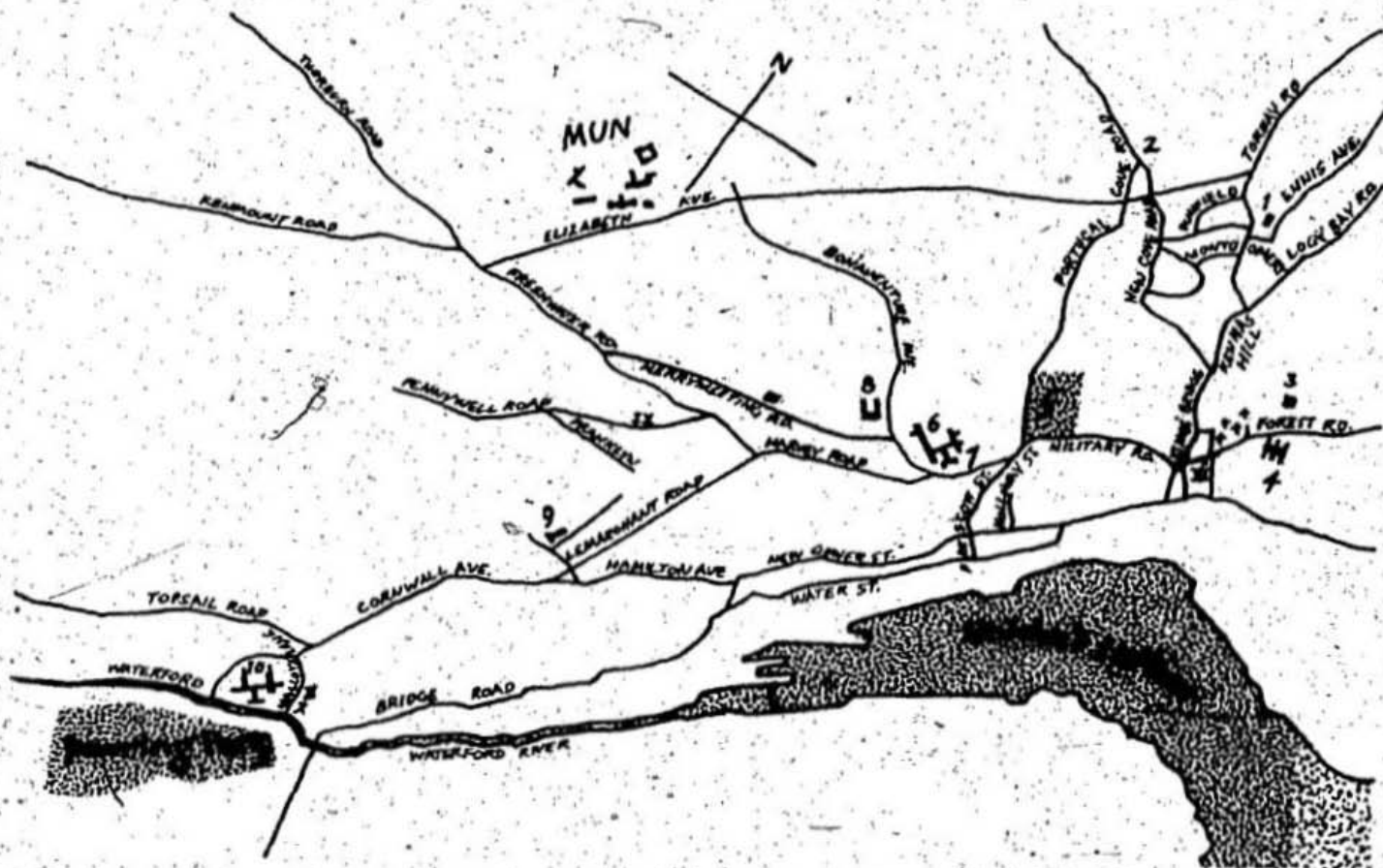
played as a family game with Mr. Heistinger, the teacher and family champion.

The following children participated in VT#2:

John Squires, 11 years old, 55 Pennywell Road,
Grade 6, St. Bonaventure's College
Gary Breen, 12 years old, 48 Franklyn Avenue,
Grade 7, St. Patrick's School
Bobby Breen, 10 years old, 48 Franklyn Avenue,
Grade 5, St. Patrick's School
Francis Gillespie, 10 years old, 292 Waterford Bridge Road,
Grade 6, St. Bonaventure's College
Michael Moreton
Douglas Puddester, 11 years old, 22 Holloway Street,
Grade 5, St. Patrick's School
Randy Dunne, 10 years old, 27 Holloway Street,
Grade 4, St. Patrick's School
Leonard Redman, 10 years old, 20 Holloway Street,
Grade 5, St. Patrick's School

From the inception of my preoccupation with the game of Chestnuts, I have casually but not tediously, I hope, introduced the topic into every meeting and conversation with friends and acquaintances. Those who provided information are referred to in Chapter 3 according to age groups. The background of Groups A and C have been indicated in that reference, however that of Group B has not. Group B numbers about forty people in the 30-40 age group, all of whom are natives of St. John's.

CITY OF ST. JOHN'S NEWFOUNDLAND



NORTHEAST

1 VANIER ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
2 "BAIRDS"

EAST

3 HM PENITENTIARY
4 ST. JOHN'S GENERAL HOSP.
XIII LOCALE VT ½ Cp II
5 BANNERMAN PARK

CENTRAL

6 ST. BONAVENTURE'S COL.
7 R.C. BASILICA
8 ST. PATRICKS SCHOOL
XI LOCALE VT ½ Cp I

WEST

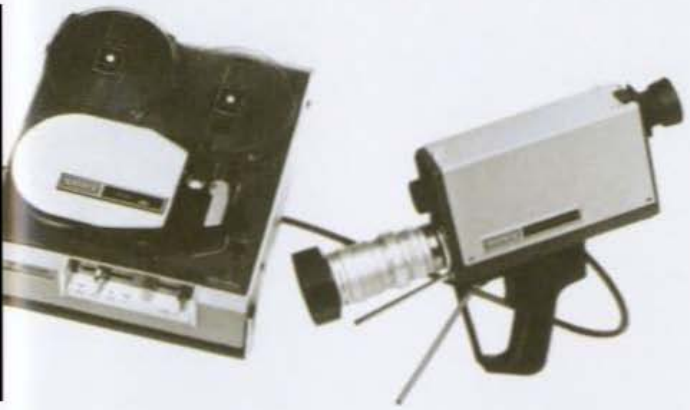
9 I. J. SAMPSON MEMORIAL SCHOOL
10 WATERFORD HOSP.
XII LOCALE VT ½ Cp II

APPENDIX II

MANUFACTURERS' SPECIFICATIONS

SONY®
VIDEOROVER II

MODEL AV-3400/AVC-3400





The VideoRover II is a completely portable, battery-operated ½-inch VTR system that can be carried and operated by one person. It consists of a hand-held video camera (with zoom lens and built-in electret condenser microphone) connected to a shoulder- or back-carried Videocorder® video tape recorder. The latter is used both to record picture and sound and to play them back—on a monitor or, with the optional RF modulator, on a regular TV set.

The Videocorder can likewise be used to record TV programs off the air. The camera has a zoom lens and an electronic viewfinder that shows the operator his picture exactly as it will appear on the TV screen. This viewfinder, moreover, can be used for playback to check the tape as soon as it has been recorded. An AC power adaptor, which also serves to charge the battery, makes it possible to run the VideoRover II on house current. Special features include stop action, audio that can be added after recording of video, and a recording and playback time better than 30 minutes on one reel of tape. Horizontal resolution is more than 300 lines. Tapes are interchangeable with those of any AV Series VTR.

FEATURES

- Compact, lightweight record/playback system that can be operated in any position and carried on operator's shoulder or back
- Stable, clear picture with more than 300-horizontal-line resolution
- Automatic Gain Control for video and audio
- RF modulator (optional) enables AVC-3400 to play back on regular TV sets
- More than ½ hour continuous recording and playback time on one reel of tape
- Stop action
- Immediate playback with picture seen through camera viewfinder
- Camera has self-contained stand for easy viewing during playback
- Audio dubbing
- 100% tape interchangeability with all Sony AV Series VTR
- Complete trigger control from camera for recording
- Single cable connection from camera to VTR
- Automatic end-of-tape shutoff
- Can be run on internal battery, AC current, or (with optional cord) on car battery
- Internal rechargeable battery provides 45 minutes of continuous operation
- Can record TV programs with optional monitor connecting cable
- AC adapter/battery charger is standard accessory

VIDEO CAMERA MODEL AVC-3400 SPECIFICATIONS

Vidicon Tube	⅔" separate mesh vidicon
Transistors	40
Diodes	21
Scanning System	2:1 interlace
Sync System	Horizontal and vertical synchronizing signals supplied by the AV-3400 Videocorder
Horizontal Resolution	More than 400 lines (camera alone)
Horizontal Frequency	15.75 KHz
Vertical Frequency	60 Hz
Signal-to-Noise Ratio	Greater than 40 dB
Video Output	1V (p-p) composite video signal, 50 ohms
Automatic Sensitivity Control Range	30 - 10,000 footcandles
Lens	Zoom lens, 16-64 mm, f/2, C-mount
Viewfinder	Built-in electronic viewfinder, 1" picture tube (measured diagonally)
Microphone	Electret condenser microphone
Power Requirements	DC 12V supplied by the AV-3400
Power Consumption	8W
Ambient Temperature	32°—105°F
Dimensions	2-13/16" (W) x 5" (H) x 15-1/16" (D)
Weight	6 lbs
Standard Accessories	Zoom lens, VCL-16; camera grip; shoulder strap; polishing cloth

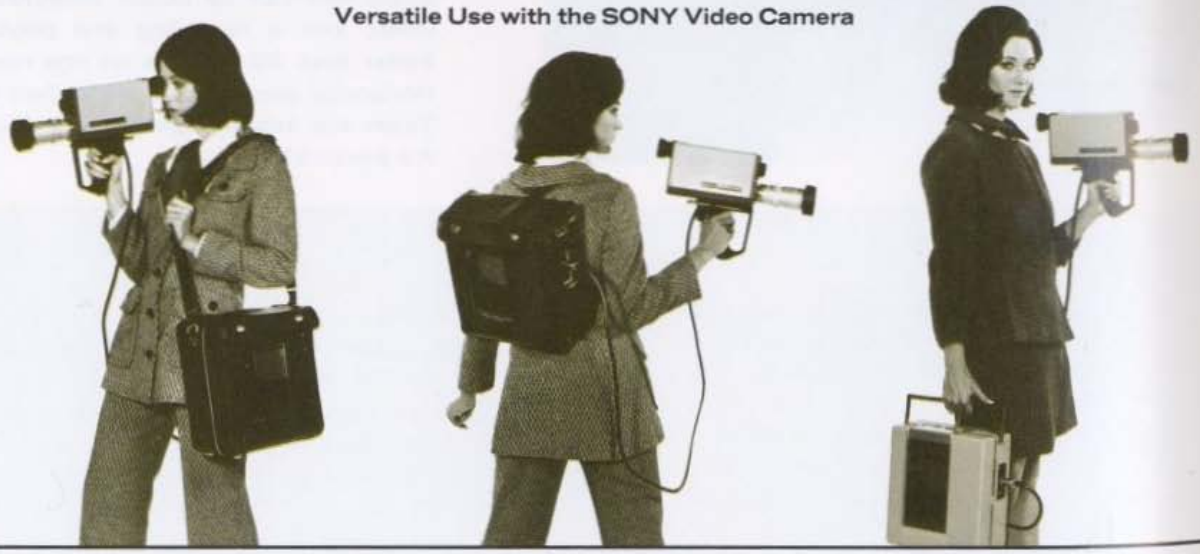
VIDEOCORDER MODEL AV-3400 SPECIFICATIONS

Video Recording System	Rotary 2-head scan system, full field, composite video signal based on American TV standards (supplied from the Video Camera AVC-3400)
Recording Time	30 minutes continuously with a V-30H tape
Tape Width	½ inch
Tape Speed	7-½ ips
Tape Pattern	EIAJ Type 1 VTR
Video Modulation System	Frequency modulation
Horizontal Resolution	More than 300 lines
Video Signal-to-Noise Ratio	Greater than 40 dB
Video Input	1.0V (p-p), 75 ohms, unbalanced
Video Output	1.0V (p-p), 75 ohms, unbalanced
RF Output	75 ohms, 80 dB (0 dB=1μV/m)
Audio Input (Microphone Input)	3.6K ohms, —75 dB, AGC
Audio Output (Earphone Output)	High impedance
Audio Frequency Response	100 Hz —10 KHz
Power Requirements	DC, 12V AC, 117V±10% (with use of AC-3400)
Ambient Temperature	32°—105°F
Power Consumption	12 W (without AVC-3400)
Dimensions	11" (W) x 6-⅜" (H) x 11-⅝" (D)
Weight	18 lbs, 12 oz (with battery pack, tape, and reel)

STANDARD ACCESSORIES AC Power Adaptor, AC-3400; battery pack, BP-20; tape, V-30 H; empty reel, RH-5E; earphone, CE-3; monitor connecting cable, VMC-1M; polishing cloth; splicing tape; cleaning fluid; head cleaner; shoulder strap

OPTIONAL ACCESSORIES RF Units: RFU-53W (Channel 3) RFU-54W (Channel 4) (Antenna Selector, ANS-1 is supplied)
Monitors, cameras, tapes and other Sony accessories are available.

Versatile Use with the SONY Video Camera



SOLD BY

SONY CORPORATION OF AMERICA
47-47 Van Dam Street, Long Island City, New York 11101

Design and specifications subject to change without notice

PRINT

SHIBADEN VIDEO TAPE RECORDERS



SV-700UL 995.00

SOLID STATE VIDEO TAPE RECORDER

3

Model SV-700UL is a self-contained high quality, moderately priced solid state video tape recorder employing two rotary heads and operating on the helical scan recording principle.

It has been designed especially for commercial, industrial, educational, medical and related applications.

It can record TV broadcasts from a conventional TV receiver (with adapter), its own TV Monitor, or from a Shibaden TV camera. It can also function as an integral part of the Shibaden Closed Circuit Television system.

Mechanically, Model SV-700UL offers better performance than any other VTR of the same size and price range. Its twin rotary heads are made of a specially developed metal for longer recording life. With a frequency range of more than 3.5MHz., it delivers more than 300 lines horizontal resolution, has a 42dB signal-to-noise ratio, and guarantees complete tape compatibility from one SV-700UL to another. (Most recorders, even those of the same make and model, cannot meet this requirement.)

The SV-700UL is mounted in a heavy-duty portable carrying case suitable for both field and indoor use.

FEATURES

Tape Interchangeability: Tapes recorded on one SV-700UL are fully playable on any other SV-700UL, SV-800UL Video Tape Recorder.

Dubbing: Voices and sound can be added or edited on a previously recorded video tape without erasing the picture. Model SV-700UL may also be used as a conventional audio recorder alone, if desired.

One Hour Continuous Recording: Continuous recording up to one hour is possible on Shibaden's standard 7" reel of video tape.

Stop Motion Viewing: Single frame viewing for a closer inspection of each picture is possible.

SPECIFICATIONS

System:	525 lines
Recording system:	Helical scanning. Two rotary heads
Recording signals:	Standard TV signals or CCTV output
Tape width:	Half inch
Reel:	7-inch (2,400 feet)
Tape speed:	7.5 ips.
Recording time:	Approx. 60 minutes
VIDEO	
Input:	0.7Vp-p, 75Ω, unbalanced
Output:	1Vp-p, 75Ω, unbalanced
Frequency response:	3.5 MHz
Resolution:	More than 300 lines
S/N ratio:	42 db
AUDIO	
Microphone input:	—60 db, 10kΩ, unbalanced
Line input:	—14 db, 10kΩ, unbalanced
Line output:	—14 db, low impedance, unbalanced
Frequency range:	60 to 10,000Hz
S/N ratio:	42 db
POWER REQUIREMENT	
Voltage:	117V AC
Frequency:	60Hz
Consumption:	Approx. 95W
Dimensions:	18¾" (W) x 10¾" (H) x 15½" (D)
Weight:	52.8 lbs.

4

Model SV-800UL is a self-contained, high quality and moderately-priced solid state Video Tape Recorder featuring a built-in 9-inch Receiver/Monitor and an Audio-Video Modulator. It has been designed especially for commercial, industrial, medical and related applications.

The SV-800UL can be used to record "live" action with sound using a Shibaden CCTV camera, or record both the video and audio portions of any standard TV broadcast through its built-in Receiver/Monitor.

The built-in Receiver/Monitor shows the operator what he is actually recording on the tape and serves as a TV screen for instant playback of the recorded material. In addition, the unit serves as the program source for off-the-air recording, and as an aid in picture composition when recording "live" with a Shibaden TV camera.

The Audio Modulator makes it possible to combine separate audio and video signals by feeding them into the antenna inputs of a conventional TV receiver.

Employing two rotary heads and operating on the helical scan recording principle, the SV-800UL delivers more than 300 lines of horizontal resolution, a 42 db signal to noise ratio, and guarantees complete tape interchangeability from one SV-800UL to another, or to the SV-700UL series.

FEATURES

Tape Interchangeability: Tapes recorded on one SV-800UL are fully playable on any other ½" model in the Shibaden SV series; an important feature in that tapes can be sent from location to location wherever there is a Shibaden VTR.

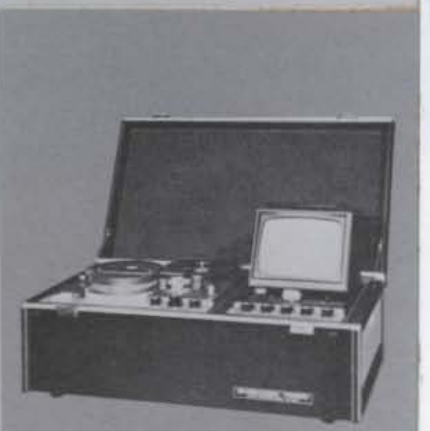
After Recording: Voices and sound can be added to a previously recorded tape of pictures alone.

One Hour Continuous Recording: Continuous recording up to one hour is possible on Shibaden's standard R-706 reel of video tape.

Stop Motion Viewing: Single frame viewing for a closer inspection of each picture is possible.

SPECIFICATIONS

VTR	
System:	525 lines



SV-800UL 1390.00

SOLID STATE VIDEO TAPE RECORDER

5

Recording system:	helical scanning 2 rotary heads
Recording signal:	American Standard TV channel or CCTV outputs
Tape width:	½-inch
Reel:	R-706 (for 60 minutes) R-703 (for 30 minutes)
Tape speed:	7.5 ips
Recording time:	more than 60 minutes
VIDEO	
Resolution:	more than 300 lines
S/N:	more than 42 db
AUDIO	
Frequency range:	60—10,000Hz
S/N:	more than 42 db
MONITOR	
Reception sensitivity:	5_{μ}V/10p-p
Antenna inputs:	VHF 300Ω, 75Ω unbalanced (M-type connector)
CRT:	5-inch 90° deflection Integral implosion protection type
OPERATIONAL SECTION	
Video camera input:	0.7—2.0Vp-p negative 75Ω unbalanced
VTR output:	1.0Vp-p sync negative

Audio input	
Mic.:	—60 db 10kΩ, unbalanced
Line:	—14 db 10kΩ unbalanced
Audio output	
Line:	—14 db low impedance
Ext. Sp.:	300mW (Voice Coil Impedance 16Ω)
TV-Camera-VTR switch:	4-step switching
VHF modulator:	
Output:	30mV (90 db)
Channel:	5 or 6
Power requirement:	117V 60Hz A.C.
Power consumption:	120W
Dimensions:	30" (W) x 11" (H) x 17½" (D)
Weight:	75 lbs. approx.

This new portable camera/tape recorder combination from Shibaden delivers the ultimate in quality and reliability. Weighing only 21 lbs., including its zoom lens and microphone, it may be operated on either a self-contained rechargeable battery pack or regular house current*, and can be taken anywhere.

*AC Adapter Model SV-707UAC



6

Used in combination with other Shibaden models in the SV-700UL or SV-800UL VTR series, it offers instant playback of recorded material.

FEATURES

1. **Solid-State:** Solid-state circuitry is used throughout both the camera and tape recorder to assure temperature stability and reliability.

2. **Fully Automatic:** For simple operation, fully automatic gain, level, and servo mechanism controls, as well as an automatic voltage stabilizer, are built into the SV-707U.

3. **Professional Quality:** The SV- 707U uses the 2:1 interlace recording system normally found in studio-type video tape recorders to assure high resolution.

4. **Complete Interchangeability:** Video tapes recorded on the SV-707U can be played back on any Shibaden SV-700UL or SV-800UL series video tape recorder.

5. **Internal Power Supply:** Two high-performance rechargeable batteries provide power for portable operation.

6. **AC Power Supply:** The SV-707U may also be operated wherever normal AC power is available by using the SV-707UAC adapter (a separately provided accessory).

7. **Lens Interchangeability:** The SV-707U comes equipped with an F2.0 zoom lens and will accept many other standard C-mount lenses.

SPECIFICATIONS

SHIBADEN PORTABLE VIDEO TAPERECORDER MODEL SV-707U

Picture Recording System: 2 Rotary heads, helical scanning system, 525 lines
Tape Speed: 7½ i.p.s.
Recording Time: Approx. 20 minutes with 5" reel (800 ft. of tape)
Tape Width: Half-inch
Horizontal Resolution: 300 lines limiting visual resolution on test pattern
Video Signal to Noise Ratio: 40 dB, Peak-to-peak signal to r.m.s. noise
Audio Signal to Noise Ratio: 40 dB from peak record level
Audio Response: 80Hz to 10KHz
Power Requirement: 12V DC ± 10%
Power Consumption: 10 Watts
Dimensions: 15¾" (W) x 4¼" (H) x 7¼" (D)
Weight: 15 lbs.
Battery: Made by SONNEN SCHEIN 3G x 310.2 batteries, rechargeable
Charging Time of Batteries: Approx. 5 hours using Shibaden Charger SBC-12
Accessories: SONNEN SCHEIN batteries, SBC-12 battery charger, SV-707UAC adaptor, earphone, shoulder strap, empty reel, cleaning set and carrying case

SHIBADEN PORTABLE CCTV CAMERA MODEL FP-707U

Pick-up Tube: ⅔" Vidicon, separate mesh
Scanning System: 525 lines, 2:1 interlace
Horizontal Resolution: more than 450 lines
Video Signal to Noise Ratio: more than 40 dB
Video Output: 1Vp-p composite
ALC: available from 300Lx to 100,000Lx
Viewfinder: Built-in electrical viewfinder
Lens: C-mount zoom lens, F2.0, 14—70mm
Power Requirement: DC 12V 7 Watts
Dimensions: 2½" (W) x 5¾" (H) x 8¼" (D)
Weight: 6 lbs. (including zoom lens, pistol grip and dynamic microphone)
Accessories: Dynamic microphone, camera cable with connectors and zoom lens

SV-707U 1,350.00

BATTERY POWERED CAMERA/VTR SYSTEM

7

EFFECTIVE APPLICATIONS:

1. As a regular camera or stand-by camera for both live or telecine in broadcasting station.
2. For educational purposes in schools.
3. For local wire TV broadcasting (CATV)
4. For medical fluoroscopy or industrial X-ray inspection.
5. Utility in combination with slide projector or film projector.
6. For editing or nega-film or news bulletin by nega-film in broadcasting stations.
7. For high-speed judgement in various races, such as track, horse racing, etc.
8. Transportation of details of various documents from one point to another.

SPECIFICATIONS

Camera Output: Video 0.5Vp-p 75Ω positive
Camera Control Unit Output:
Video 1.0Vp-p 75Ω positive
Video-Sync (composite) 1.4Vp-p 75Ω positive
Video Black and white reversible
External Sync Input:
Hor. Drive 4.0Vp-p negative
Ver. Drive 4.0Vp-p negative
BL Signal 4.0Vp-p negative
Sync Signal 4.0Vp-p negative

Power Supply:
AC 115V (nominal) 100—125V, 200—250V 50—60 c/s, 27 VA
Operating Temperature:
32°F 104° (without auxiliary heating or cooling)
Dimensions:
Camera (w/o lens)
3⅛" (H) x 5½" (W) x 9⅛" (D) C.C.U.
4¾" (H) x 15⅝" (W) x 11⅝" (D)

PERFORMANCE:

1. Illumination: Useable picture at 2 FC using F 1.4 lens.
2. Lens: Regular "C" mount 16mm camera lens.
3. Scanning: EIA Standard Scanning System by external sync generator.
   Horizontal Frequency: 15,750Hz.
   Vertical Frequency: 60Hz.
4. Bandwidth: 50Hz. —7Mc flat High peaked at 5.5Mc about + 6 dB
5. Resolution: Hor. more than 600 lines at center
   Ver. more than 400 lines at center
   (measured by Standard Resolution Test Pattern)
6. Linearity: ±2% for each deflection component over entire raster.



Compact and lightweight, with a 5-inch viewfinder, the Model FP-100 has high mobility for field pickup, studio use and many other applications. Since it can be operated by external synchronization, two or more FP-100s can be used in combination. Coupled with switcher-fader or special effects equipment, etc., these cameras function effectively in a variety of situations. The Model FP-100 incorporates various automatic control circuits to assure a high degree of operational stability when severe ambient temperature changes or wide variations in lighting conditions are encountered.

FEATURES

1. Internal synchronization and external use of 60 Hz power supply for operating the camera with a VTR.
2. When the camera is set to external synchronization, it operates at 2:1 interlace, resulting in better picture quality. In addition, since the camera is synchronized, two or more cameras can be combined and switcher, fader and special effects devices can be used. (The video output is switchable (SYNC—OFF.) Composite or non-composite mode is switchable.
3. Lenses can be selected as desired. As standard, a zoom lens (manual remote zoom) is available. Since a C-type mount is provided, various lenses can be used with the camera.
4. The entire case is made of light alloy, and the camera is very convenient to use in portable television applications.
5. The camera is also equipped with an amplification type ALC. Sensitivity is automatically adjusted to adapt the camera to wide light variations.
6. Since the camera contains a vidicon focus current regulator circuit, it always maintains the best focusing posture automatically under severe ambient temperature changes.
7. A vidicon protector is provided. This prevents the vidicon from burning even when the deflection of the camera is inoperative.

SPECIFICATIONS

Working illumination:	50—100,000 lux Usable picture at 10 F.C.
Ambient temperature:	—10°C—+ 50°C (14°F—122°F)
Synchronization:	random interlace External synchronization, 2:1 interlace, switchable composite, non-composite—switchable
Horizontal deflection:	15.75 kHz
Vertical deflection:	60Hz
Horizontal center:	600 lines (camera); 500 lines resolution (viewfinder)
Video output:	1.4V (V, S) and 1V (V) switchable; 75-ohm output impedance
Lens:	20—100m, f1.8 zoom lens optional
Power supply:	AC 117V A.C. 60Hz 35VA
Dimensions:	6⅛" (W) x 10" (H) x 13¾" (D)
Weight:	16 pounds

FP-100 1,375.00

TV CAMERA WITH VIEWFINDER

THE UNIQUELY VERSATILE X-400









INVALUABLE FOR:

- *TRAINING*
- *SECURITY*
- *MEDICAL*
- *SCIENCE*
- *ATHLETICS*
- *EDUCATION*
- *ENTERTAINMENT*
- *SURVEILLANCE*
- *MOTION ANALYSIS*
- *TIME STUDY*
- *MARKET RESEARCH*

And any other application where a visual/audio record is useful and the ability to control time is desirable.

FEATURES

- Continuous-Action Slow Motion
- ze-Frame Stop Action
- -Speed Playback
- ne-by-Frame Advance
- Record/Playback Speeds
- ional 12-Hour Recording Time
- nd Recording At The Same Time As Video ording Or Afterwards
- lio And Video Edit
- Audio And Video Automatic Gain Control
- Ferrite Crystal Heads
- Solid-State Circuitry
- Push-Button Operation
- Patented 4-Head Design
- Automatic End-of-Tape Shut Off
- Digital Tape Counter
- EIAJ-1 Standard — Compatible System

SPECIFICATIONS

o Recording System	Helical scan, 4 rotary heads
e Speeds	7½ ips, 1 1/16 ips
ording Time	2400′ tape: 1 hr. & 7 hr. 3000′ tape: 1½ hr. & 9 hr. 4000′ tape: 1¾ hr. & 12 hr. (Use of 4000′ reel requires modification of the X-400)
e Size	½″ by 1 mil or 0.5 mil
Forward/Rewind Time	6 minutes max. with 7″ reel
izontal Resolution	300+ lines
al-to-Noise Ratio	40 db or better
o Signal	Double side band FM
Video Input	0.5-2V p-p/75 ohms unbalanced
Video Output	1V p-p/75 ohms unbalanced
Mic Input	0.15mV r.m.s./600 ohms unbalanced
Aux Input	1V r.m.s./High Z unbalanced
Audio Output	1V r.m.s./High Z unbalanced
Audio Frequency Response	80-10,000 Hz
Power Consumption	75 VA
Wow and Flutter	0.25% r.m.s. maximum
Power Source	117V, 60 Hz
Size	17″D x 18½″W x 10″H
Weight	56 lbs.

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The XL-5000

VIDEO TIME LAPSE TAPE RECORDER

- FOUR-SPEED SELECTABLE
- 2:1 SYNC GENERATOR
- SOLID STATE SPEED CONTROL
- FRAME BY FRAME PLAYBACK
- STABLE STILL FRAME

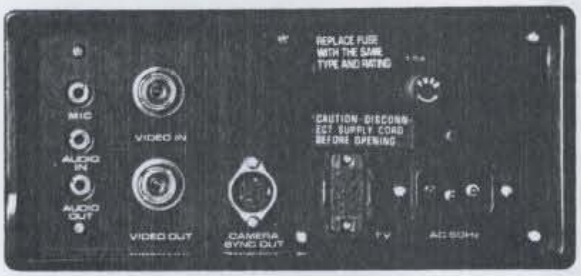


he four-speed selectable XL-5000 will re-ord for one, twenty-four, forty-eight or sixty ours on a standard ½-inch, 2,400 foot reel f video tape. Up to sixty hours of recorded nformation may be reviewed in as little as xty minutes.

Manual or motorized frame advance is standard on the XL-5000 and stop action is excellent for review or Polaroid photography. Long-life crystal ferrite video heads and all solid state electronics assure reliable operation.

PECIFICATIONS

ideo Recording Format	Standard Recording: EIAJ-1 rotary two head helical scan, full field recording system Time Lapse Recording: Rotary two head, helical scan, skip-field recording system
ideo Signal System	EIA Standard (525 lines; 30 frames, 60 fields/sec.)
low Speed layback Ratios	1/24th, 1/48th, and 1/60th standard speed
ast Forward and ewind Time	Less than 6 minutes
ideo Input	0.6-2.0 volts p-p; 75 ohms; sync negative
ideo Output	1.0 volt p-p into 75 ohms
Video Signal Modulation	Double side band FM
Horizontal Resolution	300 lines
Video Bandwidth	30 Hz-3.4 MHz; - 14db
Video Signal/Noise Ratio	Greater than 40 db
Audio Input	Microphone: - 74 db; 600 ohms; unbalanced Auxiliary: 0.1 volt r.m.s.; high Z
Audio Output	1.0 volt r.m.s. into 1000 ohms
Audio Bandwidth	80-10,000 Hz, ±3 db
Audio Signal/Noise Ratio	Greater than 42 db
Power Requirements	117 VAC; 60 Hz; 75 Watts
Dimensions	Width: 18½" Height: 17" Depth: 10¼"
Weight	58 pounds



FEATURES

- Fully Automatic Gain Control
- Push Button Controls
- Three-Switch Selected Video Inputs
- Automatic End-Of-Tape Shut-Off
- Three Digit, Resetable Tape Counter

Accessories Furnished	A.C. power cord; 8-pin VTR-Monitor cable; empty tape reel; head cleaning kit; splicing tape

ations subject to change without notice.

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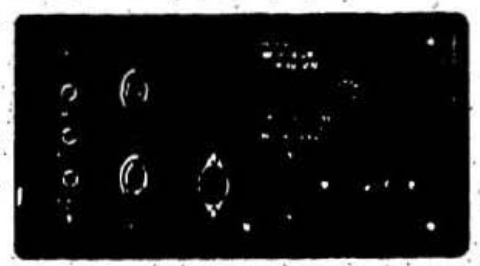
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Manual or motorized frame advance is standard on the XL-5000 and stop action is excellent for review or Polaroid photography. Long-life crystal ferrite video heads and all solid state electronics assure reliable operation.

SPECIFICATIONS

Video Recording Format	Standard Recording: EIAJ-1 rotary two head helical scan, full field recording system Time Lapse Recording: Rotary two head, helical scan, skip-field recording system
Video Signal System	EIA Standard (525 lines; 30 frames, 60 fields/sec.)
Slow Speed Playback Ratios	1/24th, 1/48th, and 1/60th standard speed
Fast Forward and Rewind Time	Less than 6 minutes
Video Input	0.6-2.0 volts p-p; 75 ohms; sync negative
Video Output	1.0 volt p-p into 75 ohms
Video Signal Modulation	Double side band FM
Horizontal Resolution	300 lines
Video Bandwidth	30 Hz-3.4 MHz; - 14db
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