# THE NEWFOUNDLAND MUMMERS' CHRISTMAS HOUSE-VISIT



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by

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## PREFACE

This thesis began originally with my particular interest in folk drama, by which I mean masquerading in all its forms, and a request to Dr. Herbert Halpert for a reading course in the subject. He gave me, as he said, "more bibliographical references than I wanted," and there was no turning back.

Most of the scholarly works in the field of folk drama have concentrated on the folk play, and I, too, was at first especially interested in studying this genre. I wanted, though, to study it as it had existed in Newfoundland, as an aspect of Newfoundland culture. Unfortunately, there are very few texts of the folk play in the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive and, as I discovered on a trip to Change Islands, Notre Dame Bay, one "drafty" [stormy] Christmas, the play had disappeared as an activity in Newfoundland at the beginning of the twentieth century, and very few people remembered much about it or about the context in which it had been performed, even in an area where it had once been alive. An analysis of the folk play, then, as it had once existed in Newfoundland, would have involved many suppositions and little textual or contextual material. As an alternative, I decided to work on the Newfoundland mummers' house-visit,

or visiting from house to house in disguise without a play, the form of mummering which had been the principal subject of the pioneering book, Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland, edited by Herbert Halpert and G.M. Story in 1969. The house-visit had flourished in Newfoundland at least from the early twentieth century (and possibly earlier) until the nineteen-sixties. In contrast to the folk play, it was well remembered, and so was its context, the Newfoundland outport "Christmas" and the way of life of which it had been a part.

Since excellent, anthropological studies of the house-visit in individual communities had already been published in Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland, Dr. Halpert encouraged me to look at the house-visit in a large number of communities throughout Newfoundland to see if I could find any significant patterns in the custom. It was thought that mummering patterns, if there were any, might reveal valuable information about Newfoundland outport culture. By examining questionnaires, tape transcripts, and manuscripts in the Folklore Archive and by interviewing individual Newfoundlanders, I studied the mummering practices of 343 Newfoundland communities; and I found, I believe, significant patterns in the mummers' house-visit. The main body of this thesis gives specific examples from many communities of the patterns observed in mummering time, mummering groups, mummers' costumes, mummers'

behaviour, and in the occurrence of the hobby horse and the other animal figures. The conclusion of the thesis suggests a theory of what these patterns symbolize in Newfoundland outport culture.

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# CHAPTER I

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This thesis has two central concerns. When I examined the mummers' house-visit in a large number of communities throughout Newfoundland, I found certain patterns in mummering time, mummering groups, mummers' costumes, mummers' behaviour, and in the occurrence of the hobby horse and other animal figures. For example, mummers mummered only after dark and never on Sunday; they always wore masks; they almost always knocked on doors with kindling sticks or whatever they were carrying; in many communities, female janneys disguised themselves as men and male janneys disguised themselves as women, or both sexes concealed themselves in neuter costumes, such as quilts. In the body of the thesis, Chapters II to V, I describe the mummers' house-visit in Newfoundland by giving examples of these patterns. In the conclusion of the thesis, Chapter VI, I suggest a theory of what these patterns symbolize in Newfoundland outport culture.

The main body of the thesis is based principally on 1,426 responses to two questionnaires, 132 tape transcripts, and manuscripts which I examined in the Memorial University

of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive. These questionnaire responses, tape transcripts and manuscripts portray the mummering practices of 343 Newfoundland outport communities. Although there are said to be nearly 1,200 communities in Newfoundland, since these 343 communities are distributed widely over the major bays and large peninsulas in all parts of the island, the principal areas of the island, though not of course all the particular communities, are represented in this study.

The two questionnaires were sent home with students at Christmas in 1965 and 1966, years when mummers were still active in some communities and recently active in others. Some of the questionnaire responses were brief and not, on their own, enlightening. The questionnaires were required assignments and not all of the students would have been especially interested. The majority of the questionnaire responses, however, were detailed and informative. Quite a few of the student contributors had mummered themselves and they took the time, in the questionnaires, to describe their experiences; other contributors asked their parents, aunts, uncles, or grandparents about mummering. The brief questionnaire responses supported the more detailed and discursive reports and descriptions from other categories of basic source material. The tapes, the transcripts of which I read, were collected for the most part by Dr. Herbert Halpert and Dr. John Widdowson between the years 1963 and 1966. A majority of the informants for the tapes were older Newfoundlanders

who had memories of and stories to tell about mummering and other facets of Newfoundland life; like the questionnaires, many of the tapes were rich in information. Many of the essays, too, which were written by students from 1966 to 1977, gave detailed accounts of the house-visit in individual Newfoundland communities. Altogether, the Archive material was fascinating and illuminating. Aside from the tape transcripts, none of it had been systematically examined before from the point of view of my thesis.

To supplement the Archive material, I also interviewed several people about mummering in their home communities. These interviews added depth to the documentary data which I had already examined and, as well, they gave me insights into aspects of mummering which were not always covered by the information in the Archive. I was lucky, too, when I was in Change Islands to be a guest at a house when a group of mummers visited. These mummers were adolescents and they did not entertain, as most adult mummers did; but they were disguised, they did knock at the door, and the hosts did try to guess who they were. As yet, I have not been mummering myself; however, one Christmas night in 1977, the professional Mummers' Theatre Troupe in St. John's was kind enough to let me be "guest horse" (hobby horse) with them when they called at every house party they could find with their version of the mummers' play. A professional theatre company is different from the informal

groups of community members who visited from house to house in the outports and the mummers' play is not the mummers' house-visit. Still, the hobby horse was part of the house-visit in about one-third of the communities which I studied (as well as part of some mummers' plays); so, I was glad to be able to get some feeling of what it was like to be hidden under this animal figure.

The conclusion of this thesis, my theory of the symbolism of the mummers' house-visit in Newfoundland, is based on the patterns which I found in the mummers' house-visit, on what I have read, observed, and been told of Newfoundland outport culture, and on my reading in the field of folk drama and folk-drama theory.

The patterns in mummering time, mummering groups, mummers' costumes, mummers' behaviour, and in the occurrence of the hobby horse and other animal figures, when they are all put together, suggest a symbolic system representing cultural norms or values, both positive and negative, in Newfoundland outport culture. My understanding (or what I think I understand) of the norms or values and abnormalities of this culture comes from a course at the University in Newfoundland culture and folklore, from travels around the island, from talks with individual Newfoundlanders, and from reading in the area of Newfoundland culture. My reading in the field of folk drama allowed a comparison of the mummers' house-visit in Newfoundland with masquerading customs in other parts of the world and, although one must

not impose values or symbolism on a culture or transfer values from one culture to another where they do not fit, mummers' costumes and mummers' behaviour in different parts of the world are frequently remarkably similar. Mummers in England, Europe, Philadelphia, New Orleans, the West Indies, and Newfoundland, for instance, sometimes wore animal skins or the horns or tails of animals; sometimes they disguised themselves in the clothes of the opposite sex; and often, they were noisier and rowdier than usual. These international similarities in mummers' costumes and behaviour helped me to see the same or like traits in the Newfoundland mummers' house-visit and to pick them out as patterns, if they were patterns. The folk-drama theories which I studied assisted me to form my own theory of the mummers' house-visit in Newfoundland. My ideas are founded on an eclectic fusion of several of these theories. I here present a brief outline of the main theories of folk drama.

The book which has chiefly influenced folk-drama scholars is Sir James Frazer's The Golden Bough (1890). Since many modern, seasonal folk customs all over the world include fighting, copulation (mock or otherwise), and/or a dramatized death and revival, Frazer speculated that all of these customs must be survivals of ancient, magical, fertility rites to encourage nature at critical times of

the agricultural year. Frazer felt that before religion and science developed, people must have acted out for the forces of nature what they wished to occur. Fighting, then, would have represented the combat between winter and summer, copulation would have represented the fertilization of the crops, and death and revival would have symbolized the end of winter and the beginning of new growth. In modern times, it seemed to Frazer, with religion and science to support us, these ancient, magical, fertility rites were no longer needed; they degenerated into the licentious and even comic seasonal customs which we have today.

Most scholars who have studied folk drama have concentrated on the folk play; that is, the Hero Combat Play, the Wooing Play, and the Sword Dance Play. Since folk plays are usually performed at seasonal festivals, contain one or more characters who die and are revived again, and (in the Wooing Plays) often contain a dramatized marriage, or a dramatized copulation, or the simulated birth of a child, many folk play specialists have accepted Frazer's theories and viewed folk plays as degenerate survivals of an original, magical, pre-Christian fertility rite. For example, in 1907, in an article called "The Saint George, or Mummers' Play: A Study in the Protology of the Drama," Arthur Beatty wrote, "As Frazer says: 'The general explanation which we [are] led to adopt of [the folk play] and many similar ceremonies is that they are, or were in their origin,

magical rites intended to ensure the revival of nature in spring'."[1] In 1909, after he had witnessed folk plays in northern Greece, A.J.B. Wace concluded that "the object of these and similar observances as shown by Frazer in The Golden Bough is to promote the revival of vegetation in the spring and to bring an abundant harvest."[2] R.J. Tiddy, in The Mummers' Play (1923), felt that "degenerate and undeveloped though it may be, [The Mummers' Play] bears distinct traces of a ritual origin."[3] More recent students of the subject present a similar view. In 1967, in English Ritual Drama, E.C. Cawte, Alex Helm, and Norman Peacock, for example, argued that the English folk plays are "a form of ceremony of revitalization discussed by Sir James Frazer in The Golden Bough,"[4] and Alan Brody, in 1969, argued that "the mummers' play has roots which extend deep into a ritual past."[5] (Actually, Alex Helm wanted to call the folk play a "ritual,"[6] not a play.)

Although some folk drama scholars contend that magic or luck bringing activities may have a place in folk customs and folk drama even today, as E.K. Chambers noted in The English Folk Play, "it is . . . the origin of the play, rather than its latter end, which is of [primary] interest to the folklorist"[7] who is a follower of Frazer. Because of this overriding interest in the origin of the folk play, other folklorists and anthropologists have criticized the Frazerians since, they say, no one can know

for sure what happened so far back in time. The folk play may be a survival of an ancient, pre-Christian, magical, fertility rite, or it may not be. Who can prove anything one way or the other?

In Les Rites de Passage (1908), Arnold van Gennep introduced another theory to explain "the dramatic representation of . . . death and rebirth."[8] He thought that critical times of people's lives and of the agricultural or pastoral year are often marked by rites of passage, that is, ceremonies which guide people and give them confidence in their transition from one stage of their lives, or of the year, to another. Usually, as van Gennep saw them, rites of passage have three stages: rites of separation from the old time or period, rites of transition between the two periods, and rites of incorporation into the new time or period, though, in many cases, one or two of these stages may be emphasized. In seasonal ceremonies, it seemed to him, a dramatic representation of death is a rite of separation from the old season or year and a dramatic representation of rebirth is a rite of incorporation into a new season or year. Van Gennep did not repudiate Frazer's theory of seasonal, dramatized deaths and rebirths, however. Instead, he proposed that "all [seasonal] ceremonies include both rites of passage and sympathetic [magic] rites . . . . It is strange that only the sympathetic rites attracted the attention of . . . Frazer . . . ."[9]

Edmund Leach and Victor Turner have also associated folk drama with rites of passage, although not necessarily with sympathetic magic. In "Two Essays Concerning the Symbolic Representation of Time," Leach speculated that, at seasonal rites of passage, people "play-act at being precisely the opposite of what they really are"[10] and dramatically represent death and rebirth because they wish to turn back time. According to Leach, the reversal of social roles and the representation of birth following death, during rites of passage, symbolize time in reverse and people wish to turn back time to avoid death. Victor Turner, in The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual and The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure, emphasized "what Arnold van Gennep has called the 'liminal phase' of rites of passage";[11] that is, the middle or transition phase. For Turner, the liminal state is a "structureless,"[12] not a reversed state and people in this state play an "ambiguous"[13] rather than a reversed role. In societies where "sex distinctions have great structural importance, [Turner felt that liminal subjects are sometimes] symbolically represented as being neither male nor female. Alternatively, they may be assigned characteristics of both sexes . . . ."[14] Turner also proposed that people in the liminal state have no "social 'reality'"[15] and to show this they "are sometimes said to 'be in another place'."[16]

Other folklorists and anthropologists have associated folk drama particularly with the idea of escape or release from ordinary, social restrictions. In Mardi Gras (1947), Robert Tallant wrote that "Mardi Gras is . . . as immortal as Man's ability to make believe, to escape the dreariness of everyday life that is most men's portion, to have fun, to laugh, and to play."[17] Anthony Wallace (1966) proposed that "rituals of rebellion"[18] such as Hallowe'en act as a "cathartic release."[19] They allow and even encourage people to do what is not ordinarily permitted ". . . vandalism; impersonating persons of the opposite sex; harassment of neighbours; indulgence in sweets . . . ."[20] R.D. Abrahams, in an article called "Folk Drama" (1972), argued that folk drama "burlesques the serious"[21] and provides "a release from everyday social restrictions."[22]

Still other folk drama scholars have emphasized the context of folk drama and the function, or functions, of folk drama within that context. B.J. Ward, in "The Contemporary English Folk Play: Function and Context," a Ph.D. thesis (1972), described and analyzed the performance and functions and the immediate performance contexts of different contemporary English folk plays. One group of players improvised actions and made ad lib additions to their text to suit the various audiences and places where they played, somewhat as the Commedia dell'Arte did in Europe. In 1975, in All Silver and No Brass, Henry Glassie

described and analyzed recent performances and functions of an Irish folk play in the context of the eleven townlands near Enniskillen, County Fermanagh, where it was performed.

Finally, in terms of this necessarily summary survey of folk-drama theories, one book, Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland (ed. by Herbert Halpert and G.M. Story, 1969), combines several approaches to folk drama, and (of particular importance) the house-visit, rather than the folk play, was studied intensively for the first time. Some of the essays in the volume examine the house-visit as part of the living culture of the Newfoundland outport communities. Within this context, several of the essays discuss the function of the house-visit as "a means of social control"[23] or as "a device for the release of in-group aggression"[24] and one essay, by James C. Faris, investigates the concept of mummering in Newfoundland. Faris speculates that when people in a homogeneous society reverse roles or behave deviantly or abnormally, during a time of sanctioned deviation, "any deviations from the limited role alternatives available locally must be within the conceptual scope"[25] of the people in the society. In "Cat Harbour," the Newfoundland outport community which Faris studied, "the most abnormal or deviant category with which [people were] familiar"[26] was the stranger and, during the Twelve Days of Christmas, Faris thought, mummers in "Cat Harbour" disguised themselves and acted as symbolic strangers. Other essays in

the book examine the historical context of mummering in Newfoundland and document the three different forms of Newfoundland mummering: the formal mummers' parade of the nineteenth century, the mummers' play of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the mummers' house-visit of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[27] "The Typology of Mumming" by Herbert Halpert places the Newfoundland mummers' parade, the Newfoundland mummers' folk play, and the Newfoundland mummers' house-visit in their comparative contexts as parts of a worldwide mumming complex. In his typology of mumming, which organizes and clarifies a huge body of material, Dr. Halpert stresses that the mummers' house-visit and the mummers' folk play are not decrepit versions of each other but separate, specialized folk drama forms.

I now turn, very briefly, to the cultural context of the Newfoundland mummers' house-visit. No custom exists in a cultural vacuum and the house-visit, perhaps especially, must be viewed as part of Newfoundland culture as a whole to be comprehended. Although I have examined reports of the house-visit from only 343 communities, about one-third of the supposedly 1,200 communities in, say 1935; in Newfoundland, I have yet to meet any Newfoundlander who has not mummered or who has not heard of mummering in her or his home community. It seems safe to say, then, that the house-visit was an almost universal Newfoundland activity, that it

was indeed a national custom.[28]

As a national custom, the mummers' house-visit, which was confined[29] to the Christmas season, usually to the Twelve Days of Christmas, from St. Stephen's Day, December 26 to Old Christmas Day or Old Twelfth Day, January 6, contrasted sharply to normal everyday life in Newfoundland throughout the year.

Newfoundland is a rocky, windswept island in the North Atlantic Ocean. Since, from the time it was settled in the seventeenth century until after the Second World War, at least three-quarters of the population lived in small, isolated communities around the island's rugged coasts, ordinarily, both men and women worked hard, just to survive. For much of the year, the men fished for cod in small boats and, along the northeast coast and Labrador, hunted seals in the late winter and spring; the women sewed, spun, knitted, quilted, baked, tended the vegetable gardens, helped to clean and sun-dry the fish, and gave birth to large families. Because, too, in the isolated communities, people had to rely on each other for help when it was needed, anger and grudges were normally restrained, so that necessary social ties would not be broken. As well, with a subsistence economy and the severe environment, since deviation from the ordinary way of doing things might have meant economic or physical disaster, gender roles and the moral code were usually rigid. A woman had to knit, for example, as part of her gender role, whether she liked knitting or not; otherwise

her family would have no gloves and no long knitted underwear to keep out the cold in the winter. Unless he were a merchant, a man had to fish or engage in other primarily seasonal occupations as part of his gender role; otherwise his family would have no fish to eat and no fish to exchange for dried goods, such as flour and sugar. Morally, things like stealing were wrong both on perceived ethical grounds and for concrete reasons. If someone stole vegetables from one's garden or root cellar, one might not have any vegetables to eat for a year. In the outports, there were no supermarkets where one could buy emergency rations.

In the midst of all this hard work, emotional restraint, and gender and moral rigidity was Christmas, and in Newfoundland this was the one extended holiday of the year. For the men, the summer and fall fisheries were over and preparations for the winter work in the woods, the seal hunt, and the spring fishery had not begun. For the women in the outports, work never ceased; but at Christmas, after the house had been cleaned from top to bottom and the special Christmas cakes, cookies, breads, pies, and buns baked, the evenings, at least, during the Twelve Days of Christmas, were devoted to merriment. During the days of Christmas, the women usually recleaned and tidied the house after the onslaught of visitors and mummers with their muddy or snowy boots the day or night before and perhaps, too, more baking and cooking would be done to make sure that there were

always lots of treats to offer to visitors, anytime, and to mummers, at night.

In comparison with the rest of the year, Christmas was a time of license, frolic, and disorderly or abnormal behaviour. Men drank liquor though they normally did not; women might accept a "drop or two of wine" though they normally did not; and children were allowed to stay up past their usual bedtimes.

By far the most abnormal and disorderly entertainment of the Christmas season, though, was mummering. Especially if one remembers what Newfoundlanders were like ordinarily,--reserved, quiet, conventional, and moral--one could only say that mummers in Newfoundland at Christmas, that is, community members in disguise, "raised hell." Even though, normally, throughout the year, dancing, drinking, and sexual license were not acceptable, at most houses during the Christmas season, adult mummers danced and carried on rowdily and bawdily and many male mummers became drunk. Often, mummers played tricks on hosts, or other mummers, or anyone at all. Often mummers stole vegetables from other people's root cellars for late night "scoffs" [suppers] and did other things that children or anyone else in Newfoundland were not supposed to do; and, sometimes, male mummers, disguised as hobby horses or carrying hobby horses, chased and bit with the hobby horses, often quite roughly, anyone they could catch.

In a society where most people did not have the financial means to go away once a year for a holiday, mummering was a way of taking a holiday from the normal social values and restrictions at home. Mummering also seems to have been, though, if one looks at the patterns or symbols of mummering, a way of expressing and reaffirming these same cultural values and restrictions. Since the Twelve Days of Christmas, the usual mummering season, spanned the end of the old year and the beginning of the new, perhaps this period could be seen as a liminal state, a threshold, a time of transition, a "sacred time,"[30] when deviance was sanctioned but when the social mores were also upheld. Perhaps the mummers' house-visit could be seen as a ritual of liminality. In the conclusion of this study I suggest that this is so.

Notes

[1]Arthur Beatty, "The Saint George, or Mummers' Plays: A Study in the Protology of the Drama" (1907), p. 286.

[2]A.J.B. Wace, "North Greek Festivals and the Worship of Dionysos" (1909-1910), p. 252.

[3]R.J. Tiddy, The Mummers' Play (1972), p. 70.

[4]E.C. Cawte, Alex Helm, and N. Peacock, English Ritual Drama (1967), p. 11.

[5]Alan Brody, The English Mummers and Their Plays: Traces of Ancient Mystery (1970), p. vii.

[6]Alex Helm, "In Comes I, St. George" (1965), p. 125.

[7]E.K. Chambers, The English Folk Play (1964), p. 12.

[8]Arnold van Gennep, The Rites of Passage (1960), p. 182.

[9]Ibid., p. 179.

[10]Edmund Leach, "Two Essays concerning the Symbolic Representation of Time" (1961), p. 135.

[11]Victor W. Turner, The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure (1969), p. 94.

[12]_____, The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual (1967), p. 98.

[13]Ibid., p. 94.

[14]Ibid., p. 98.

[15]Ibid., p. 98.

[16]Ibid., p. 98.

[17]Robert Tallant, Mardi Gras (1947), p. xi.

[18]Anthony Wallace, Religion, An Anthropological View (1966), p. 135.

[19]Ibid., p. 137.

[20]Ibid., p. 136.

[21]R.D. Abrahams, "Folk Drama" (1972), p. 359.

[22]Ibid., p. 359.

[23]James C. Faris, "Mumming in an Outport Fishing Settlement: A Description and Suggestions on the Cognitive Complex" (1969), p. 129.

[24]Ibid., p. 129.

[25]Ibid., p. 144.

[26]Ibid., p. 144.

[27]This thesis studies the mummers' house-visit as it existed in Newfoundland from the early nineteen-hundreds until the nineteen-sixties. This is the period of time which is covered by the memories of the informants who contributed the questionnaire responses, the taped interviews, the untaped interviews, and the manuscripts which were examined. In "Mummers in Newfoundland History: A Survey of the Printed Record" in Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland, G.M. Story cites several references to the mummers' house-visit in the nineteenth century, the earliest being 1819 (Anspach).

[28]See G.M. Story, "Notes from a Berry Patch," especially pp. 181-182.

[29]Occasionally, during the rest of the year, people disguised themselves in frightening costumes and lurked in dark, lonely areas at night to scare passersby or philandering mates but these were "false mummers" (Q67-249), not real mummers.

[30]E.R. Leach, "Two Essays concerning the Symbolic Representation of Time" (1961), p. 136.

## CHAPTER II

## THE TIME OF MUMMERING AND THE COMPOSITION OF MUMMERING GROUPS

### Introduction

The time of mummering is described first because the mummers' house-visit was contained within mummering time; that is, janneys in Newfoundland visited from house to house only within a certain period of the year, the Christmas season, and only at certain times within this season. It was as if the Christmas period, especially the Twelve Days of Christmas, provided a special "ritual frame"[1] within which mummers could behave abnormally without jeopardizing their everyday social values and relationships. A few individuals planned their costumes and their mummering groups months in advance of the Christmas season, but most masqueraders formed their groups and assembled their costumes just before they set out to visit other people's houses.

The composition of mummers' groups is described next because it is important to know who mummered with whom before we go on to describe costumes and behaviour. In most of the 343 communities studied, both males and females janneyed, usually together in the same groups. The composition of these groups is described in Section A of The

Composition of Mummering Groups. In about ten communities, only males mummered. These groups are described in Section B of The Composition of Mummering Groups. In about one-third of all communities studied, some males, almost always in all-male groups, carried or disguised themselves as hobby horses or other animal figures. Because there is a great deal of information about these animal figures, I have described them in a separate chapter. It should be remembered, though, that in most communities where all-male mummers' groups carried or wore animal figures, most janneys were males and females in mixed groups.

The Time of Mummering and The Composition of Mummering Groups are in the same chapter for convenience because both sections are short.

The Time of Mummering

The first and most important pattern to be noted is that people mummered only during the Christmas season, usually only during the Twelve Days of Christmas, that is from St. Stephen's Day, December 26, to Old Christmas Day or Old Twelfth Day, January 6. Nearly always, mummering ended on January 6, the last night of the Twelve Days of Christmas, but the date for the beginning of janneying sometimes varied. I will describe the end of janneying first.

Often, special customs marked the close of the mummering season. Because it was "the last chance for a fling" (77-75ms), many masqueraders dressed up especially

on Old Christmas Night. Sometimes, too, there were community gatherings, perhaps in the afternoon. On Old Christmas Day, Deer Island, S.C., chose its "most colourful" mummer as "Father Christmas" (Q67-249) and Lawn, P.B., chose the best costumed mummer as "king" to lead a parade down the middle of the road. After the parade, the residents of Lawn held a party where their costumes were burned,[2] finishing "the mummering season" (77-114ms). In Conche, W.B., anyone who janneyed after midnight on Old Twelfth "could be stripped because Christmas was over" (TC3658).[3] In Curling, near Corner Brook, "the young people danced and the old people told stories" at a last night get-together "thus ending the Christmas season in friendship" (Q67-526). In Spaniard's Bay, C.B., on "Old Christmas Night, most all of the janneys would have a big key with them to lock up Christmas for another year" (Q66-100). In Twillingate, N.D.B., too, mummers carried a key "to close this period for another year" (Q67-207).

In a few communities in the same area of Conception Bay, January 6 was Teek Day when "teeks" in red clothes (Q67-6) or coloured rags and odd boots beat or whipped others on the road who were not similarly disguised and, hence, "one of the crowd" (73-186ms). In Spaniard's Bay, C.B., and Upper Island Cove, C.B., teeks were always men who whipped other men, but in Bishop's Cove, C.B., "boys and girls . . . in red clothes would chase those people who were not dressed up and hit them with sticks" (Q67-6).

In Spaniard's Bay, January 6 might also be called "Nigger Night." According to one informant, on Nigger Night, "vandals in black" (Q67-1049) attacked and tried to blacken the faces of anyone they could catch.

The date for the beginning of the janneying season was less set. In most communities, mummering began on December 26, the first day of the Twelve Days of Christmas. In some communities, though, mummering began on December 25, Christmas Night, or on December 24, Christmas Eve, or even before. In Twillingate, N.D.B., one informant writes that on December 25, mummers carried a key to "officially open the mummering period" (Q67-207). Another informant from Twillingate mentions December 26 as the starting date (Q67-116) and still another informant, December 24 (Q67-945).

The reason for the several dates for the beginning of mummering is probably connected to the ambiguous beginning of Christmas license. At midnight, Christmas Eve, Catholics celebrated midnight mass and Protestants celebrated a "midnight service" (77-64ms) and Christmas Day, with its magnificent Christmas dinner, was a holy day and a family day when everyone dressed in his or her best (76-373ms) or new (77-64ms) clothes. While the women at home, however, tried to keep their houses clean and tidy for Christmas Eve[4] and Christmas Day, the men in the outports often opened their Christmas rum and moonshine "one or two days before Christmas"[5] or on Christmas Eve and began

"tramping around visiting" collecting more men[6] as they went. Sometimes, even, the women went to church on Christmas Eve in their "new hats" while the men went "drunk" (77-64ms). In Hooping Harbour, W.B., possibly a compromise was reached. The men fired off muzzle loaders (76-64ms) and drank on Christmas Eve but after Christmas dinner, on Christmas Day, "the women tried to get the men with smut from the bottoms of the kettles" until the whole house looked "as if a tornado had swept through" (76-56ms). The men retaliated with water or mustard and ketchup. In this atmosphere of both license and religious and family observances, it is probably not surprising that the starting date for mummering was not always rigidly fixed. Janneying did usually begin, though, on December 26. Therefore, mummering was most often contained within the Twelve Days of Christmas.

The second characteristic or pattern of mummering time is that no one janneyed on Sunday[7] and rarely on Saturday night. Saturday nights in most communities were reserved for cleaning and cooking in preparation for Sunday, the Sabbath day. On other nights, since someone had to be at home to receive janneys, community members took turns, in an informal fashion, masquerading and being hosts to masqueraders; that is, not everyone mummered every night.

Third, darkness is an important part of mummering time. Child mummers visited houses right after tea "before the adults set out" (067-487) but adult janneys, in almost

every community studied, visited "only after dark" (Q67-1005). Normally, Newfoundlanders did not venture very far from their houses after dark and Faris writes in Cat Harbour that "the fear of blackness, of darkness is very real- . . . ."[8] For mummers to be out, then, on the roads at night, was abnormal.

In summary, mummering time was limited to the Christmas season, most often to the Twelve Days of Christmas, December 26 to January 6. Janneys never visited on Sunday and rarely on Saturday night and, although child mummers might visit in the afternoon, adult mummers almost always visited only after dark.

## The Composition of Mummering Groups

### (A). Communities with Male and Female Mummers

As it faded in the nineteen-fifties and sixties, mummering became a children's custom, often with "trick or treating" (Q67-331) at the door as at Hallowe'en.[9] In its heyday, though, adults were the prime mummers because they entertained; child mummers were pale imitations of their elders, because they did not usually entertain.[10]

Frequently, adult masqueraders visited and entertained at "all the houses in the harbour" (Q67-1006) or at as many houses as possible and "friendships were renewed for another season" (77-75ms) or, sometimes, janneys picked the "best" (Q67-1003) houses where there was a lot

of activity going on. Occasionally, mummers visited specific houses for specific reasons. A janney disguised as the devil's imp, in a red jumpsuit with horns and a tail, visited the rector of the church in Lamaline, P.B. (Q67-864).* In Salmon Cove, C.B., mummers liked to visit the schoolteacher's house to "raise the roof against old grievances" (Q67-908).*

L.J. Chiaramonte has carefully worked out a model of the mummering groups for the community on the South Coast which he studied.[11] Possibly the composition of the groups which Chiaramonte found in "Deep Harbour" holds for other communities, too. I found, though, on going through the material which I had access to that the composition of mummering groups varied considerably from community to community. Only two patterns held for most of the communities examined.

In a few communities, such as St. Anthony, G.N.P., and Catalina, T.B., women, men, and children and all ages, young and old, mummered together. In St. Anthony, "some children started with their mum and dad when they were two or three years old and they kept going" (Q67-115). In other communities, such as Pardy's Island, P.B., and Moreton's Harbour, N.D.B., mummers were mainly "young marrieds and the unattached" (TC3658). On Pardy's Island, "girls and young fellers had nice times rollin in the snow, dancin, and messin up the house" (TC150) and, in Moreton's

Harbour, mummering was "an opportunity for matchmaking . . . because the large numbers made it easier to line up a date" (Q67-1099). In Cupids, C.B., young men and women, disguised in white nightgowns and lace veils, chased "the black boys" (TC218) and danced, twenty-five or thirty together, to the music of the accordion and the violin. In most communities, adult males and females mummered together in the same mummers' groups but adults and children did not janney together. In fact, small children mummered early in the evening before the adults "set out" (Q67-487). This meant that, later in the evening, someone had to stay at home with the children to babysit and to receive adult mummers when they came. In Conche, G.N.P., fathers stayed home while mothers janneyed, sometimes with "the unmarried man next door" (TC3658). In Elliston, T.B., mothers stayed home while fathers janneyed, perhaps in a group with unmarried women. In Cow Head, G.N.P., mothers and fathers seem to have taken turns staying home. When married couples with children mummered together, without the children, presumably someone else looked after the children at home. "In grandfather's time" (Q67-258), in Bay Bulls, S.S., adult couples collected more and more couples as they went until they had enough for a square dance or "an eight-handed reel" (Q67-460). More recently, in "Deep Harbour," married couples "in single or double pairs" (CMN, p. 97) sometimes mummered together incidentally on the way to a party or "time." (In

the majority of communities studied, adolescents usually janneyed with other adolescents either in mixed gender or in same gender groups.)

Mummering was "a social event" (CMN, p. 93) so, most often, everyone did mummer with someone else; now and then, though, a lone mummer, female or male, rapped at the door. Chiaramonte has described "Joseph" (CMN, p. 93), a lone mummer who was so well disguised and so unexpected, because he had not mummered in recent years, that people unsuccessfully guessed his identity for a long time.

In spite of all the different combinations in different communities of male and female mummers and, less frequently, of adults and children, two patterns stand out in the composition of mummering groups in communities where both males and females mummered.

The mixture of males and females in mummering groups in most communities is the first significant pattern. Normally, throughout the year, males and females did not mix together very often at work or socially. Married couples might occasionally go out together but usually men fished and hunted and in the evenings met with other men, in the shops or in the fishing stages, to talk and smoke. Women baked and sewed inside their houses and visited with other women, when they could, in the afternoon. In a few communities, even, males and females who would never ordinarily visit or be out together, mummered together. A married

woman, in Conche, N.B., would never ordinarily visit the neighbours accompanied by the unmarried man next door (TC3658) but she might mummer with him. In Plate Cove, B.B., a girl would not normally walk at night "with three or four men" (76-65ms) but she could mummer with them.

The second important pattern in mummering groups in communities where males and females mummered is that, most often, age groups mummered separately. In Garnish, F.B., and Marysvale, C.B., for example, the "older folks" and the "teenagers" (Q67-810) formed two distinct groups and in "Deep Harbour" mummers were either "big mummers" or "little mummers" (CMN, p. 90), though with further distinctions. In places such as Catalina where "all ages mummered together" (I 16/6/77), age divisions tended to stick together.

(B) Communities with Only Male Mummers

In most communities, both males and females janneyed, usually together in the same groups. In communities where both males and females mummered, the all-male hobby horse groups were exceptions. In at least ten of the 343 communities studied, however, mummers were usually or exclusively men. In three of the communities, males disguised or behaved as Indians. In four communities, the masqueraders were young men in particular. Frequently, in these communities, the male mummers were rough, blackening other males "for fun" (Q67-446), or revenge, or to make them part of their group, or perhaps all three, and, often, they were

"dreaded by women and children" (Q67-1233).

I will describe the male mummers' groups in the ten communities where it is clear that, generally, only males mummered. Eight of these communities are on the Avalon Peninsula.

In Colliers, C.B., young men especially in their "teens and twenties," masqueraded in women's clothes and roamed from house to house "hollering and singing" (Q67-228) and playing the accordion. Because some janneys settled "grudges," there was "some roughing up on the roads" and "other young hefty men . . . fled into the woods in mortal fear." Occasionally, females janneyed but "usually they followed the men for dances" (Q67-228).

Darbies in Reginaville, Colinet Island, S.M.B., (young men and some older men) in oilskins, underwear, dresses, and cloth masks "hunted each man in his house" where they inquired roughly at the door, "Any skins around?" Then, they "sang and danced around each man," blackening his face with soot and pretending to shave him with a wooden razor. "Some hid but they were always found" (Q67-267).

In Placentia, P.B., young men as "ghosts" or "girls" or in animal skins, who used sticks "sometimes offensively" and never unmasked, asked admission with a rhyme such as "Hectum, Spectum, Golden Spice/If 'e pure generosity . . ./ Have you anything for the mummers?" (Q67-792).[12]

In Musgravetown, B.B., men with sticks "or, if Indians, bows and arrows" (Q67-759), noisily made the rounds from house to house and entertained. In Curling, near Corner Brook, most janneys were "groups of men for serious drinking" masquerading as "fat women" (77-125ms) with their own clothes underneath.

Salmonier, S.M.B., darbies were "always male" and sang and danced "unless they went to punish"; then, they boot blackened their victim "even if the whole house was wrecked" (Q67-730). In Holyrood, C.B., "blackening faces and switching gates was popular" (Q67-1233). Male mummers with sooty faces and rouge and powdered hair blackened their male hosts "for a joke" (Q67-370) and, after, all the men feasted and performed while "the women stood back" (Q67-384). Also, in Holyrood, the old men had a custom of warning about five of their "cronies" a year in advance that they "would be blackened" so, around December 15, the five old men barricaded their doors and their friends "lay in wait . . . to get in. If a man was black, it was supposed to mean that he was no good" (Q67-1016).

In the later years of the custom, women mummered too in Bay Roberts, C.B., and Carbonear, C.B., but at one time mummers in both places were essentially men, mainly young men. Young male mummers in Carbonear often fought and "tore down anything in their way" and sometimes the RCMP were notified when "there was serious damage." They

also "chased girls when they met on a dark road" (Q67-802). In Bay Roberts, men disguised as "ghosts" (Q67-806) and "women" (Q67-779) and some men in goat or cow skins "representing the devil" (Q67-467) chased people off the roads and horsewhipped anyone they "disliked" (Q67-774) or "saw" (Q67-779). "Rival groups" (Q67-247) wore "long rubbers to keep their feet dry and to protect from whips"[13] (Q67-773) and when "up the harbour" met "down the harbour" there was "great competition and fun" (Q67-779). In addition, some Bay Roberts janneys fought in gangs at "Running Brook" and "people often walked miles over the marshes to avoid them" (Q67-774).

Finally, in Whitbourne and Colinet, S.M.B., male mummers carried hobby horses to assist them in the capture, blackening, and shaving of their "victims" (72-176ms). Although I have described the behaviour of hobby horses more fully in Chapter V, I have briefly described the behaviour of the carriers of the Whitbourne and Colinet hobby horses in this section because, in these communities, only males janneyed up.

In Colinet, darbies masqueraded in women's clothes and "masks and plumes like Indians" and "talked in a different tongue." After they had "tortured" and shaved a fellow, the Colinet mummers danced and sang and had "a cup of tea." One victim remarked, "they didn't kill me that was all" (72-101ms). The Whitbourne "shaving gang" allowed all

men who had been "initiated," that is blackened and shaved, to accompany the gang on its adventures. If the janneys were out for revenge, "a man could receive a severe mauling or going over" with sticks and switches but, normally, the hobby horse "grabbed a fellow" with its four-inch nail teeth while "the others jumped on him" with their shaving equipment. After a shaving, the mummers and the initiate danced and drank (the hobby horse leader made moonshine in his forge) and, on Old Christmas Day, all mummers who had been shaved were allowed to parade behind the hobby horse and the shaving gang. Any unshaved man who tried to sneak into the parade was immediately "initiated" and "the women served cake and syrup along the way" (72-176ms).[14]

Generally, in communities and in groups with only male mummers, janneys were rougher than janneys in groups with males and females. In Newfoundland, physical strength was a trait which was "expected" (TC3658) in males so perhaps male mummers in all-male groups fought or were exceptionally rough to [unconsciously?] display their strength and reaffirm their manliness. Certainly, the shaving of the face is a male prerogative and one that is frequently regarded as a sign of manhood. In Newfoundland, as far as I know, only male mummers "shaved" other men. The shaving of men by other men at Christmas, though, suggests another Newfoundland custom:

> A young man's first voyage fishing on the Labrador was marked by the appearance of "Neptune" on deck after the vessel reached a specific location . . . one of the [older] crew dressed up in oilskins and wearing a mask confronts the new hand, gets him on the deck, and shaves him. The symbolic implications of this cannot be denied in the passage to manhood.[15]

Notes

[1]Mary T. Douglas, Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo (1969), p. 165.

[2]Probably only masks were burned, not quilts and sheets and wearable clothes (H. Halpert).

[3]On All Fools Day, April 1, in Newfoundland, tricks could not be played after twelve noon because "April Fool" was over (70-21ms). As at Christmas, tricks and general badness were contained within a limited and set time period.

[4]In Broad Cove, P.B., [?], one informant remembers always having a fish dinner on Christmas Eve. Before dinner, everyone in the family would put cocoa on his or her cheeks (Q66-72).

[5]James C. Faris, Cat Harbour (1972), p. 160.

[6]In many Newfoundland communities, at Christmas time, groups of men visited other men's houses to have a drink. When the guests were ready to leave, the host usually joined the group and all of them would visit other houses, collecting more male hosts as they went. Although men in male drinking groups did not usually disguise themselves, they did have analogies with mummers. For example, mummers sometimes dressed in cow, goat, or sheep skins. Men in Heart's Delight, T.B., sometimes carried a stuffed goat or sheep's head with them on Christmas Eve at "boosing time" (Q67-76). Their wives cleaned and stuffed these heads with rags and, through the Christmas period, when the heads were not being carried by the men, they were hung near the Christmas tree.* Mummers, also, sometimes, disguised as Santa Claus. On Flat Island, P.B., male drinking groups sang as they walked: "Old Santy Claus he knows no danger/ Over all the world a ranger/Sailing forth on Christmas Eve" (Q67-860).*

[7]In one community, Port au Choix, G.N.P., one man did mummer on Sunday. He described himself as normally a "goody goody" (TC270) who, throughout the year, never went out on Sunday and did not drink. As no one expected this man, especially, to mummer on Sunday, no one recognized him.

[8]James C. Faris, Cat Harbour (1972), p. 141.

[9]The custom of saying "Trick or Treat" at Hallowe'en seems to have come to Newfoundland with the Americans who worked on the American airbases in Newfoundland during the second world war (H. Halpert).

[10]Probably children were accepted, as mummers, because they were learning the custom. In Newfoundland, there is a tradition of learning by doing (H. Halpert).

[11]See L.J. Chiaramonte's essay "Mumming in 'Deep Harbour': Aspects of Social Organization in Mumming and Drinking" in Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland, pp. 90-103.

[12]This rhyme is similar to part of the Doctor's speech in the "Tragedy of St. George," the St. John's mummers' play which is quoted in Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland, pp. 194-196.

[13]In Trinidad, at the turn of the century, during Carnival, men disguised as "Pierrot," a handsome masquerader and fighter, wore pots on their heads underneath their berets. The iron pots were to protect against the whips of other Pierrots. All the Pierrots made boastful speeches of personal prowess and fought one another. The crowds encouraged them. See A.T. Carr, "Pierrot Grenade," Carribean Quarterly 4, 1956, p. 281.

[14]72-176 ms, "The Hobby Horse of Whitbourne," is an excellent essay.

[15]L.G. Small, "Becoming a Man in Newfoundland: Education and Machismo in an Island Community," unpublished paper, p. 7. Dr. Halpert has also reminded me that sailors were "shaved" with a wooden or iron implement of some sort when they crossed the equator for the first time.

## CHAPTER III

## MUMMERS' COSTUMES

### Introduction

To disguise their identities, Newfoundland mummers say that they masqueraded in any "damn thing at all" (TC322), in whatever they could dig out of the old trunk in the attic or haul off the bed. Still, mummers' costumes had certain features in common. Usually, they were large and loose; almost always they were worn over ordinary, heavy, winter, outside apparel; and, often, they or the clothes underneath them were stuffed in the back or in the front or both to represent "fatness" (CMN, p. 65), humped backs, pregnancy, and/or enormous bellies. Because their costumes were bulky, mummers' shapes, personal identities, and genders were concealed. One informant in Conche, W.B., remarked that janneys were "almost its . . . neither male or female" (TC3658). Because janneys wore as costumes, unusual large, loose garments or ordinary garments in unusual ways, such as back to front, or inside out, and "weird" (Q67-186), "crazy" (Q67-494), or "ugly" (Q67-62) masks or facial disguises, janneys often looked "strange" (Q67-1005) or "frightening" (Q67-870), or comical and frightening, as well as genderless and anonymous. (Most

mummers say that they did not mean to look frightening or to behave in a frightening manner. Male mummers who wore or carried hobby horses, however, were exceptions. They tried, purposely, to frighten other people with the hobby horses.)

Along with these general characteristics, which are important, mummers' costumes had particular characteristics which divided them into groups or patterns; for example, male mummers often masqueraded as women and female mummers often masqueraded as men; sometimes, both male and female mummers wore wedding dresses; and, sometimes, they supplemented their costumes with the horns, tails, and skins of cows, sheep, and goats. With the exception of the hobby horse disguise which seems to deserve special attention, in this chapter I describe and give instances of the patterns in mummers' costumes. The patterns are organized into eight sections: Masks, Facial Disguises, and Headgear; Female and Male Costume Reversal; Neuter Costumes; Costumes of Mixed Gender; "Rough Dress and Grand Dress" (TC171): Costume Extremes; Type Costumes; Animal Costumes; Footgear and Handgear. I describe the hobby horse, as a costume, and the behaviour of the carriers of the hobby horse in a separate chapter, "The Hobby Horse, The Christmas Bull, and Other Animal Figures."

Masks, Facial Disguises, and Headgear

Because every mummer concealed her or his face somehow, so that she or he would not be recognized, masks and facial disguises will be described first.

Nearly all facial disguises were homemade. Aside from an "old gas mask" (CMN, p. 210) in "Coughlin Cove," which was presumably brought home from the First World War, and an occasional butter tub (Q67-608), they were fantastic in several, general ways. "Store-bought" masks did appear in the last years of the mummering custom, in the nineteen-fifties and early sixties.

The most readily available mask and perhaps the most comfortable to wear was the lace curtain from the bedroom or kitchen window, held on by a hat. This veil was translucent so that the wearer could see out but no one could see in and it was loose and had "three or four folds" (TC3658) so that the outline of the face did not show. The only disadvantage to this mask was that dedicated unmaskers could rip it off quite easily.

A thicker variation of the lace curtain veil was the cotton mask which sometimes had drawstrings at the bottom and "tied behind" (Q67-541). If the cloth were thin enough, it was worn as a veil; otherwise, eye, nose, and mouth holes were cut out so that the wearer could breathe, see, speak, eat, and drink. Occasionally, figured material was used which must have produced a strange, mottled effect but, most often, the cloth began as white and "crazy" (Q67-494) or

animal faces were then, sometimes, drawn on with pencils, and blacking, and "lipstick from the corner store" (Q67-791).[1]

If a cardboard mask were chosen, colouring, again, was applied with stove polish or charred wood, different coloured paints, or the red paper from the inside of a Taylor's cocoa tin (Q67-517). Long, stitched-on, ugly noses which swung back and forth and even sewn-on ears seem to have been popular with cardboard mask fanciers and whiskers and moustaches were often made from unplaited rope, oakum, sheep's wool, rabbit's fur, cow and horse hide, moose hair, or lichen. From time to time, even, in Port Blandford, B.B., "reindeer faces" (Q67-989) were drawn on cardboard and augmented with the branches of trees tied on the head with a scarf. The branches represented horns.

For the mummer who was really concerned to hide her or his identity, of course, pillow cases, flour and sugar sacks, cardboard boxes, paper bags, and stockings were best because they covered the entire head and neck. Mummers who did not cover their entire head could sometimes be recognized by their ears or the colour of their hair. The cloth sacks, too, were "hard to remove in a scuffle" (Q67-489).

Combined with longjohns or white sheets, white pillow cases and bleached flour and sugar sacks made "rough, ghostly faces" (Q67-315) or they could be coloured with "hideous" or "weird designs" (Q67-274) or, in Deer Lake,

painted to look like "the mask of the Medicine Man" (Q67-1203). Similarly, paper bags were decorated with black soot, "red on the cheeks and lips" (Q67-306) and probably a moustache or, once, a "moose ear beard" (Q67-397). Old cotton and silk stockings with "eye and air holes" (Q67-927) disguised well too, and nylons, when they came into style, excelled in their "ability to distort the facial features beyond recognition" (Q67-209), especially if dentures were removed. Cardboard boxes, with rope beards and hair and extended noses changed the shape of the head to square or oblong.

Although black markings (and red markings) were frequent on face coverings, black faces[2] themselves were common in many places, more often for men than for women, possibly because women more frequently wished to "look good" (TC3658). To make a face "right black" (TC319) like "the blackman" (Q67-277) or "a real nigger" (TC1), a mummer might pull a black stocking over his or her head or paint his or her own skin with charcoal, burnt cork, mud, boot blacking and butter, soot from the bottom of the kettle, wood ash, gunpowder and water, or Sunlight stove polish.

At the opposite extreme to these black faces were the occasional white faces made with flour and grease.

In two communities that I know of, masks were sometimes carved from stumps of wood. In Robert's Arm, N.D.B., a "concave" (TC330) piece of wood was chosen so that it would fit the face. Eyeholes were drilled with an auger,

five hobnails were driven in the front to represent the mouth, and there was an oakum moustache. On Change Islands, N.D.B., wooden false faces had eyeholes, "V" shaped cut out mouths, nail teeth, and red ochre colouring (TC321).

Although they were frequently used as moustaches and beards, pieces of animal skins could also be fashioned into full masks which, like cardboard masks or lace curtain veils, covered the entire face. In Freshwater, C.B., one informant's "grandfather and grandmother" (73-65 #14) wore goat skin masks and, in other places, rabbit skin and deer skin masks appeared. In Victoria, Carbonear, C.B., animal skin masks had eyeholes cut out and "sharp noses" and "beards" (Q67-536) sewn on. In Bay Roberts, C.B., deer skin masks were "painted many different colours" (Q67-1295).

Bird feathers were sometimes used as whole masks, too. They were stuck right onto the face with glue, dough, or molasses. In Grand Bank, F.B., a face covered with molasses and feathers was "a hideous sight" (Q67-1206).

In the nineteen-fifties and early sixties, "store-bought" false faces appeared occasionally. On Change Islands, N.D.B., mummers wore gorilla, Santa Claus, and pirate store masks. In Moreton's Harbour, N.D.B., they wore "witch" and "animal" (Q67-1099) store-bought masks. In Western Bay, C.B., cardboard false faces sold in the store for one cent each (Q67-939). The informant does not say what or whom the masks represented.

Finally, many mummers donned headgear of various shapes and sizes. Straw hats with feathers looked "ridiculous in freezing temperatures" (TC3658). Rams' horns, protruding from the forehead "looked ugly, just like an old witch" (TC53) or "the devil" (Q67-1198) himself. Tall, cardboard hats with Christmas tree decorations and "I like sweet cake" (Q67-1274) expressed the spirit of the season. In Conche, W.B., mummers sometimes wore wreaths from Christmas trees on their heads (Q67-103). In Robert's Arm, N.D.B., the sleeve of an old oilcoat served as a mummer's hat (TC330). In Bay Roberts, C.B., a mummer wore a lampshade (Q67-1295). In Corner Brook, mummers turned salt and pepper caps inside out and pulled them down over their ears. In King's Point, Green Bay, and Terra Nova, mummers might wear "fur caps pulled low" (Q67-466). Cape Anns, or fishermen's oilskin hats might be worn by both sexes, when they mummered. Women, dressed in "best" (TC300) clothes, and male impersonators of beautiful women sometimes, to be grand, wore elegant old hats of an earlier era. In Twillingate, N.D.B., bonnets were trimmed with feathers and ribbons. Gulls' wings were pinned on Change Islands hats (TC321). In Colinet, S.M.B., a male mummer who accompanied the hobby horse wore a cap of black crow's wings (72-176ms).[3] In St. Lawrence, P.B., mummers often wore tall cardboard hats covered with Christmas paper, tinsel, ornaments from the Christmas tree, and "anything to look bright" (Q67-1150).

In North River, C.B., and Placentia, P.B., cardboard masks shaped as funnels covered mummers' entire heads. In Placentia, they sported wool beards and moustaches and eyebrows marked on with soot. On Pilley's Island, N.D.B., goat skins were made into funnels and fitted over mummers' heads. They had a nose space for breathing and the mummers looked two feet taller (TC324). In Elliston, T.B., one man to look "very tall" (I 7/77), overturned a slop bucket on his head. For months afterwards, no one was able to guess who this mummer was.

Generally, headgear, especially tall or oddly shaped headgear, helped to conceal the shapes and sizes of the mummers who wore it, making it harder to guess who the mummers were. Masks and facial disguises hid mummers' most easily recognizable trait, their faces.

Female and Male Costume Reversal

In two-thirds of all the communities studied, often some male and female janneys disguised themselves in the clothes of the opposite sex. In many places, in fact, male and female "costume reversal" was taken for granted so, probably, some mummers actually disguised this way in more than two-thirds of the communities studied. When mummers disguised themselves in the clothes of the opposite sex, just as when they disguised themselves in other costumes, they almost always wore large, loose garments over their ordinary, outside winter attire and often the costumes or

the clothes underneath were stuffed with pillows, hay, or old clothes. In Petit Forte, P.B., female janneys disguised themselves in large men's work clothes padded with pillows, large rubber boots, and cheesecloth masks (Q67-487). On Bell Island, C.B., a male mummer wore an old black silk dress, stuffed in the bosom and in the rear, and a red shawl (Q67-306). In Head of Bay d'Espoir, B.d'E., female mummers rigged out in men's long underwear stuffed with pillows up the back or "halfway down the leg" (69-6ms). In Fortune, F.B., female mummers often masqueraded in southwesters, guernseys [sweaters] stuffed with pillows back and front, baggy pants rolled to the knee, men's shoes or boots, and a cloth mask (77-58ms). In Burgeo, S.C., male mummers disguised themselves in padded wedding dresses (Q67-141). In Tilt Cove, G.B., the school principal wore a woman's dress, with padding, high-heeled shoes, and a white shawl (Q67-1105).

Usually, that is in most communities where male and female "costume reversal" is reported, it was very difficult to tell male from female mummers, at least at first. The bulky costumes covered any gender or individual characteristics. Also, frequently, in communities where mummers reversed costumes, while some male janneys disguised themselves in women's clothes and some female janneys disguised themselves in men's clothes, other male janneys disguised themselves in men's clothes, other female janneys disguised themselves in women's clothes, and still other male and female janneys wore "neuter" costumes, such as quilts and sheets. Therefore, because of these two

factors, the bulky costumes and the only partial "costume reversal," mummers' genders, in these communities, became confused or blurred. To muddle genders even more, on Pardy's Island, P.B., male janneys, whether they disguised as females or males stuffed their fronts to make "titties." "You wouldn't know the girls from the fellows" (TC150) and, in Corner Brook, men masquerading in men's long underwear sometimes stuffed their fronts with pillows "for breasties" (72-56ms). It seemed to me that, rather than being costumes of "sexual reversal," generally, when mummers masqueraded as the opposite sex, as when they masqueraded in other disguises, their costumes were of no sex or sexless.

Occasionally, in a few communities, such as Carmanville, N.D.B., Garnish, F.B., Lethbridge, B.B., and St. Albans, B.d'E., all male janneys masqueraded in women's clothes and all female janneys masqueraded in men's clothes so, in these communities, the genders of janneys, under their disguises, were easily identifiable. As one informant from Carmanville wrote, "You know to guess. It's stupid" (Q67-217).

Occasionally, a few mummers tried to imitate the opposite sex exactly so the costumes which these particular mummers wore clearly represented one sex or the other, that is, they were not asexual. Indeed, some of these mummers were so accurate in their representations of the opposite sex that they were taken to be the sex they simulated. In Cow Head, G.N.P., _____ _____, who was "like a man

anyway" disguised herself "in a man's suit, shirt, tie, and acted like a man." She had "a grand bit of fun" and "no one knew" (TC246) that she was really a woman. In Salmon Cove, C.B., male mummers masqueraded as women with their own clothes underneath "so you could see" while the women, "mainly in men's clothes, tried to pass for men" (73-168ms). In "Deep Harbour," a man who had not mummered in recent years pulled on "one of his sister-in-law's tight fitting dresses," "long brown cotton stockings," a veil, and "a neighbour's high-heeled shoes" (CMN, p. 93). People tried to guess his identity for months. In this last case, it is not clear whether people knew that "Joseph" was a man in disguise or whether they did not know if he were a man or a woman underneath his costume. "Joseph's" costume is one of the few tight costumes that I know of.

Occasionally, too, some janneys, disguised as the opposite sex, exaggerated and mocked the clothes, mannerisms, and physical attributes of that sex, often "to get a good laugh" (Q67-582). These costumes, then, cannot be said to be asexual either. In Long Cove, T.B., girls masqueraded as "fishermen" (Q67-663) in oilclothes stuffed with pillows, and straw hats. They smoked pipes. Although even men in Newfoundland did not usually smoke cigars, in Isle aux Morts, Cabot Strait, women disguised as men sometimes smoked cigars through their masks (Q67-491). In Foxtrap, C.B., a husky "female" with "paper stuffed in the appropriate places" (Q67-1003) played the accordion. Buxom "ladies" in Moreton's

Harbour, N.D.B., sported "bulging hips and flaring breasts" (Q67-1099) of turnips, grapefruits, and potatoes. In Bay of Islands, a "female" with "hairy, unshapely legs" donned nylons and a lady's summer hat "in the dead of winter" (Q67-896). The most common and "the funniest" mummers in Curling, near Corner Brook, were men disguised as "fat women" with their own clothes underneath (77-125ms). In Red Bay, Labrador, a boy mummer wore a large, bright red dress, fifty years out of style, a brassiere over the dress, a large hat, an old, torn petticoat for a veil, gloves with the fingers gone, large boots, and a deer skin over his shoulders (Q67-726). In Heart's Delight, T.B., a male mummer masqueraded as Girly Girdle with "an old corset and runny stockings over his jeans" (Q67-76). Although members of both sexes parodied the opposite sex, men seem to have parodied women more than women parodied men.

On the whole, although there were some exceptions, when mummers disguised themselves as the opposite sex, it was difficult to tell, at least at first, whether they were really men or women underneath their disguises and the general effect of their costumes was sexless. Normally, throughout the year in Newfoundland, the clothing of both sexes was separate and distinct. Men wore men's clothes and women wore women's clothes.

Neuter Costumes

As well as clothes of the opposite sex, quilts and sheets were popular disguises for female and male mummers; in fact, in almost every community studied, some mummers wore quilts and sheets as costumes. In a few communities, some female and male mummers masqueraded in brin bags [burlap bags].

Like almost all other mummers' costumes, quilts and sheets and brin bags were large and loose and almost always they were worn over mummers' ordinary, heavy, outside winter garments. Often, also, like most other mummers' costumes, they, or the clothes underneath them, were stuffed in the back or in the front or both with pillows, or hay, or old clothes so that mummers' shapes and genders and identities were concealed. I call these costumes "neuter" disguises.

As costumes, these articles were all worn in several different ways.

"A quilt would be wrapped around the body and over the head so as to cover the face, except for a small opening for the wearer to peer out of" (CMN, p. 211). A mummer in this costume revealed only his or her eye.

A quilt could also be wrapped just around the body leaving the face and head to be hidden with some sort of mask and, perhaps, a hat or cap. In Ramea, S.C., a mummer might wear a blanket or quilt, a cloth mask, and a woman's hat (Q67-379). In Grate's Cove, T.B., mummers seem to have

disguised themselves in blankets, tied on with belts, and tall cardboard hats decorated with ribbons. The reference does not say whether the hats covered the mummers' faces or whether masks were worn as well (72-102ms). The belts would have kept the blankets and stuffing, if there were any, in place.

A quilt could be worn, too, as a cape over another costume. In Ramea, S.C., a male mummer who played the accordion wore longjohns, stuffed, wool mitts, a cloth veil, a stocking cap, and a blanket over his shoulders (Q67-379). In Fox Harbour, P.B., mummers rigged out in granny gowns, caps, and "crazy" or patchwork quilts (Q67-874). In Bay Roberts, C.B., mummers disguised themselves in women's long flannel nightgowns tied at the waist with ropes, muslin veils, caps or lampshades, and patchwork quilts (Q67-1295). As capes, quilts provided shape and size and gender concealment and extra warmth. Inside houses, the quilt could be pulled around a mummer's body to doubly cover, with the costume underneath, the mummer's head, arms, and hands. Outside, it could be hauled around the mummer wearer to cut the wind and cold.

Occasionally, quilts, no matter how they were worn, were tied around the waist with quite unusual things. In "Coughlin Cove," "a man's necktie or a piece of string" (CMN, p. 211) was used to secure a quilt. In Pouch Cove, near St. John's, a mummer who wore a quilt fastened horsebells around

his [or her] waist (Q67-660) to hold on the quilt and to make noise, too, probably.

When sheets were worn as mummers' disguises, they were treated much like quilts. Sheets were less valuable than quilts so, if an old sheet were pulled over a mummer's head, holes might be cut right out of the sheet for openings for the mummer's eyes and mouth, or they might be burned out with a red hot poker. Such holes might then be encircled with black markings "to make the eyes look large" (Q67-1226). In Placentia, P.B., mummers might wear a hat on top of the sheet (Q67-459). If sheets were wrapped around only the body, not the body and head, they might be worn with a white "pillow slip mask" (Q67-411), a "black stocking" mask (Q67-990) or a "cardboard false face" (Q67-1006) or, in Harbour Grace, C.B., a mummer coated his or her face with grease and flour (Q67-113). Like quilts, sheets were often stuffed to distort mummers' shapes and sizes and, if so, they were tied around the waist with scarves or neckties or ropes.

Because sheets, in the outports, were always white and had a vague outline, they frequently represented "ghosts" (Q67-1047). In Lord's Cove, P.B., a huge man, disguised as a ghost, announced himself with "a high pitched roar" (Q67-314). In Harbour Grace, C.B., a mummer, "dressed as a ghost" (Q67-113), waited at the cemetery to scare a man who was courting the same girl. The man was sick all winter

from the fright (Q67-113).

Brin bags were not worn as frequently as quilts and sheets, as mummers' costumes. In Kilbride, S.S., brin bags were worn with sashes and white cloths over the head to resemble "Arabs" (Q67-829). Presumably, head and arm holes were cut in the brin bags. In Safe Harbour, B.B., sacks or brin bags were pulled right over mummers' heads and bodies and small slits were cut in the bags for "windows" (Q67-597). In Safe Harbour, this costume was called "the hunk" (Q67-597). In Grand Bank, F.B., a panda costume was made of burlap bags stuffed with hay. The person inside the panda costume was "completely helpless and had to be guided by two helpers" (Q67-1206).

Sheets and brin bags made good mummers' costumes because they were loose and bulky and could be stuffed to conceal mummers' shapes. They were also chosen for mummers' costumes because they were all the same. Sheets in the outports, as I said, were always white and brin bags were always brown. Hosts, therefore, who were trying to guess the identities of mummers who wore sheets or brin bags could not connect the mummers' costumes with a particular "owner." Other mummers' costumes, such as old clothes, could often be associated with a particular person who was generally a friend or a relative of the mummer. In "Deep Harbour," for

example, a mummer was identified because he wore his wife's belt. "Where didya get that belt? Isn't that Mary Rose's belt?" (CMN, p. 95).

Quilts in the outports, unlike sheets and brin bags were all quite different from each other. Apparently, each quilt was usually designed and sewn by one woman, most often in her own home, in the evening, after the children had gone to bed. Even so, informants do not agree about whether quilts, when they were worn as mummers' costumes, could be associated with the women who made them. Clyde E. Williams in "Janneying in 'Coughlin Cove'" writes:

> Since quilts are only washed and hung out on the clothesline about once a year, and since neighbours do not often enter the bedroom to see the quilts on the beds, the danger of its being recognized when worn by the janney would not be great. (CMN, pp. 210-211)[4]

An informant from St. Joseph's, P.B., told me that female hosts, at least, could often recognize the stitching on mummers' quilts. The women would have visited each other while the quilts were being made and each woman's stitch was quite distinctive. Female hosts, then, would probably have been able to identify a mummer disguised in a quilt by the stitching on the quilt that she or he wore. If a mummer who was disguised in a quilt had not made the quilt herself, she or he was likely a friend or relative of the maker.

If quilts could be recognized by their stitching, then quite likely quilts, when they were worn as mummers' costumes, had another function, too. In Conche, W.B., new

or especially fine quilts were not given to "just anybody" (TC3658) as costumes. They were entrusted by the women who made them only to neat, careful mummers who "didn't drink" (TC3658). In Harbour Grace, C.B., women "took pride in their elaborate homemade quilts" (Q67-860). In "Coughlin Cove," as mummers made the rounds from house to house, "people [would] notice [the quilts] and sometimes make comments on [them] . . . 'My, that's a lovely quilt'" (CMN, p. 219). In Bay de Verde, C.B., "quiltmaking is still an art of homemakers . . . . Christmas is the time of year when the new productions are on display, namely as disguises for mummers" (Q66-16). Since quilts were hidden away in trunks or on beds most of the year, perhaps Christmas was the one time when this special skill of women--quiltmaking--could be publicly displayed, recognized and praised. The boats that men made and men's fishing skills were on public display all the time.

In summary, quilts, sheets, and brin bags have been called neuter costumes because they disguised the genders of the mummers who wore them (as well as their identities) and because they were not worn by either sex during the year. Sheets, when they were worn as mummers' costumes, frequently represented "ghosts" and quilts may have been worn as costumes partly so that their makers' skill could be displayed and admired.

Costumes of Mixed Gender

Sometimes, in a few communities, female and male mummers masqueraded in costumes which combined garments which were normally worn by men with garments which were normally worn by women.

A woman in Catalina, C.B., disguised herself in "an old wedding dress, a black stocking mask, and a top hat" (Q67-623). In Fontune, F.B., a man dressed up in long underwear with a trap door behind, a white stocking veil, a lady's straw hat, "socks and lady's high-heeled shoes" (Q67-528). In Salmon Cove, C.B., a male janney wore a long black dress, a black stocking mask, his father's long boots, a sheep skin, and horsebells at his waist (Q67-906).

Another man in Corner Brook covered himself with white hat upside down, earrings like small wheels, a multi-coloured quilt, . . . tight underwear pants, red socks, a veil, and long pointed viking shoes (Q67-1208).

A janney in Shoal Harbour, T.B., wore heavy white men's long underwear stuffed with pillows, women's boots, women's garters, and a cow's tail attached at the rear (Q67-1084). The reference does not say what the janney wore on his or head head.

A male masquerader in Ramea, S.C., disguised himself in men's long underwear, a kitchen curtain stretching from his neck to the ground, a blanket cape, a curtain veil, a lady's straw hat, and ordinary boots. In his pocket he

carried a play gun (Q67-399).

In Bishop's Cove, C.B., a mummer wore a "sou'wester" (Q67-1115), a stocking mask, a woman's coat stuffed in the bosom with pillows, a goat skin skirt, and heavy boots.

In Valleyfield, B.B., a janney might wear men's long woolen underwear, a "ridiculous" (Q67-458) pink straw hat, a gay scarf, and an old window curtain veil (Q67-458). The reference does not mention footgear.

Since these costumes combined the clothes of both sexes, they seem to have been as genderless as quilts or sheets.

"Rough Dress and Grand Dress" (TC171): Costume Extremes[5]

Sometimes mummers disguised themselves in best clothes and sometimes they wore rags or untidy clothes or patched clothes or messy black clothes. In Dunfield, T.B., women sometimes masqueraded in men's dress suits (Q67-190). In Cavendish, T.B., janneys often wore old clothes decorated with holes and patches (Q67-477).

Sometimes best clothes and untidy clothes occurred in the same community. In Change Islands, N.D.B., mummers disguised themselves in, among other things, rags and tuxedos. In Beaumont South, N.D.B., they rigged out in "best clothes or oilclothes and everything in between", (TC300). In Seal Cove, F.B., they wore everything from torn clothes to their Sunday best (76-372ms). In Conne

River, B.d'E., where masqueraders were usually men, costumes were either ugly or beautiful--either "sloppy clothes," such as hip rubbers, an old skirt, and a mask with "a horrible expression" or "the other extreme" (Q67-213), a beautiful lady with shaven legs and a painted face.

Occasionally, beautiful costumes and untidy clothes or messy, black clothes were juxtaposed in the same mummers' group. In Conche, W.B., where men and women janneyed together, "men were sloppy even as women" but "women dressed up in very nice hats or quilts . . ." (TC3658). In Trinity, B.B., some female mummers competed to disguise themselves in the most splendid outfit so "ribbons and bows were sewn on beautiful long dresses" (Q67-779) and beautiful faces were drawn on paper or pillow case masks. Some Trinity men camouflaged themselves under paper or cardboard masks or soot. The reference does not say what else the men wore. Young men and women in Cupids, C.B., disguised themselves in "big, white nightdresses" with lace veils while "the black boys" (TC218), who marched ahead with "the chopper" (the hobby horse), masqueraded in old, black clothes, tall hats, and black hands and faces. The white nightgowned mummers chased the black boys and tried to throw them in the snow. Last, although the mummers' play is not the mummers' house-visit, they are both Christmas customs. In Tilting, Fogo Island, N.D.B., six male fools in frightening masks

and "wild rags" (TC73) sewn on clothes accompanied the male play mummers who wore their "best" clothes, "lovely" white shirts with coloured cross-ribbons. The fools were "a rough bunch and all were afraid of them" (TC74). They "protected" the play mummers and "chased and beat certain men" (TC73).

Perhaps "best" clothes and rags or untidy clothes or black clothes, when they were worn by mummers, at Christmas, symbolized right and wrong or morality and license in Newfoundland outport culture.

Type Costumes

Although mummers almost never disguised themselves to represent particular people,[6] in almost every community, each year, some mummers disguised themselves in costumes to represent certain types of occupations, or people, or characters.

(A) Costumes Representing Types of Occupations

A common occupational disguise was "the fisherman." In almost every community, male and female janneys wore oil-clothes as part of their costumes, along with an antiquated straw hat, perhaps, or a quilt cape. Probably, these costumes did not represent fishermen. In Ramea, S.C., though, and in a good many other communities, some janneys disguised themselves specifically as fishermen. In Ramea, "fishermen" wore rubber boots, oil pants, oil jackets, southwesters, and store-bought false faces or cloth masks with eye and mouth

holes cut out (Q67-379). In Southport, T.B., oilclothes were popular as mummers' disguises and, "in many instances, a fish was carried along" (Q66-21). In Port Rexton, T.B., a man disguised as a fisherman wore oilclothes stuffed with pillows "to make him look bigger" (Q67-996), rubber boots and a half slip veil. He carried a rope and a dory grapnel.

Doctors and ministers were also quite frequent occupational type disguises and a "nun" even appeared once. In Grand Falls, mummers as doctors carried "bean" (Q67-89) pills and lunch box bags. Mummer doctors in Heart's Delight, T.B., mixed together medicines at each house "for coughs and colds, sores and blisters on your knees" (Q67-693).[7] In Change Islands, N.D.B., "if there was a doctor, there was often a pregnant 'woman'" (TC319) who could be either a male or a female in disguise. Unfortunately, the informant does not say what the doctor and the pregnant "woman" did. In Pouch Cove, near St. John's, a doctor proclaimed that he had "medicine made of a cat's feather and a hen's tooth" (Q67-660). Masked 'parsons' with Bibles (or almanacs) turned up often in communities where wedding parties were common as mummering groups. In other communities, they appeared from time to time on their own. I will discuss wedding party mummers' groups and other group disguises at the end of this section. In Harbour Grace, C.B., a masked 'clergyman' wore a black overcoat, a black hat, black shoes, a white collar, and black rubbers. He carried a Bible (Q67-994). In

Lewisporte, N.D.B., a mummer disguised as a clergyman with a "black book" was jokingly refused a drink of liquor by a host. "Can't have any. `You're a clergyman" (Q67-437). The janney in Fox Harbour, P.B., who was disguised as a nun* wore "a black shirt and sweater and a white shawl" (Q67-275).

Nurses, dentists who offered to pull teeth with pincers, lumberjacks, hunters, farmers with pitchforks, soldiers, and policemen appeared occasionally, too. A "hunter" in Port Rexton, T.B., was distinguished by woods clothes, huge logans, a sealing musket, and a powder horn. He also wore a half-slip veil (Q67-996). Masqueraders who disguised themselves as soldiers dressed, in Change Islands, N.D.B., in uniforms left over from the First World War (TC321). In Harbour Buffett, P.B., they wore uniforms left over from the Second World War (Q67-212).

(B) Costumes Representing Types of People

The types of people who were represented most commonly were old men and old women, cripples, and hunchbacks. "Old men" and "old women" were very common disguises for many mummers in many communities. Janneys who disguised themselves as cripples and hunchbacks were almost as frequent.

Mummers acted as old men and old women and cripples by stooping and limping, with a split or a stick for support.

In St. Lawrence, P.B., male janneys who mimicked old women were called "old dears" (Q67-438). They "leaned on knotted stick canes for support" (Q67-438). In St. John's, masqueraders used sticks to "cripple along" (Q67-482). Mummers who were disguised as hunchbacks also stooped and limped and leaned on sticks. In addition, they had pillows stuffed "in the backs of their garments" (Q66-19) to make humps. In Long Pond, Manuels, C.B., "the hunchback was a popular and a terrible figure as a mummer" (Q66-19).

Another type of person which mummers quite often represented was "the bride." Male mummers or female mummers or both wore wedding dresses as disguises. In Deer Lake, "the most common disguise for male mummers was a wedding dress" (Q67-1203). In Campbellton, N.D.B., a male mummer wore his mother's old wedding clothes and carried flowers (Q67-531). In Burin, P.B., a woman wore her own "old bridesgown" (Q67-326) with a lace curtain veil. In Perry's Cove, C.B., "brides" were either men or women.

Sometimes, the female or male clad in the wedding dress was accompanied by a groom. In Newtown, B.B., a boy was a bride and his girlfriend was the groom. In Avondale, C.B., a female "bride" wore a black dress with red, white, and blue paper roses hanging from it and the male "groom" wore a black tuxedo. Presumably, they also wore masks or veils (TC11).

Negroes, Indians, gypsies, and pirates sometimes turned up, too. In Port Blandford, B.B., mummers who wished to resemble "real niggers" (TC1), blacked their faces with Sunlight stove polish. In Heart's Content, T.B., a man representing "a nigger woman" rubbed soot on his face and put on a woman's dress, a woman's shoes, stockings, and a "turban" (Q67-990). In St. John's, there was "always" an "Aunt Jemima" and often "Uncle Tom" and "Little Eva" from Uncle Tom's Cabin (Q67-9).

"Indians"[8] might have been more usual disguises for male mummers than for females. In Colinet, S.M.B., male mummers masqueraded in "masks and plumes like Indians" and "talked in a different tongue" (72-101ms). In Musgravetown, B.B., if male janneys were disguised as Indians, they carried "bows and arrows" (Q67-759). In Bay Bulls, S.S., janneys sometimes painted their faces "different colours" to "make fun of the Beothuks" (TC322) but the reference does not say whether the mummers were males or females. In Deer Lake, flour sacks were painted to look like the mask of a Medicine Man (Q67-1203). In St. Lawrence, P.B., child mummers disguised themselves in buckskin coats, feathers, and "brightly painted faces" (Q67-439).

Janneys masquerading as "gypsies" and "pirates" appeared in Spaniard's Bay, C.B. They wore "old rags" (Q67-318). In Lumsden, B.B., a mummer disguised himself or herself as Long John Silver, with one leg (Q67-231).

(C) Costumes Representing Types of Characters

"Ghosts" and "devils" were the two most frequent types of character disguise.

Mummers in white sheets with white pillow slip hoods or black stocking masks often portrayed ghosts but ghosts were also represented by masqueraders in other costumes. In Fogo, Fogo Island, N.D.B., someone dressed up in a dead man's oilskins and visited the dead man's widow. As the man had only been dead a week, the widow fainted (Q67-982). In Daniel's Harbour, G.N.P., a male mummer disguised himself as a particular ghost, "Big Foot Sal." "Sal," in life, had been Sally Pollard, a tall woman with big feet who had walked into the woods one day to get birch rinds for tanning seal skins. She never returned but her ghost is still seen in Daniel's Harbour chasing the devil with an axe (71-115ms).

The devil took various forms and so did mummers' costumes representing the devil. In Lamaline, P.B., a janney masqueraded as the devil's imp in a red jump suit, horns, and a long tail (Q67-864). In Daniel's Harbour, G.N.P., the wife of the mummer who disguised himself as the ghost of "Big Foot Sal" wore "a cow's head mask," black pants with a tail, and an old seal skin jacket. She "could easily have passed for the Black Man" (71-115ms). In Robert's Arm, N.D.B., a huge man masqueraded as the devil in black oilclothes, horns, and a tail (Q67-20). In Moreton's Harbour, N.D.B., mummers sometimes wore horns and, if they wished to resemble the

devil, a tail (Q67-1198). In Pouch Cove, near St. John's, a mummer dressed up in a complete cow's skin with the head and the horns attached. People probably thought it was "Satan himself" (Q67-1180).

"Santa" became more usual as a character disguise when Santa false faces became available in stores. Still, before that, Santa masks were made with "sheep's wool whiskers" (TC319), "sheep's wool eyebrows and cap trim" (Q67-989). In Placentia, P.B., there was "always one" janney as Santa Claus (Q67-398), and in Corner Brook, in the nineteen-forties, a man costumed as Santa once drove a horse and wagon full of Christmas carol singing mummers (Q67-478). Father Christmas in Campbellton, N.D.B., visited all the houses in the community with a birch broom. When he entered each house, he would sing this song:

> Here comes I Old Father Christmas
> Welcome or welcome not
> I hope Old Father Christmas will never be forgot.
> Last year when I came here
> You never asked me to taste your beer
> So here I come with boughs and broom
> To sweep the cobwebs out of your room.

"When Father Christmas had finished his song, he would begin to sweep. If he was given no beer, he would sweep everything out of the room; but, if he was given beer, he would leave quietly" (Q67-1266).

Occasionally, mummers disguised themselves as witches. In Little Heart's Ease, T.B., witches wore high hats and carried brooms (Q67-1226). In Fortune Harbour,

N.D.B., mummers with rams' horns on their heads looked ugly, "just like an old witch" (TC53). In St. Leonard's, P.B., a "special mummer" (77-91ms) disguised herself as a witch, in black, and carried a broom. She did tricks and was followed by the community children. In St. John's, a janney masqueraded as Old Mother Witch (Q67-499).[9] Another informant from St. John's reports that mummers who dressed as witches wore patched clothes and had black dots on their faces (Q67-946).

There are two references to a figure called "Old Dutch Cleanser" or "The Dutch Cleanser Woman," one to a headless person, one to a Green Man, and one to Old Father Time. It is worth mentioning them here. Also, a mummer disguised as Herman Monster,* a TV character from "The Munsters" show, is mentioned by an informant from Bay de Verde. In Deer Lake, child janneys dressed up as Robin Hood and Sinbad (Q67-1041).

In Trinity, T.B., a lady spent weeks preparing a costume for herself called Old Dutch Cleanser according to the picture on the Dutch Cleanser can. She wore Dutch shoes and carried a broom (Q67-214).[10] Another lady in St. Lawrence, P.B., disguised herself as The Dutch Cleanser Woman. She dressed all in white with a white apron and a white cap. In her hand, she carried a tin of Dutch Cleanser (Q67-439).

In Garnish, F.B., a janney on stilts, with her head in a box, represented a headless person.* Clothes formed

the outside layer of the costume and presumably the neck of a coat would have been tied around the top of the box (Q67-752).

In Rencontre East, F.B., a mummer disguised as The Green Man* [11] covered herself or himself with fir boughs and an owl face mask (Q67-818). In Summerville, B.B., too, mummers occasionally wore barrel hoops covered in green boughs and decorated with birds' wings (Q67-409).

In La Scie, N.D.B., Old Father Time* sported a long white beard and a tall hat (Q67-400).

(D) Mummers' Group Disguises

Occasionally, all the janneys in a group of janneys disguised themselves to represent an occupational group, such as a fishing crew; a ceremonial group, such as a wedding party; or a character group, such as Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs.

In Duntara, B.B., a group of mummers costumed as fishermen, in oilclothes and Cape Anns, dragged along with them nets and "a small dory" (Q66-22). The reference does not say whether these "fishermen" were men or women in disguise.

All the janneys in one group in Shearstown, C.B., masqueraded as pirates in baggy pants and eyepatches, with swords and daggers in their belts. They carried a trunk with a skelton inside and "any defiers were put into the box" (Q67-403).

Mummers in bride and groom costumes might be part of a whole wedding group. In Nipper's Harbour, Green Bay, where "bridal parties were common" a "bride" and "groom" janneyed with brides' boys, brides' girls, and a minister in a "white paper collar" (Q67-1155) and a "corker hat" (a high hat). In Burin, P.B., there were "guests in bathrobes" (Q67-326) as well.

If the mummer minister with the bridal party was a bit of a ham, he or she might perform the marriage ceremony at each house that the group visited. One mummer minister amused his audience by reading the almanac, instead of the Bible, upside down in a funny voice. Still, his bride and groom were "always pronounced man and wife" (Q67-1155) before the end of the ceremony. In Avondale, C.B., the bride and groom were assumed to have been married "before they left" to go janneying. At each house, they "asked to have a dance for the wedding" (TC11).

A mummers' group in St. Lawrence, P.B., represented a whole extended family--"mother, father, daughters, sons, grandfather, grandmother, greatgrandfather and greatgrandchildren" (Q67-439).

Last, mummers in another group in St. Lawrence disguised as Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (Q67-439). The reference does not say whether the mummer who played Snow White was young or old or a male or a female. The reference also does not say who played the dwarfs.

The great variety of these janneys' "type" costumes reveals the wide range of sources from which these costumes were drawn--everything from everyday life for fisherman and hunters and nurses, to traditional folk history, for The Green Man; to literature, for the characters from Uncle Tom's Cabin; to films and popular culture and even advertising, for The Dutch Cleanser Woman. The most common "type" costumes represented old men and old women and cripples.

Animal Costumes

Cows, goats, and sheep were often slaughtered just before Christmas in Newfoundland so that there would be fresh meat for the winter and because cold weather was needed to preserve it.

In one community,* Colinet, S.M.B., each Christmas, when each family killed their cow, sheep, or goat, a new covering of cow, sheep, or goat skin was put on the horseshoe over the door (72-101ms).[12] More frequently, though, in fact in many communities, cow, sheep, or goat skins, tails, horns, and heads were saved for mummers' costumes or for parts of mummers' costumes. Horse skins were saved if they were available. Wild animal skins, horns, and heads were sometimes used as janneys' costumes or as parts of janneys' costumes, too.

Horns from cows, sheep, and goats, or from wild animals were often attached to mummers' masks, hats, or caps. In Clarke's Beach, C.B., girls disguised themselves

in large knee rubbers, huge old coats, baggy pants, colourful masks, and bulls' horns. Boys in Clarke's Beach, when they mummered, exchanged the baggy pants for skirts. In Fortune Harbour, N.D.B., janneys put rams' horns on their heads and "looked ugly, just like an old witch" (TC53). In Long Pond, Manuels, C.B., "horns of sheep, goats, and cattle were . . . used, especially in representations of the devil" (Q66-19). In Terrenceville, F.B., some fellows wore "moose horns" (Q66-42) on their heads.

Sometimes, a tail was worn along with the horns, or by itself. In Moreton's Harbour, N.D.B., mummers dressed in "old fashioned clothes" (Q67-1198) with cardboard masks-- and, if they wished to resemble the devil, cows' horns and a sheep's tail. In Change Islands, N.D.B., a boy, disguised to represent a girl, might fasten a cow's tail to the back of his head (TC319).

Sometimes, the heads or the skins of the heads of cows, goats, sheep, or moose, were worn over mummers' own heads. In Port Anne, P.B., "fellas" with bulls' heads over their own heads "belted out black eyes" (TC21). On Bell Island, C.B., young men in cow or bulls' heads and blankets "lurked behind trees" to scare girls. If a guy were after a certain girl, he chased her into the woods . . . (Q67-306). Moose heads with horns were dried and worn with "huge rubbers" (Q67-663) in Long Cove, T.B. A mummer in Harbour Grace, C.B. whose identity was never discovered, wore a cow's head over his or her own head and scared and

"occasionally beat" (Q67-1234) with a chain anyone whom he [or she?] caught without a disguise. In Daniel's Harbour, G.N.P., a female mummer "who could easily have passed for the Black Man" (71-115ms) disguised herself in a cow's head mask, an old seal skin jacket, and black pants with a tail. She carried a split and a powder horn.

Occasionally, skins were worn as vests or decorations on costumes. In Harbour Grace, C.B., a goat skin was "laced across the front and used as a jacket" (Q67-1232). Mummers in Salvage, B.B., wore sheep skins in front with "their arms through the leg holes" (TC33). In Conche, W.B., owl, fox and bird skins were "dried and laced around the body or sewn on clothes" (Q67-103).

Or, cow, bull, sheep, ram, horse and goat skins and heads or skins of heads could be worn together as complete animal costumes. Usually these costumes were worn by men. In Salmon Cove, C.B., mummers wore sheep or goat skins over their faces with eye and mouth holes cut out and a nose "three times the usual size" (Q66-87). The mummers' bodies were covered with sheep or goat skins over bags of hay. "The most daring young men" in Lumsden, B.B., draped cow, ram, and sheep skins over their bodies and covered their heads with cow, ram, and sheep heads, "especially if there were horns." The costumes were "foolproof" (Q67-231); that is, the mummers could not be recognized. In Bay Roberts, C.B., _____ _____, who was much feared, dressed in a horse skin and carried a whip (Q67-774). A mummer under a cow's skin and a cow's head with horns, in Pouch

Cove, near St. John's, was "probably thought to be Satan himself" (Q67-1180). A man in a bull's skin in Grates Cove, C.B., "poked women's legs and threw chairs around with his horns" (Q66-44). Three men in St. Phillip's, C.B., under a bull disguise "cornered a man against a fence and took his clothes" (72-69ms). In Twillingate, N.D.B., a mummer disguised in a "complete bull's suit" (Q67-517) was knocked unconscious as he or she crawled through a door on his or her hands and knees.

Wild animal and bird skins and heads were worn, too, as complete costumes. In Grates Cove, T.B., someone's grandfather once wore a bear skin and "crawled and growled" (76-102ms). In Port Anne, P.B., an eagle skin, eight to ten feet long, was worn right over a mummer's head and body. "Ya wudden know but 'twas da devil you'd hear something was coming" (TC21). In Reginaville, Colinet Island, S.M.B., a "horrible" disguise was made from the skin, wings, and head of a large bird and a "long white robe" (Q67-267).

In Dark Cove, Gambo, B.B., there is one* report of an exceptional animal costume, a complete "pig" costume. A mummer covered himself or herself with a barrel. There were holes for the mummer's arms and eyes. A pig's head was nailed on top and there were pig accessories, probably hoofs and a tail and maybe pig droppings (Q67-887).

Cowbells and horsebells were worn occasionally in a few communities as costume accessories. Although they are

not parts of animals, they are connected with animals. In Pouch Cove, near St.John's, Upper Island Cove, C.B., Upper Gullies, C.B., and Salmon Cove, C.B., mummers wore horsebells around their waists. In Pouch Cove, janneys masqueraded in quilts with horsebells. Inside houses, they danced and jumped on tables and stoves (Q67-660). In Salmon Cove, a young male janney disguised himself in a long black dress, a black stocking mask, a sheep skin, his father's boots, and horsebells (Q67-906). Mummers in Salmon Cove who wore horsebells looked "half man and half animal" (Q67-1095). In Savage Cove, G.N.P., "once, a man went around from house to house with cowbells and chains fastened to him" (CMN, p. 66). In a few other communities, bells were worn as parts of costumes but the kind of bell is not mentioned. In Bonavista, B.B., a male mummer disguised himself in a large underwear suit, a cloth mask, a rope tail, and bells around his waist (Q67-381). In Exploits, N.D.B., "old cans and bells" were attached to costumes "to make noise" (Q67-62). In St. Lawrence, P.B., bells and ribbons were worn together. In St. Lawrence, mummers or "mickies" (Q67-438), in pyjamas or old clothes, turned inside out, wore bells around their waists and ankles and coloured paper and ribbons around their wrists (Q67-352).

In Newfoundland, the Devil or the Blackman has a cloven hoof. Cows, goats, and sheep also have cloven hoofs. By analogy, in Newfoundland, they are often associated with the Devil.

Footgear and Handgear

Since people have short or long or wide feet and pudgy or slender or, perhaps, gnarled hands, people's feet in their everyday shoes, and people's hands are almost as recognizable as people's faces. As well, in Newfoundland, since both men and women worked hard physically, hands were often distinctively scarred and, therefore, especially recognizable.

To disguise their feet so that they could not be easily identified, mummers wore "rubber boots filled with socks" (Q67-11), "huge rubbers on the wrong feet" (Q67-881), hip rubbers, someone else's rubbers, heavy boots, large logans, odd boots (TC3658), or the shoes of the opposite sex (Q67-382). In Western Bay, C.B., a man with a severe case of bunions borrowed huge boots to conceal his very unique feet (Q67-1064). Normally, in Newfoundland, children and others were not to wear odd boots or their boots on the wrong feet.[13]

To disguise their hands, mummers wore mittens or gloves or "stockings, instead of gloves" (Q67-1013). In Terrenceville, F.B., a mummer wore a mitt on one hand and a glove on the other (Q67-727).

Sometimes, footgear had another function besides disguising the feet. A mummer's footwear could illustrate his or her costume. In Port Rexton, T.B., a mummer who masqueraded as a hunter wore "huge logans" (Q67-996). Logans, which are boots with rubber bottoms and laced leather tops,

are often associated with hunters. In Trinity, T.B., "Old Dutch Cleanser" (Q67-214) wore wooden clogs. Or janneys' footwear could protect the wearer. In Bay Roberts, C.B., male janneys, who fought one another when they met, wore "long rubbers to keep their feet dry and to protect from whips" (Q67-773). They fought in the snow or in the bog.

Mittens, gloves, and stockings do not seem to have had any other direct function than to disguise the hands but, in his or her hand, nearly every mummer carried, as part of his or her costume, a "split," that is, a piece of kindling wood about one foot long; or, a longer stick, three to four feet long; or, occasionally, a broom, a mop, a gun an axe, a hammer, a saw, an umbrella, a pitchfork, a picket off somebody else's fence (Q67-965), a cow's hock (Q67-906), a sheep's leg covered with wool (Q67-1232), a bow and arrow, a shillelagh, a hockey stick, a knotted rope, a birch switch, a stick with lacing on the end, a horsewhip, or a chain. In Springdale, N.D.B., janneys carried sticks and candles in hollowed turnips (72-59ms). In Port Blandford, B.B., splits "were an ancient tradition of mummers" (Q67-989). In Bar Haven, P.B., "old knotted sticks were symbolic of mummers and they were incomplete without one" (Q67-1069). One mummer in Gambo, B.B., explained that, in his community, splits were used when wood stoves were common. When oil stoves replaced wood stoves, mummers had to carry sticks because splits were no longer available.

Like some of the footgear, splits and sticks and some of the other hand implements were sometimes used to illustrate "type" costumes. Mummers who imitated old men, old women, cripples, and hunchbacks leaned on splits or sticks for support. "Witches" in Little Heart's Ease, T.B., wore high hats and carried brooms. "Old Dutch Cleanser," in Trinity, T.B., carried a broom. The "hunter" in Port Rexton, T.B., who wore logans, carried "a sealing musket" (Q67-996), six feet long. "A farmer" in Stephenville, S.G.B., held a pitchfork (Q67-910) and "Indians" in Musgravetown, T.B., displayed bows and arrows.

Sometimes, male mummers carried hand implements so that they could attack others. In Holyrood, C.B., janneys beat "their friends" (Q67-384) with hockey sticks. In Bay Roberts, C.B., mummers used rope whips, birch switches, and horse whips to chase and attack other male mummers' groups. In Mount Pearl, near St. John's, the janneys who accompanied the hobby horse carried sticks with lacing at the ends (Q67-834). They jumped out at passers-by and shouted, "Run a little" (Q67-834). If the passers-by did not run, they were whipped. In Harbour Grace, T.B., a lone janney who was never identified scared and occasionally beat, with a chain, anyone whom he [or she?] caught without a disguise.

Other functions of the hand implements which mummers carried will be described in Chapter IV: Mummers' Behaviour. The most common hand implements were "splits," that is, kindling sticks, and longer sticks.

Notes

[1]Cornerstores in Newfoundland existed only in larger centres. Often smaller communities had one or perhaps two stores. In the small communities, lipstick was not always available (H. Halpert).

[2]In Greenland, around January 6, mitârtut disguised their faces with soot or masks. They also wore old rags or large clothes, often back to front and stuffed. See I. Kleivan, Mitârtut: Vestiges of the Eskimo Sea-Women Cult in West Greenland, 1960.

[3]In Newfoundland, "the crow and anything black by nature has evil associations." James Earis, Cat Harbour (1972), p. 141.

[4]In general, neighbours never entered the bedrooms of the family. Neighbours and friends were entertained in the kitchen of the house. Perhaps a very close friend would occasionally enter a bedroom (H. Halpert).

[5]In Ritual Animal Disguise (1978), p. 142, E.C. Cawte describes the costumes of the Pace-Egg play performers at Hindley, Lancashire, England. ". . . there were 'White Paste-Eggers' who performed the play during the day and at night, while the 'Black Paste-Eggers' only performed after dark; these latter had masks or black faces, dressed hideously, and one of the band carried a stuffed horse's head and was covered with a horse cloth." In The Traditional Dance (1935), pp. 179-180, Violet Alford described the Perchten or Carnival runners of Austria who were divided into two groups. The schöne or beautiful ones were handsomely dressed and orderly in behaviour; the schieche or ugly ones were unruly and disguised themselves in dirty rags, grotesque masks, chains, and cowbells. Also in The Traditional Dance, pp. 186-193, the Mascarades of Soule, Austria, are described. The Red or Beautiful Ones wore clean, magnificent costumes. The Blacks were dirty and dishevelled and masqueraded in muddy boots and battered hats.

[6]Occasionally, mummers disguised themselves to represent particular people. In Summerford, N.D.B., it was "great fun for the children to dress up as high ranking people of the village" (Q67-717). In Musgravetown, B.B., mummers sometimes disguised themselves as Charlie Chaplin, Harold Lloyd, and Buster Keaton (Q67-1043). In Harbour Breton, F.B., a man masquerading as the telegraph officer was given a drink of whiskey because his host thought that he was the telegraph officer (72-56ms). Still, all of these particular people represented certain types of people--high class people, slapstick movie stars, and telegraph officers.

[7]This speech recalls a line in the doctor's part in the St.John's play (CMN, p. 195).

[8]E. Verrall has informed me that, in Newfoundland, Indians were often associated with witches. Black witches were associated with the devil.

[9]In the United States, there was a chasing game with Old Mother Witch (H. Halpert).

[10]In "Ireland, Sheila, and Newfoundland" (1977), pp. 16-17, Dr. Halpert cites several examples of Sheila sweeping with her brush. The Old Dutch Cleanser lady, with her broom, resembles Sheila.

[11]The Green Man disguise recalls the traditional Green Man and Jack-in-the-Green figures in England and the Wild Man figure of the Middle Ages. See R. Bernheimer, Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study of Art, Sentiment, and Demonology (1952).

[12]Around the turn of the century, in Italy, F.T. Elworthy saw, over the doors of houses and shops, horseshoes and animal horns, hung together. F.T. Elworthy, Horns of Honour (1900), pp. 56-58.

[13]See John Widdowson, If You Don't Be Good (1977), p. 88.

# CHAPTER IV

## MUMMERS' BEHAVIOUR

### Introduction

Just as there were patterns in mummers' costumes, so, when data from all the communities studied were looked at together, patterns emerged in mummers' behaviour. For example, almost always janneys were noisy and boisterous; usually they knocked at doors of houses with splits or sticks, although ordinarily in the outports, only strangers knocked at doors; almost always, they told hosts that they came from imaginary places or "somewhere far away" (TC3660); almost always, they tried to conceal their normal identities and genders by disguising their ordinary voices, heights, and gaits but, at the same time, many mummers gave their identities and genders away with subtle "clues" so that hosts were able to guess who they were; usually, janneys entertained their hosts by, perhaps, dancing, singing, or playing musical instruments; and, usually, if hosts guessed who they were, janneys removed their masks and reverted to their normal selves.

With the exception of the behaviour of the carriers of the hobby horses and the other animal figures, which seems to deserve special attention, in this chapter I

describe and give details of the patterns in mummers' behaviour. The patterns are grouped into five sections: "Janney Talk"; Height, Gait, and Action Disguise; Behaviour Outside Houses; Behaviour at the Door; and Behaviour Inside Houses. The behaviour of the carriers of the hobby horses and the other animal figures is described in the next chapter.

Unlike the behaviour of the carriers of the animal figures, who were rougher outside, the behaviour of most mummers climaxed in the actual house-visit, inside hosts' houses. That is why, in my description of mummers' behaviour, I have progressed from behaviour outside houses to behaviour inside houses. Most groups with only male mummers, such as almost all hobby horse groups, were rougher than mixed groups of male and female mummers.

"Janney Talk"

"Janney talk" (TC3658) was the name given to the strange, abnormal ways in which janneys talked when they were trying to conceal their identities and their genders from other people. In Lamaline, P.B., mummers spoke "mummer talk" (Q67-529).

Because a voice can give away personal and gender identity as much as clothing or an individual gait, janneys (and mummers) nearly always disguised their voices when they were making a house visit. In a few instances, if they could not disguise their voices, they remained mute.

The most usual methods of voice disguise were speaking while drawing in the breath (ingressive speech); speaking in imitation of the opposite sex; and speaking in either an extremely high, squeaky or an extremely low, gruff voice.

Ingressive speech effectively disguised both personal and gender voice characteristics because "it sounded the same for men and women" (TC3658).[1] On Change Island, N.D.B., unless they were disguised as the opposite sex, mummers spoke in "high pitched ingressive voices" (TC321). In Buchans, Port Elizabeth, P.B., and Conche, W.B., janneys spoke ingressively whatever their disguise.

When mummers spoke in imitation of the opposite sex, often they were disguised as the opposite sex but, to make things confusing, this was not always the case. In Heart's Delight, T.B., where male mummers frequently disguised themselves as women and imitated women's voices and where female mummers often dressed as men and imitated men's voices, complications developed when "men disguised as women talked in altered male voices or when women disguised as women talked as men" (Q67-257); that is, a man with a normally bass voice might speak in the tenor register when he was disguised as a woman. A female janney, disguised as a woman, might achieve the same effect by incongruously imitating the speech of a man. Therefore, even when mummers spoke in disguised male or female voices, it was difficult to tell which gender the mummers really were.

Speaking in very high, squeaky or very low, gruff voices made it hard, as well, to determine either a mummer's personal identity or his or her gender. In Burnt Point, C.B., mummers spoke in squeaky or rough voices "to hide their identity" (Q67-881). In Campbell's Creek, S.G.B., mummers' "squeaky monotones" (Q67-162) hid their sex.

Another less common way of disguising the voice was to adopt one "to suit the costume" (Q67-946). A man in Grate's Cove, T.B., once, under a bear skin, "crawled and growled as a bear" (76-102ms). In Colinet, S.M.B., male mummers, in "masks and plumes like Indians, talked in a different tongue" (72-101ms).

Some people had trouble changing their voices without help so they were given pieces of potato or buttons or marbles to put under their tongues or "pickle bottles" (Q67-12) or baking powder tins to speak into. Buttons and marbles got swallowed from time to time so they could be dangerous. In Port Rexton, T.B., a mummer swallowed a marble with his drink (Q67-996).

Occasionally, mummers altered their voices in quite different manners, no matter what costumes they were wearing. When mummers in Heart's Delight, T.B., were not confusing their genders, they "mimicked Donald Duck" (Q67-76). Indian Cove, N.D.B., mummers sometimes spoke "as parrots" (Q67-449). Mummers in Spaniard's Bay, C.B., might adopt "a childish tone" (Q67-28). In Lewins Cove, P.B., mummers spoke in "false

English, Irish, and Scots accents" (Q67-399). Mummers in Middle Brook, B.B., talked in nasal voices, in high pitched voices, or mumbled (Q67-515).

It is clear from all these different methods of changing the voice that mummers disguised their voices to help conceal their personal identities and, usually, their genders.

Height, Gait, and Action Disguise

In the small outport communities of Newfoundland, people's individual identities and their genders could normally be recognized by their shapes, sizes, heights, gaits, and actions "a mile down the road" (I 1/12/76).

To disguise their normal shapes and sizes so that their identities and their genders would not be recognized, mummers usually wore, over their ordinary heavy, outdoor winter attire, large, loose costumes. Often, these costumes were stuffed with pillows or hay or old clothes. This point is discussed in Chapter III: Mummers' Costumes.

To disguise their heights, if they were tall, mummers "walked bent" (76-199ms), or "stooped" (CMN, p. 131), or "slouched" (I 2/6/78), or "crouched" (Q67-512) or, even, "crawled" (Q66-76). If they were short and wanted to appear taller, mummers frequently wore tall hats (Q67-1150) or large hats; or, in Garnish, F.B., a janney walked on stilts (Q67-752);* in Little Bay, P.B., a mummer carried another mummer on his shoulders "until he got knocked off" (Q67-489);*

in St. Anthony, G.N.P., a short mummer, to make himself seem taller, put false heels in his shoes (Q67-54).*

To disguise their gaits, most often mummers limped or shuffled or "hobbled along" (Q67-101) leaning on their splits or sticks or guns or whatever else they were carrying for support. Frequently, mummers who limped or hobbled represented old men and old women. Quite often, too, they represented cripples or, if they had pillows stuffed in their backs, hunchbacks. By limping and hobbling, mummers disguised their personal walks and any traits of their walk which would give away their gender. Sometimes, if they were disguised as the opposite sex, janneys walked as much like the opposite sex as they could. Male mummers disguised as women took "short steps" (TC321) with their legs together; female mummers disguised as men strode with their legs apart. Occasionally, if they were disguised as the opposite sex, mummers exaggerated the gait of the opposite sex. On Change Islands, N.D.B., boy mummers disguised as girls "wiggled their behinds" (TC321). In Hermitage Bay, S.C., a janney disguised his gait in yet another way. He walked as someone else in the community" (76-215ms).* In St. Brendan's, B.B., a "good" (73-174ms) gait dissembler could adopt a different walk for each house.*

To disguise their actions, usually male and female mummers acted "the same" (Q67-508, Q67-813, Q67-1149, Q67-32) or, if they were disguised as the opposite sex, they

might act as the opposite sex.

Unfortunately, informants did not make clear what they meant when they said that male and female mummers acted "the same" (Q67-508). In Little Heart's Ease, T.B., male and female janneys often wore the clothes of the opposite sex but they behaved the "same" (Q67-593). In Little Bay Islands, N.D.B., where male and female mummers sometimes disguised themselves in the clothes of the opposite sex, "men and women mummers behaved the same so they were difficult to tell apart" (Q67-616). An informant in Harbour Grace, C.B., writes that "men and women mummers behaved the same. They all talked" (Q67-916). An informant from St. John's says, "Men and women mummers behaved the same except that the men drank more" (Q67-222). In Lewisporte, N.D.B., the men and women mummers acted the same but "the men were bolder of course" (Q67-495). I assume that by "the same" informants mean that janneys tried to behave as much like one another as possible, without any distinguishing personal or gender actions. When janneys stooped and hobbled and when they jumped around and behaved in other abnormal ways, it was difficult to tell who they were or whether they were males or females.

When mummers behaved as the opposite sex, they tried to do what the opposite sex normally did. In Belleoram, F.B., male mummers disguised as females, "crossed their legs" (Q67-931) when they sat down. In Dunville, P.B., "women mummers smoked to seem like men" (Q67-825). While

male janneys who were disguised as women were trying to behave as women, though, in most communities, some female janneys who were disguised as women would be trying to act as women other than themselves. At the same time, while female janneys who were disguised as men were trying to act as men, male janneys disguised as men would be acting as men other than themselves. In Grand Falls, where male and female mummers often exchanged costumes and roles, "no one knew whether mummers were males or females" (Q67-440). This gender confusion "led to many funny situations" (Q67-440), such as female hosts sitting on the knees of female mummers who were disguised as men.

Occasionally, if they were disguised as the opposite sex, male and female mummers exaggerated the actions of the opposite sex. In Isle aux Morts, Cabot Strait, female janneys masquerading as men "sometimes smoked cigars through their masks" (Q67-491). Normally, in Newfoundland, women never smoked cigars and men smoked cigars only rarely.

In summary, when janneys disguised their heights, gaits, and actions, they disguised their personal identities and, usually, their genders. Even when janneys walked or acted as the opposite sex, if they were disguised that way, they "didn't portray an especially male or female role. They were almost its, neither male or female" (TC3658).

## Behaviour Outside

I will discuss next the behaviour of mummers outside, as they travelled from house to house, under the following headings: noise, tricks, scaring, chasing, fighting, peaceful groups.

### (A) Noise

In a few communities, as they travelled from house to house, mummers were quiet. Janneys in Placentia, P.B., were "silent" so that the "young people" (Q67-398) would not chase them on the road. Some janneys in Heart's Delight, T.B., were quiet so that people in houses would not lock the doors before they got there. In Lower Island Cove, C.B., some rough masqueraders were "quiet to surprise their victims" (Q67-417). The reference does not say who the victims were or what was done to them. Such quiet mummers were the exception.

Most mummers, when travelling between houses, were "noisy" (Q67-298). In Moreton's Harbour, N.D.B., and in Musgravetown, B.B., they were "as noisy as possible" (Q67-1312). In Bryant's Cove, C.B., they had "more fun" (Q67-395), the more noise they made.

Often, "noise" meant "singing in loud voices" (Q67-646). In Heart's Delight, T.B., janneys "sang with all their hearts" (Q67-105) between houses; in Botwood, they "sang merrily, often quite out of tune" (Q67-608). Occasionally, janneys sang "in disguised voices" (Q67-561)

so that people in houses would not be able to tell who was approaching but usually, according to the reports, most mummers do not seem to have bothered to disguise their voices outside houses. At least, the references do not say that they did. Probably, they realized that, when they were all singing and shouting together, it was hard to make out individual voices.

Apparently, the songs which mummers sang were Christmas carols or "old Irish and Newfoundland folk songs" (Q67-392) like "Harbour le Cou" and "The Star of Logy Bay." Janneys in Lower Island Cove, C.B., though (the ones who did not feel that they had to be quiet to surprise their victims) "marched with jingling bells and ribald songs" (Q67-417). In Buchans, some masqueraders sang the wren song: "The wren, the wren, the king of all birds/On Christmas Day was caught in the furs [furze]" (Q67-412).

As they tramped along and sang or even when they were not singing, mummers frequently played musical instruments or "anything to make a noise" (Q67-1021). Accordions, tin whistles, mouth organs, fiddles, and jews' harps were the most common and the most conventional instruments. Other "instruments" were played, too. In Freshwater, C.B., mummers blew into conches and on combs covered with tissue paper; in Winterton, T.B., mummers had "stick bands" (TC23); in Twillingate, N.D.B., drums were made from cheese boxes

covered with goat or sheep skins; Femme, F.B. mummers dragged chains and tin cans along behind them. In other communities, washboards, spoons, bones, cow and horse bells, goat horns, party horns, bugles, whistles, and baking pan drums were played or just banged or blown to make a racket. One informant in Brigus, C.B., described a delightful custom in connection with instruments. Mummers in Brigus pulled slides [sleds] up the hills so that they could slide down, costumes and all. In return for playing as they travelled from house to house, mummers with instruments in Brigus demanded to ride on the slides all the way, up the hills and down (Q67-753).

As the evening wore on and as (male) mummers had more to drink, sometimes they danced as well as sang and played. In Catalina, T.B., mummers, with glasses in hands, "sang and danced in the street" (I 16/6/77). In Curling, near Corner Brook, mummers danced jigs "under the street lights" (Q67-526). In Dover, B.B., after many visits, mummers sometimes gathered in field and street and danced to the music of the mouth organ and the accordion. Since, at the Christmas season, everyone wears heavy outdoor boots, where there were crowds of mummers, the "heavy tread" (Q67-440) of their boots and the thudding of their sticks on the ground as they danced would have added to the uproar of playing and singing.

Also, outside, mummers generally made noise in other ways. They joked and laughed and shouted and yelled at one another. They threw snowballs and pushed each other in the snow. When they came to a fence or a house near the road, they sometimes hauled their sticks along the fence pickets or the clapboard siding of the house, to make a clatter. Reports say that on Merasheen Island, P.B., and in Swift Current, P.B., dogs, "upset by the queer costumes" (Q67-49), added to the din of mummers and instruments by running along beside the mummers and barking. Undoubtedly, this occurred in many places as Newfoundland communities usually have their full quota of dogs.

On the whole, when they were outside, mummers were almost always noisy. In Newfoundland, children and adults, too, were normally not supposed to be noisy.[2]

(B) Tricks

Sometimes, as they travelled from house to house, mummers played tricks.

Most of the tricks seem to have been played at random and on nobody in particular. In Freshwater, P.B., mummers "often misbehaved" (Q67-265). They removed people's gates and put dories in the middle of the road to trip innocent people. In Holyrood, C.B., they switched gates. Two tricks mentioned from Blaketown, near Trinity Bay, were letting air out of tires and tying bloomers on doorknobs. Normally, ladies' undergarments were not put on public

display. In Avondale, C.B., mummers sometimes locked or tied doors shut on the outside so that people could not get out of their houses. In Harbour Deep, W.B., they dug holes in the snow and strung ropes across narrow paths to trap other janneys and passers-by. Coachman's Cove, B.V., Change Islands, N.D.B., Creston, P.B., Rodger's Cove, N.D.B., Winterton, T.B., and Renews, S.S. mummers plugged chimneys so that houses were filled with smoke. In other communities, mummers scattered wood, hid splits in barns, upset water buckets, moved woodsheds, hid boats and oars, loosed horses, and tied cowbells on doorknobs. Quite often, mummers stole vegetables and a goat, a hen, or a sheep for a late night scoff. In Codroy, Cabot Strait, they sometimes took the stolen goods to be cooked in the house of the same family from which they were stolen. Such thefts were not enjoyed by the people losing the goods. Occasionally, these tricks against nobody in particular could be destructive. In Bay de Verde, C.B., mummers at one time burned boats. In Carbonear, C.B., where janneys were mostly men, some outhouses and small storage sheds could go up in flames.

Although, according to the reports, mummers' tricks, outside, were not usually directed against specific people or against specific groups of people, sometimes they were. In Renews, S.S., jokes were played on "those who didn't join in the revelry." An old man who was caught visiting relatives was made to tow a fallen telephone pole. Other

"victims" (Q67-42) in Renews were made to walk through water, in the middle of winter. It is not clear whether these relatively rough mummers were mainly men or not. In Lower Island Cove, C.B., and Bay Roberts, C.B., janneys played tricks on grumpy people and on people they did not like. In Lower Island Cove, they filled porches of grumpy people with snow. In Bay Roberts, they broke the gates and windows of people they did not like.

Other tricks which were played against specific groups of people were also played throughout the year. Courting couples and suitors were always considered fair game and girls came in for their share of tricks. Port Blandford, B.B. mummers tied a string across a bridge so that "a feller and his girl" (TC1) would trip. In Harbour Grace, C.B., a mummer disguised as a ghost, hid in the cemetery and jumped out at a man who was courting "his" girl. The man who was scared was sick all winter from the fright. In Port Blandford, B.B., again, boys scared girls with a handkerchief lying on the ground. When a girl bent down to pick up the handkerchief, the boys yanked it away with a string. In Buchans, boys stuck spruce gum in girls' hair. In Petit Forte, P.B., boys sicced dogs on girls.

When reports say that mummers played tricks outside, they do not usually say whether male or female janneys or both played these tricks. In most communities, both men and women mummered so I presume that both male and female

masqueraders played some tricks. In Greenspond, B.B., where boats were carried to the "next yard," the informant does say that "men were more boisterous than women" (Q67-272), as mummers. In Lamaline, P.B., male janneys were "a little rougher" (Q67-392) than female janneys, so men might have been responsible for the more physically demanding tricks. In "Deep Harbour," though, single girls "[cavorted] almost as wildly as the boys" (CMN, p. 99). In disguise, both girls and boys were often wilder than ordinarily.

There are a few reports, but only a few, of undisguised people setting up tricks for mummers. In Garnish, F.B., janneys tripped over fishing lines strung between gate posts "by lads" (Q67-34). I suspect that more tricks were played on mummers, by non-mummers, than the reports indicate.

Most tricks which were played by mummers or non-mummers, outside, were directed at nobody in particular and usually these tricks were fairly harmless. A few tricks, though, such as breaking windows and burning boats, were rough and destructive. Probably these rough tricks were the work of all-male groups. Normally, in Newfoundland, playing tricks was wrong and so was vandalism, such as breaking windows.[3]

(c) Scaring

In some communities, some janneys tried deliberately to scare or frighten other janneys or anyone whom they met

along the way. Some of these mummers were more frightening than others, however,

In Whitbourne and on Bell Island, C.B., child mummers "frightened people a bit whom they passed" (Q67-224). In Bonavista, B.B., sticks were used "to walk artificially, to frighten people, and to chase" (Q67-381). Older janneys in Conche, W.B., chased younger janneys "to scare them" (Q67-396). In Lamaline, P.B., where male mummers were "a little rougher but all mummers were polite" (Q67-392), mummers chased or scared anyone they met. In Harbour Main, C.B., mummers' sticks were often used to "get back at someone"; mummers frightened people by "pretending to harm" them with their sticks. Sometimes, too, in Harbour Main, sticks were "tarred and lit" (Q67-766). If mummers in Ireland's Eye, T.B., met any disguised people, they tried to scare them by poking at them with their "fire splits" (76-454ms) and verbally ridiculing them. This behaviour was "expected and accepted" (76-454ms). A few rough janneys in Burin, P.B., tried to frighten people whom they met on the roads (Q67-326). In Ladle Cove, N.D.B., a few "devilish types" (Q66-104) disguised in animal skins, such as bear and moose skins, liked to scare anyone they met on the way.

Generally, mummers outside seem to have frightened people mainly in fun. Perhaps, as in Ireland's Eye, T.B., this behaviour was usually expected of mummers.

(D) Chasing

Quite often, when they were outside, it is reported that groups of janneys chased one another. In St. John's, one informant said that groups of janneys chased other groups "in fun" (Q67-88). In Heart's Content, T.B., and Joe Batt's Arm, Fogo Island, N.D.B., janneys threw snowballs at each other and tried to rip off each others' masks. In Topsail, C.B., janneys chased each other and stole each others' caps. Janneys in Conche, W.B., ran after one another and poked one another in the genitals with their sticks. Mummers in Lewisporte, N.D.B., chased each other "out of their territory" (Q67-411). Groups fought, not seriously, and tried to unmask each other if they collided. In Grates Cove, T.B., "in the old times" (Q67-895), mummers chased one another with ropes. Some mummers "hid by the cliffs and others put leather on their backs for protection" (Q67-895).

Quite often, too, it is reported that older mummers chased younger mummers, particularly. In Tilting, Fogo, N.D.B., and Avondale, C.B., young mummers carried sticks to knock and "ward off" (72-113ms) older boys and girls. In Benoits Cove, Bay of Islands, smaller janneys "ran like hell to get away" (75-77ms) from bigger janneys. In Conche, W.B., older janneys chased younger janneys "to scare them" (Q67-396). Bigger mummers in Elliston, T.B., chased smaller mummers especially when the bigger mummers had had "too much

blueberry wine" (Q67-1305). In a few communities, younger mummers provoked the older mummers until they were almost forced to give chase. In Hermitage Bay, young boys and girls sneaked up behind older male mummers and pushed them down or shouted insults "a long way ahead." "It was fun to have a drunk mummer chasing you" (77-64ms). In St. Lawrence, P.B., boys without disguises harassed big mummers until they "forced" (Q67-357) the big mummers to give chase. In St. Lawrence, there was an expression, "Force the big ones; kill the small ones." Bigger mummers occasionally chased the younger boys right into the salt water. It was "a disgrace" (Q67-351) to be caught. In a few other communities, though, older mummers could be quite rough, without provocation, when they chased smaller mummers. In Petit Forte, P.B., little mummers always tried to get home before the big mummers "set out (for legitimate reasons)" (Q67-487). On Bell Island, C.B., older boys chased and hit younger mummers with knotted ropes. In Carbonear, C.B., "if a big janney caught you they'd kill you." In 1910, a ten year old boy was caught and "whipped black and blue" (74-8ms) with a big knotted rope, by three twenty-five to thirty-five year old men.

Sometimes, janneys chased courting couples, or passers-by, or anyone at all, or male mummers chased girls. On Flat Island, P.B., mummers chased, especially, courting couples (Q67-976). Janneys in Terra Nova occasionally chased lone pedestrians. In Mount Pearl, mummers jumped out

and chased, with ropes, passers-by (Q67-834). Witless Bay, S.S., mummers chased anyone not dressed up. Cavendish, T.B., and Spaniard's Bay, C.B., mummers chased and frightened with ropes, sticks, and horsewhips anyone they caught (Q67-107). In Carbonear, C.B., male janneys chased girls if they met them on a dark road. In Lawn, P.B., boy mummers chased girls down the road with sticks "for a laugh" (74-117ms). In another community, young men disguised in a cow or bull's head and a blanket "lurked behind trees to scare girls." "If a guy was after a particular girl, he chased her into the woods and . . ." (Q67-306). We are left to suspect the worst.

Sometimes, people without disguises chased mummers. In Daniel's Harbour, G.N.P., Little Bay, S.C., and Cartwright, Labrador, older boys, without disguises, chased janneys and tried to unmask them. The janneys fought them off and tried to frighten them with their sticks. In Creston, P.B., Heart's Delight, T.B., and Rock Harbour, P.B., "non-dressups" (Q67-813) chased mummers and tried to unmask them. The references do not say who the non-dressups were. A girl mummer in Burin, P.B., was chased and "almost strangled" when she was lassoed by a "smart aleck" (Q67-936) trying to discover her identity. I presume that the smart aleck was undisguised.

In conclusion, mummers and people who were not dressed up chased one another for a variety of reasons and with variable roughness. The roughest janneys seem to

have been males.

Perhaps big mummers chased little mummers and male mummers chased female mummers to reinforce the normal power structures in Newfoundland society. Ordinarily, children were expected to listen to their elders and males were expected to control females. Ordinarily, too, chasing was "bad" so mummers who chased were behaving as they were not to behave throughout the year.[4]

(e) Fighting

In thirty-six communities out of the 343 communities studied, it is reported that some mummers, at least, quite often fought as they travelled from house to house.

In some communities, groups of mummers fought each other. In Norris Arm, N.D.B., groups fought when they tried "to steal each others' costumes" (Q67-114). In Brigus, C.B., when two groups of mummers met, they sometimes fought "while their faces were covered" (Q67-687). In Little Bay, P.B., if "conflicting groups" met, there might be a fight and it was "lawful to use your split if attacked" (Q67-489). The reference does not say who the conflicting groups were. In Trinity, T.B., there were occasionally fights when one group met a group from a different community in its "home territory" (Q67-685). Mummers in Herring Neck, N.D.B., fought with "slocums" (TC173) from across the bight. In Witless Bay, S.S., young male mummers from the North Side "set upon" young male mummers from the South Side if they met them in

their "territory," and vice versa. Male and female mixed mummers' groups in Witless Bay were "more orderly."[5]

Some of these fights were more serious than others. In Salvage, B.B., mummers carrying sticks, guns, and clubs attacked each other or non-mummers attacked mummers. The guns would not have been loaded and the fights were "not serious" (Q67-872). In Grates Cove, T.B., when one group met another group, "the fun began" (Q66-44). Janneys whipped the members of the other group with long ropes and some janneys wore leather inside their costumes for protection. In Bay Roberts, C.B., when a group of mummers from "up the harbour" met a group of mummers from "down the harbour," there was "great competition and fun" (Q67-779). Mummers in Bay Roberts, who were mostly men, thrashed each other with sticks and rope whips and wore long rubbers on their feet "to protect from whips" (Q67-773). On Bell Island, C.B., mummers had "mock fights" with other groups, or occasionally, real fights. Sometimes, if janneys had a grudge against someone they would "fight to harm" (Q67-69). In Head of Bay d'Espoir, B. d'E., when they were drinking, male mummers from different communities often fought; sometimes three or four against one (69-6ms). In St. John's, at Christmas, arches made of boughs were put up as decorations along Water Street. Masqueraders from the east and west ends of St. John's gathered under the arches and there was "serious fighting between the two groups" (Q67-1052). In Ferryland, S.S., "fools" carried sticks and "took revenge on fools

from other parts of the parish." The fights were so serious that mummering in Ferryland "died out" (Q67-42).

In a few communities, mummers fought specifically to settle grudges. In Bryant's Cove, C.B., four or five mummers might beat one mummer for revenge; as they "acted only in fun" (Q67-365), little was done about it. In Colliers, C.B., some janneys settled grudges so there was "some roughing up on the roads" (Q67-228). In Riverhead, S.M.B., janneys blackened the faces of unpopular people and people they had grudges against. On January 6, "Nigger Night," in Spaniard's Bay, C.B., vandals in black attacked anyone they disliked. There were often "serious fights and beatings" (Q67-1049).

Occasionally, individual mummers fought one another. In Holyrood, C.B., mummers, who were males, carried walking canes and hockey sticks "to beat their friends" (Q67-384). In Whitbourne, after the hobby horse faded away, older boy mummers chased and hit people, usually their "buddies" with whips. "The poor fellow usually felt it" (Q67-1256). Or, on Bell Island, C.B., and in Bishop's Cove, C.B., a few "ruffians" (Q67-602) beat with sticks "anyone they met" (Q67-1124).

Occasionally, young men without disguises attacked mummers. In Wareham, B.B., there were always "rough fellows" (Q67-1261) to sabotage mummers and unmask them. Mummers in Eastport, B.B., carried broomsticks because they were "fair game" for young men out for a good time. The young men now and then sent mummers home with "a black eye or teeth

missing" (TC343).

Did female mummers fight or only male mummers? One informant said that, in his community, "women never fought" (TC3658) but I do not know whether that was usually the case. The references do not say. The references are mainly responses to questionnaires; they are not interviews done in the field. In some communities, fighting, serious or not, seems to have accompanied drinking. In Harbour Grace, C.B., if mummers had had too much "Christmas joy" (Q67-113), sometimes there was a fight or things got broken. In Cape Broyle, S.S., mummers could have "friendly run-ins soon forgotten" (Q67-870) on the way home if they had been drinking. If female janneys did not often drink, probably they did not often fight and probably most of the fighting was done by all-male mummers' groups.

Thirty-six communities out of 343, though, is not a large proportion so mummers did not fight in many communities. Janneys who did fight usually fought with groups from the other side of the same community or from a different community. Throughout the year, fights were wrong[6] and very rare. Christmas[7] was a time when fighting, like so many other things, was temporarily allowed.

(F) Peaceful groups

In spite of the noise which almost all mummers made as they travelled from house to house, and in spite of tricks and chasing, most disguised figures in about thirty-nine

communities, that I know of, were peaceful between houses; that is, the reports say definitely that they did not fight seriously with anyone. Instead, as they tramped along in their costumes, they laughed and sang and shouted at one another and discussed the houses that they had visited and would visit and "carried on" and pushed each other into the snow.

More specifically, in Corner Brook, mummers wrestled and carried on but "there was a sense of togetherness and closeness" (76-235ms). In Foxtrap, C.B., janneys sang or threw each other into the snow or "walked hand in hand casually" (Q67-443). In Burin, P.B., a fat boy in a tight dress which dragged on the ground escorted a small boy in a huge dress and the two of them tumbled, every step, into a snowbank. Carmanville, N.D.B. mummers laughed and talked about the last house they had visited and plotted their strategy for the next house. In Trinity, B.B., "the men had a wet from the bottle" (Q67-799) while other mummers repaired their costumes. "On moonlit nights" (I 16/6/77), janneys in Catalina, T.B., danced in the garden, their whiskey glasses in their hands. In Cow Head, G.N.P., Norman's Cove, T.B., and Stephenville, S.G.B., if two groups met, they often joined into a larger group or, in Fortune, F.B., if one group met another group, they wished each other "Merry Christmas" and "perhaps sang a song" (Q67-709). Glovertown, B.B. mummers were a bit more rowdy, but still peaceful. Male and female mummers in Glovertown in a

"joyous mood" sometimes ran with "old rubber boots or some other burning thing" (Q67-101) on sticks.

In peaceful communities, sticks were not used, outside, for fighting or for warding off assailants. In Glovertown, B.B., they were sometimes used to hold aloft burning boots. In Bonavista, B.B., and in other communities, sticks were used to keep off the dogs that followed along beside the mummers and barked. In Conche, W.B., and Moreton's Harbour, N.D.B., sticks helped to support mummers when the roads were icy or "slippy" (TC3658) or when there was deep snow.

In a few communities, most mummers were peaceful but a few mummers fought or, as in Mount Carmel, S.M.B., janneys sometimes fought. In Dunfield, T.B., few mummers fought "except for the few rough young men who always fought" (Q67-190). In Nipper's Harbour, Green Bay, occasionally teenage boys attacked younger mummers and tore off their disguises and made them cry. If one group of janneys met another group, in Mount Carmel, S.M.B., they fought and "took stuff" or "sat and talked" (Q67-662). I presume "the stuff" which they took was other mummers' costumes. The reference does not say why mummers in Mount Carmel fought with some groups and talked with others.

It is interesting that mummers in only thirty-six communities are known to have actually fought and mummers in only thirty-nine communities are known to have definitely not fought. Out of 343 communities, these are small

proportions. It seems that, between houses, janneys were much more concerned with making noise, playing tricks, chasing, and scaring people occasionally.

Behaviour at the Door

When masqueraders arrived at a house, usually they were noisy. In almost all communities, they stomped up the steps of houses in their heavy boots. In Salmon Cove, C.B., they made "wolflike cries" (Q67-153) and, in Corner Brook, they made "spooky sounds" (Q67-824) outside doors. Deer Lake "mummers carried on with queer sounds resembling that of ghosts and other spooks" (Q67-103). In Lewisporte, N.D.B., they drew their sticks against the clapboard of houses "to make a loud noise" (Q67-411). In Moreton's Harbour, N.D.B., they clattered their sticks on the clapboard and rattled buckets and made "as much noise as possible" (Q67-1312). In Summerford, N.D.B., they sang and played on doorsteps. Red Cove, F.B. janneys announced their arrival by "ringing cow bells, blowing dory horns, and playing harmonicas" (Q67-1080). In Red Bay, Labrador, mummers dragged chains. In Greenspond, B.B., they stamped their feet, played music, and dragged chains and tin cans.

Next, almost always, at each house, mummers knocked loudly on the door with the splits or sticks which they carried. In Buchans, and Little Bay Island, N.D.B., mummers "beat" (Q67-798) on doors with their sticks. In Old Perlican, T.B., they "pounded" (Q67-47) on doors with their

sticks. In Port aux Basques, Cabot Strait, all the janneys in each group knocked with their sticks together, "to make a noise" (Q67-182). If, instead of sticks, mummers carried brooms, mops, cows' hocks, "sheep's legs covered in wool" (Q67-1232), pokers, saws, guns, axes, umbrellas, or hockey sticks, they knocked loudly on doors with these. Occasionally, as in Carbonear, C.B., Clarke's Beach, C.B., Norman's Cove, T.B., and Moreton's Harbour, N.D.B., mummers tapped on a window with their sticks instead of knocking at the door. In Newfoundland, ordinarily, throughout the year, only strangers knocked at doors. Usually, people who were visiting a neighbour in the same community opened the door and walked right in. By knocking, as strangers did, janneys took on the role of strangers.

After they had knocked, janneys generally asked admission through the door in "janney talk" or "mummer talk." As described before, "janney talk" could be ingressive speech, speaking in imitation of the opposite sex, speaking in an extremely high or an extremely low voice, or speaking in some other way so that the mummer's normal voice was concealed. The most common way of asking admission was to say some variation of "Any janneys in tonight?" (Q67-257) or "Any mummers in the night?" (Q67-109). In some communities, though, mummers said other things. In Blackhead, near St. John's, it was "Let a poor janney in" (Q67-75). In Point Verde, P.B., mummers sometimes said, "We are shipwrecked. Can we come in for a meal?" (Q67-460). Hosts in Lamaline,

P.B., were encouraged to open the door with, "Want to hear the mummers sing?" (Q67-864). In Freshwater, P.B., and Cormack, near Deer Lake, "Trick or treat" was a common expression. In Freshwater, at least, "Trick or treat" was borrowed from the Southern United States Hallowe'en phrase. Janneys in Buchans sometimes announced themselves with the wren verse. In Lushes Bight, N.D.B., and Deer Lake, they asked, "Do you want to see the pretty father?" (Mummers often disguised themselves as old men.) In Beaumont, N.D.B., a leader of each mummers' group, who was not in disguise, knocked and asked, "Will you let Father Christmas in?" or "Will you let the mummers in?" (TC289). In Placentia, P.B., admission was requested with a rhyme such as, "Hectem, Spectem, Golden Spice,/If 'e pure generosity, Have you anything for the mummers?" (Q67-792). Hosts in Red Bay, Labrador, heard through the door, "Let us in. We don't do bad things" (Q67-796). In Grates Cove, T.B., hosts heard, "Let a civil janney in" (Q67-895). If the janneys in Grates Cove were not admitted, they kicked the door and left.

When mummers had knocked and asked admission, most houseowners opened their doors and invited the disguised visitors in by saying such things as: "If you promise to be good" (Q67-432); "Civil janneys?" One couldn't always rely on the reply (Q67-447); "Wipe your feet" (Q67-187); "You are welcome if you behave" (Q67-281); "Don't make much noise and clean your boots" (Q67-355); "Come in and be civil" (Q67-533);

"Come in my bys if you be good looking." The mummers often wore weird, ugly costumes so this remark was meant to be sarcastic. The mummers replied, "We bes good looking" (Q67-717); "Come in fools" (Q67-263); "Fill her up" (Q67-86); "Come in and make yourselves at home. Don't make strange" (Q67-874); "You can come in if you can do anything besides keep quiet" (Q67-399); "Oh yes, come in and wear her down. Are you any good to dance?" (Q67-721); "Yes, come in. Merry Christmas and Happy New Year" (Q67-354). In Grand Falls, hosts insured that they would be entertained by asking, "What can you do?" at the door before they let the mummers in (Q67-372).

Some houseowners, however, did not open the door to invite mummers in. Often, these people had a legitimate excuse and they would explain--someone in the house was ill or the small children might be frightened or there might have been a recent death. Other householders did not ask mummers in because they messed the floor or because they were too rowdy or simply because they did not like mummers. In these cases, usually no excuse was given and janneys could be turned away in an unpleasant fashion. In Long Cove, T.B., a host said, "No, you darn fools, go home" (Q67-663). In Red Bay, Labrador, in 1967, mummers were told to "Come back in 1980" (Q67-804). A few houseowners were more aggressive. In Marystown, P.B., householders who did not like mummers opened the door with a BB gun, a red hot poker, or a wet mop in their hands (Q67-223). In Long Pond, C.B.,

they doused mummers with pails of water from upstairs windows (Q67-29). In Grand Bank, F.B., they threw pails of water from upstairs windows, threatened mummers with broom handles, or they let out their dogs (66-18ms). A St. John's man chased a group of mummers away with an axe (Q67-650).

If householders had a legitimate excuse for not letting mummers in, it was usually accepted. In Trouty, T.B., if janneys were not admitted, they danced on the bridge[8] instead of in the house. On Deer Island, S.C., janneys who were "refused entry, had their own fun in the streets" (Q67-249). In Stephenville, S.G.B., if janneys were refused admission, they sang a song outside the door to prove that they could entertain. When mummers were refused and no excuse was given or when they were refused roughly, they often took revenge. In Botwood, mummers snowballed a house "if they were not welcomed properly" (Q67-430). In Freshwater, P.B., Grates Cove, T.B., and Middlebrook, B.B., the water barrel might be tipped over or the garbage spilled or the porch filled with snow. In Victoria, Carbonear, C.B., Western Bay, C.B., Port Rexton, T.B., and Kilbride, S.S., clotheslines could be cut or tied in knots or the woodpile might get knocked over or the mummers might tap on a window with a nail. Some mummers in Bonavista, B.B., carried axes and hammers "for mischief if they were not welcomed properly" (Q67-180). In Brigus, C.B., mummers took gates off their

hinges and let out the animals (Q67-395). "If they were brave enough" (TC3658), janneys in Conche, W.B., might let the sled dogs out of their enclosures. In Daniel's Harbour, G.N.P., Harbour Breton, F.B., and Mount Carmel, S.M.B., if mummers were not let into a house, they tied the door shut and stuffed the stovepipe so that the house filled with smoke and the people inside could not get out. Terra Nova mummers tied tin cans, on a string, to the house. The tin cans made a "loud noise." Long Cove, T.B. mummers "broke down the fences" (Q67-663) or stole vegetables from the root cellar. In Newfoundland root cellars were outside, at some distance from the house. In Catalina, T.B., mummers sometimes marked an "X" on the door with a nail, or during the Second World War, a swastika, to warn other mummers away from such a stingy house. "The "X" was "pronounced hex" (I 16/6/77). In Harbour Breton, F.B., janneys hid the gate, threw rocks at the house, and called mean names (Q67-613). In Port Anne, P.B., if they were not treated well, mummers walked around the house with a six fathom chain. The chain made a "big noise" (TC21).

Occasionally, before they opened the door, house-owners played tricks on mummers' groups or took revenge on individual mummers. If mummers in Conche, W.B., pulled on a rope near the door of some houses, a bucket of cold water tipped on their heads (Q67-103). In Fortune, F.B., and Harbour Breton, F.B., if a householder had a personal grudge against a particular mummer whom he [or she?] thought he

recognized, he [or she] leaned out an upstairs window and aimed a bucket of slops or water directly at the mummer's head. As the mummers were in disguises, their identities were not clear. In Fortune, if a householder mistook the identity of a mummer and hit the wrong one with the slops or water, there was "trouble" (TC217).

Occasionally, householders might regret opening the door for there are a few reports of some strange surprises. These surprises were the exception. Mummers in Western Bay, C.B., played a joke on a half-blind woman. They built two snowmen outside the door, then knocked, and hid (Q67-359). The woman probably wondered why the snowmen did not answer when she invited them in. In Robert's Arm, N.D.B., a huge man masquerading as the devil, in black oilclothes, a tail, and horns, suddenly stood across the threshold from a lady host. The lady fainted (Q67-20). A male mummer in Cape Freels, B.B., stuck a goat head, on top of a long stick, through each doorway as soon as the door was opened, to scare whoever was inside (Q67-1237). In Greenspond, B.B., a stuffed cat's skin, on a frame, was pushed through the doorway, ahead of the mummer who carried it. The jaws of the cat's head snapped together when they were pulled with a string and there was a flint and steel inside the mouth for sparks (Q67-765). In Daniel's Harbour, G.N.P., Molly, a live cow, was frequently led around by a group of janneys so that they would be sure that they would be invited in. A can of rocks was tied to Molly's tail and one of the janneys

held this can while Molly was led up to each house. If the rocks ever banged against Molly's legs, Molly would go on a rampage so mummers with Molly were asked in. I doubt that Molly was ever invited in. (In the summer, in the same community, cans of rocks were tied to the tails of horses and oxen to scare girls (71-115ms)).

Some householders did not like to admit a lot of mummers together so, quite often, if a large group of mummers arrived at a house, some of the mummers hid or hovered back out of the light while the others banged on the door and asked admission. The householders' invitation to enter was the signal for the mummers who had hidden to emerge from their hiding places and follow the others into the house.

Occasionally, mummers walked into houses without knocking or asking admission or, now and then, they forced their way into houses. Catalina, T.B. mummers usually knocked but, if they knew the householders well, they might walk right in (I 16/6/77). Cape Broyle, S.S. mummers frequently walked straight into houses and wished everyone a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year (Q67-876). On Change Islands, N.D.B., if a household were in bed, mummers might tramp in, light the light, and sing, "God Save the King" (TC84).[9] The hosts had to grab their clothes as best they could, pull them on, and hurry downstairs. Mummers in Bay Roberts, C.B., "barged" (Q67-779)[10] into houses, or sometimes, forced their way in. In St. John's, a group of

female janneys entered houses by force, then sang, danced, and played musical instruments (Q67-830). In Lamaline, P.B., a group of boy and girl mummers forced their way into an old lady's house. After they had scuffed all the fresh paint off the kitchen floor, they upset the water bucket. A man made them clean up the mess (Q67-481). These occasional entrances, without an invitation, were the exception, for mummers. Most mummers knocked and asked admission. If janneys forced their way into a house, they were considered to be ill-mannered.

Why did householders usually invite mummers into their houses? Most hosts seem to have welcomed mummers because they entertained. Until the nineteen-fifties, in the outports, the roads were poor so people could not easily visit other communities and televisions and radios were scarce. People "had to make their own entertainment" (Q67-875). In Buchans, Cavendish, T.B., Clarke's Beach, C.B., Corner Brook, and Port Union, T.B., janneys were "expected to entertain" (Q67-694). In Bonavista North, "groups with musicians were most welcomed" (Q67-765). Some of the questions, too, which houseowners asked mummers before they invited them in suggest that the householders wanted to be entertained; for example, "What can you do?" Probably another reason for asking mummers in was because mummering was an old, traditional custom. A third reason was suggested by an informant in Salmon Cove, C.B. "Who would dare refuse to admit the mummers to their homes? Who would dare

take the chance of having the gate removed from its hinges or the ladder stolen?" (Q66-87). A fourth reason for asking mummers in was suggested by informants in Norman's Cove, T.B., and on Pool's Island, B.B. In these communities, mummering was associated with luck. An informant in Norman's Cove felt that it was "a bad omen if few janneys visited" (Q67-842). On Pool's Island, B.B., it was "bad luck to turn away mummers because they saw the New Year in" (Q67-45).[11] In Newfoundland, as yet, there is no other evidence to show that the association with luck was more widespread.

Generally, at the doors of houses, mummers continued to be noisy and to scare people a little if they could (or even a lot), just as they did outside, between houses. By knocking, as strangers did, mummers took on the role of strangers.

Behavior Inside

(A) Entrance

So that their normal height and gait would not be recognized, mummers in Port Anson, N.D.B., "crawled" into houses or walked with "a funny gait" (Q66-76). Mummers in Butter Cove, T.B., and Salvage, B.B., "entered in a crouched position" (Q67-512). Janneys in Carmanville, N.D.B., "entered dancing" (Q67-217).

Once mummers were inside a house, they and hosts often shook hands and wished each other "Merry Christmas" and "A Happy New Year." The mummers' greetings, like their

announcements at the door, were spoken in their disguised voices. In fact, from the time they arrived at a door until they were guessed, janneys always tried to speak or sing or shout in their janneys' voices--unless they remained mute. Those who felt that they could not successfully disguise their voices usually stayed silent. Probably in each group there were some who could talk.

Next, a few mummers made it very clear that they were thirsty and hungry, or that they wanted to dance. Masqueraders in Bear Cove, W.B., asked directly, right away, "for drinks and eats" (Q67-238). An old male mummer in Port de Grave, C.B., proclaimed at each house, "The devil is in me now and I can't stay still and I won't leave 'til I get something" (Q66-51). It should be stressed here that ordinarily, in Newfoundland, people with good manners never asked for food. When janneys asked for food, it was part of their reversal of normal good manners.

After everyone had exchanged greetings, most hosts asked mummers, "Where have you come from?" or "Where have you come from tonight?" (I 2/6/78). Mummers always replied that they had come from somewhere other than their home community. Usually, the place named was either imaginary or so far away that they could not possibly have come from there. One janney in Change Islands, N.D.B. said that he or she was "Lizzie Gimlet from Liar's Arm." Other mummers in Change Islands came from "Tar Bay" (Q66-82). These places are imaginary. A mummer in St. Anthony, G.N.P., who liked

"to say silly things to make people laugh" came "from the mustard factory" (Q67-115). St. Brendan's, B.B. janneys came "from Limbo" (Q67-578). Of the far away places, "the North Pole" (TC321) was the most popular but janneys in Conche, W.B., said that they came from either the North Pole or Roddickton, the next community. As Conche was snowbound in the winter, Roddickton was just as improbable as the North Pole. All the mummers in Cow Head, G.N.P., said that they came "from Harbour le Cou"[12] to the far south on the south coast of Newfoundland. Mummers in Southern Harbour, P.B., and Lewisporte, N.D.B. were "from Labrador" (Q67-1181) or "down north" (TC311). Valleyfield, B.B. janneys were from Ookah, Labrador. Port Blandford, B.B. janneys might come "from Moncton" or "Ottawa" (TC1). Mummers in St. Joseph's, B.d'E. said that they came "from Boston" (Q67-192). Green Island Brook, G.N.P. mummers said that they came from "New York" (Q67-564). Masqueraders in Haystack, P.B., and Lushes Bight, N.D.B., were from Italy and Norway. Musgrave-town, B.B. mummers "lied" and said that they were "from Argentina" (Q67-759). Some Change Islands, N.D.B. mummers were from "across the ocean" (TC321). Canada Harbour, W.B., and Cartwright, Labrador mummers came from Hong Kong or the moon (72-38ms, Q67-274). Sometimes, too, janneys said that they had been shipwrecked. Dunville, P.B. janneys made "strange noises" like "eeh, eeh, eeh", (Q67-825) before they explained how they had been shipwrecked. St. Joseph's, P.B. mummers said that they were "shipwrecked sailors"

(TC3660) from somewhere far away.

By saying that they came from somewhere other than their home community, mummers took on the role of strangers, just as they did when they knocked. By associating themselves with strangers, mummers were able, at Christmas, to do things that they ordinarily would not do, without endangering the normal values of their community throughout the rest of the year; that is, at Christmas, strangers who did not know any better were being bad, not community members. Ordinarily, for example, children and adults in Newfoundland were not supposed to "lie" as the mummers did who said they came from Argentina.[13]

(B) Entertainment

Mummers were expected to entertain their hosts and usually did so.

Playing musical instruments and noise makers, dancing, and singing were the most common forms of entertainment. There might also be story telling, reciting, joke telling, acting, and game playing, but from the responses to the questionnaires these apparently were less frequent.

The fiddles, accordions, mouth organs, spoons, and all the other instruments and noise makers which were played or banged outside houses were also played or banged inside houses. Generally, at least one mummer in each mummers' group carried some musical instrument. Many groups carried as many as two or three or more different instruments among

all the mummers. In King's Point, Green Bay, a mummer beat on a baking-pan drum (Q67-186). In Pinchard's Island, B.B., and St. Anthony, G.N.P., janneys played accordions and mouth organs. In Greenspond, B.B., they played accordions, mouth organs, tin whistles, jews' harps, bones, and combs covered with tissue paper. In Carbonear, C.B., they played anything from spoons to washboards (Q67-833).

The names of only a few tunes that the mummer musicians played have been reported. These are "Jingle Bells," "Silent Night," "The Banks of Newfoundland" (Q67-901) and "The Irish Washerwoman" (Q67-360). "The Banks of Newfoundland" is actually the title of many songs which tell of the tough life of the men who fished for cod on the Grand Banks. "The Irish Washerwoman" is an Irish jig. It is very likely that many other tunes would have been played as well.

The quality of the music varied. In many instances, the loudness and noisiness of the music seemed to be stressed. In Victoria Cove, Gander Bay, mummers blew on combs "to make noise" (Q67-128). In Harbour Breton, F.B., they "raised the roof with their playing" (Q67-947). In Grand Falls, "as the night wore on, the din could be heard from outside" (Q67-440).

Usually, when mummer musicians played, other mummers danced. In Ramea, S.C., to encourage mummers to dance, a male host "pretended to stick [them] with pins" (Q67-379). In Lewins Cove, P.B., a host said, "Dance or I'll brand you with the poker". (74-11ms). Most hosts were not as brusque

but, in the majority of communities, dancing was anticipated.

If the space were big enough and if there were enough dancers, there might be a square dance (Q67-474) or an eight-handed reel (Q67-460), but, most often, in each house, janneys step danced. In Norman's Cove, T.B., they did a "hard, stompin' step dance" (Q67-1120). In Cupids, C.B., everyone, old and young, male and female, "stepped it out" (Q67-287). Unlike square dancing or reels where people danced in formation, step dancing was individual dancing and, even though several dancers might dance at the same time, each one did a unique step. Frequently, as Chiaramonte explains in Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland, step dancers had their "favourite" (CMN, p. 87) or "characteristic" (CMN, p. 87) dance step, by which they could be recognized. When they were mummering, they tried to conceal these steps so that they would not give away their identities. In "Deep Harbour" one mummer danced with "a low shuffling step" (CMN, p. 95); another danced with a "high" step (CMN, p. 95). In St. Joseph's, P.B., janneys tended "to caper and jump and swing people off their feet" (TC3660), rather than really dance. Still, occasionally, mummers got "carried away with the tune" (CMN, p. 87) and launched into their special steps.[14]

Quite often, mummers danced with people with whom they would not ordinarily dance were they not mummering. Frequently, they drew, or pulled, the hosts of each house and their families into the dance, along with any

undisguised visitors. In St. Joseph's, P.B., a young male janney might dance with "a sedate matron. He wouldn't normally" (TC3660). In Port Rexton, T.B., a young male in disguise might take "a wild swing around the kitchen with his mother" (Q67-996). In Heart's Delight, T.B., a female mummer disguised as a male might dance with the lady of the house or a male mummer disguised as a female might dance with an undisguised man (Q67-257). Often, too, janneys danced

> . . . into the prohibited "inner part" of the house. The "inner part" is the parlour, living room and bedrooms, and it is [normally] an absolute breach of conduct to go into this section of the house without specifically being invited by the householders. (CMN, p. 132)

When they were dancing, mummers could be quite comical. In Gull Island, C.B., and probably in most other communities, they danced "even if they couldn't" (Q67-564). Their costumes made them brave. In Flower's Cove, G.N.P., they sometimes danced with brooms and mops as partners. In Campbellton, N.D.B., a masquerader disguised himself in a barrel. Every time he stuck his head out of the barrel, other mummers, while they were dancing knocked him on the head with their sticks until he got back down (Q67-532).

Mummers could also be rowdy when they were dancing. In Pouch Cove, near St. John's, they danced "on tables and stoves" (Q67-66). In Hermitage Bay, S.C., it did not matter if things got broken (77-64ms). In Lewisporte, N.D.B., broken tables were "not appreciated" (Q67-495).

Like their playing of musical instruments, mummers' dancing was noisy. In Greenspond, B.B., janneys wore heavy boots especially "to make noise when dancing" (Q67-126). In St. Lawrence, P.B., the bells around mummers' waists and ankles must have jangled when they danced. In Bloomfield, T.B., Burgeo, S.C., Forrester's Point, G.N.P., and Red Bay, Labrador, mummers "danced till the house shook" (Q67-37). Gaultois, S.C. mummers "rocked" the house with dancing, "especially if they had had a few drinks first" (Q67-236). In Channel-Port aux Basques, dancers and musicians had "a wild, swinging time" (Q67-486). In Foxtrap, C.B., a house was "in an uproar when the dancing started" (Q67-1003). The musicians would have helped.

In some Protestant communities, dancing was not allowed, "even with mummering" (Q66-110), but these communities were exceptions. Mummers in Salmon Cove, C.B., played "circle games and kissing games" (73-168ms) instead. In Coley's Point, C.B., mummers danced "but it was a terrible sin" (Q67-18).

If mummers did not dance (and even if they did), they often sang songs loudly in their disguised voices. In Summerford, N.D.B., and Bell Island, C.B., mummers sang Christmas songs such as "Jingle Bells" and "Silent Night." In Bay Roberts, C.B., Botwood, Grole, Hermitage Bay, and La Scie, they sang Newfoundland folk songs (Q67-1195), such as "The Squid Jigging Ground." In Musgravetown, B.B.,

Ramea, S.C., and Harbour Grace, C.B., they sang songs such as "The teapot is on the fire" [sic] (about a fire in a crockery warehouse) and "Morris Crotty" (about an amateur at the seal hunt) by Johnny Burke. They might also sing "The Picture That's Turned to the Wall" and "The Black Sheep" (sentimental songs about young people who leave their families); "When Charlotte Lived by the Mountainside" (a ballad about a vain woman who freezes to death in a snow storm); "The Black Velvet Band" (an Irish song about a man who is forsaken by a lover); "Maggie" (which could be "Lovely Maggie" about a girl or "The Loss of the Maggie" about a shipwreck); "The Wreck of the '98" (a shipwreck song); "Barney Google" (a 1920's popular vaudeville nonsense song); "Yes, We have no bananas" (a popular nonsense song in mock Italian dialect); and "The Keyhole in the Door" (a bawdy song about a young man who watches a young woman undress through a keyhole). In Heart's Delight, T.B., janneys sang "funny songs" accompanied by an "old distorted musical instrument" (Q67-76), an old accordion. The names of the funny songs are not mentioned. Carbonear, C.B. mummers played and sang "jigs made up on the spot" about "grumpy old so and so" (Q67-833). In Kilbride, S.S., _____ _____ made up songs about her husband and his friends (Q67-829). In Harbour Deep, White Bay, mummers sang, while the fiddler played, bawdy songs such as, "I'm a decent married woman/Take your hand out of that" (75-10ms).

Sometimes, if a group of mummers did not have an instrument with them, one of the hosts might sing "chin music" (Q67-813) or a mnemonic rhyme to one of the accordion or fiddle tunes,[15] so that the mummers and the family could dance. In Glenwood, near Gander, hosts sang "dance tunes" (Q67-1239) like "Pop Goes the Weasel" and "Mussels in the Corner." "Mussels in the Corner" might have nonsense words such as "'Deed I love you, Yes I do/Out all night in the foggy dew/'Deed I love you, Yes I do/Mussels in the Corner" or "Ask a bayman for a smoke/He will say his pipe is broke/Ask a bayman for a chew/He will bite it off for you." Someone in Fair Island, B.B., sang a similar thing with a bawdy verse, "You don't know what Mary did, Mary did, Mary did/You don't know what Mary did, She showed the boys her daisy." The singer sang the words over and over so that people could keep on dancing. In Greenspond, B.B., a lady host sang a version of "I'se the B'y": "Grandmother and I went up the bay/Sure we had a good travel/Every step that grandmother took/Was up to her knees in gravel." In the middle of this song, the kerosene lamp blew out and there was "bedlam" (Q67-765). In Little Bay Islands, N.D.B., mummers and hosts half said and half sang a song called "Jimmie John," to the tune of "I'se the B'y." It went, "Jimmie John it is me name and Fogo is me station/I came all the way to Little Bay to look for situation/Some they call me Jimmie John and some they call me Rover/And when I gets me belly full I'm Jimmie John all over." "Jimmie John" was performed to the

accompaniment of hand clapping and feet tapping (Q67-514). In Newtown, B.B., instead of playing or singing, a host hummed dance tunes (Q67-431). In Point Verde, P.B., a host whistled (Q67-460). Of course, if a host had a musical instrument, she or he would play so that people could dance. In Change Islands, N.D.B., a host played the accordion.

In quite a few communities, mummers told stories, again in their disguised voices. An informant in Summerford, N.D.B., mentioned that the old people, especially, were "loaded down with stories . . . to share" (Q67-118). Mummers in the Goulds, S.S., told "Christmas stories" (Q67-805). In Adam's Cove, C.B., they told "funny stories" (Q67-298). Unfortunately, there are no examples of Christmas stories or funny stories. In Terrenceville, F.B., janneys spoke about their "imaginary travels to the North Pole" (Q67-727). In Bay Roberts, C.B., Riverhead, S.M.B., and on Merasheen Island, P.B., they told "ghost stories to all hours" (Q67-686). In Victoria, C.B., they told "stories to scare" (Q67-191) children, in particular. In Topsail, C.B., they told "stories of criminal assaults" (Q67-184).

In Catalina, T.B., Summerford, N.D.B., Twillingate, N.D.B., and Keels, B.B., mummers gave recitations, in disguised voices. They recited "poetry and nursery rhymes" (Q67-623) in Catalina. In Summerford, Twillingate, and Keels, they recited poems like "The Face on the Barroom Floor" by Hugh Antoine Darcy and "The Green Eye of the Little Yellow God" about a man in India who stole a gem

from a statue.

Sometimes, janneys told jokes. In Freshwater, P.B., they told jokes about what had happened in other houses where they had visited. In Heart's Delight, T.B., they told "silly jokes" (Q67-105). In Moreton's Harbour, N.D.B., they told jokes about odd or comical people in the community (Q67-1099). At Christmas, in Hooping Harbour, W.B., people told "dirty jokes" (76-56ms) though not necessarily with mummering. In other communities, mummers told jokes but the informants have not mentioned what kind of jokes they were.

As mummers, amateur actors and comedians had a chance to perform. In Catalina, T.B., a mummer might stand on his or her head in the middle of the floor "to bring laughs" (I 16/6/77). In Campbell's Creek, Port au Port Peninsula, "to amuse people" (Q67-162), janneys crawled under tables, huddled in corners, and stuck out their tongues.[16] Corner Brook mummers acted out skits "with or without words" (Q67-824) concerning local happenings. In many communities, mummers acted out wedding ceremonies. In Winterton, T.B., an Englishman dressed and acted as a cat. "He must have been trained for it" (TC22). In Victoria Cove, Gander Bay, some mummers performed a scene from Romeo and Juliet (Q67-128). In "mummer talk" and in mummers' costumes, it must have been hilarious.

In a few communities, janneys played games. In Belleoram, F.B., they played "Clockwork Clara" and "Here

Comes Charlie" (Q67-931). The ways that these games were played is not mentioned.

Often, when they entertained or when they were mummering, generally, mummers were less inhibited than normally. In Newman's Cove, B.B., a male mummer might kiss a male host's wife "if her husband were home" (Q67-1308). Male mummers in St. Joseph's, P.B., kissed, hugged, and squeezed girls whom they normally would not. Mummering was "an opportunity to relax inhibitions" (TC3660). In "Coughlin Cove," female janneys might make "unexpected grabs at the groins" (CMN, p. 213) of the men of the house. When they were not mummering, they would never do such a thing. Mummers' costumes, which hid their identities, helped them to lose their inhibitions. In Freshwater, C.B., janneys "could say almost anything because they were dressed up" (Q67-100). In Cartwright, Labrador, "under their masks, mummers said stuff they ordinarily wouldn't" (Q67-1246). In Elliston, T.B., often the shyest person "talked a blue streak as a mummer" (Q67-1305). A shy woman in "Cat Harbour," when disguised in a quilt, was able to kick "up her heels in a most uninhibited manner" (CMN, p. 133). On Gull Island, C.B., mummers danced "even if they couldn't." They were disguised so they "couldn't care less" (Q67-564). Undoubtedly, liquor helped male mummers, at least, to lose their inhibitions. In Twillingate, N.D.B., "with brew, mummers lost their inhibitions and had a good time" (73-159ms).

In summary, when janneys entertained they were almost always noisy and usually they did things which they normally would not do. Ordinarily, people in the outports did not tell bawdy jokes or sing bawdy songs in mixed company and, ordinarily, throughout the year, they did not dance, especially in the "prohibited" part of the house. Dancing, sexual liberties, and drinking, except at sanctioned occasions, such as Christmas, were regarded as "violations" and "sinful indulgence."[17]

(C) Tricks

Mummers often played tricks on their hosts. Usually, these tricks seem to have been played at random; that is, they were not tricks against particular hosts. In Trinity, T.B., mummers hid hosts' hats and coats. In St. Pauls, G.N.P., they sometimes knocked over a water bucket and walked in the water. The hosts chased them with a broom. In Wesleyville, B.B., and Port Anne, P.B., janneys squirted hosts with water. In Port Anne, one janney carried a hollow cane with a pump at one end, especially to squirt water (TC21). In Bonavista, B.B., and in Winterton, T.B., some "boy" mummers led around a live billy goat. The mummers in Winterton milked the goat in a few places and dropped "buttons" (TC22) on the floor. In Greenspond, B.B., mummers took around a live rooster. The rooster was encouraged to sit on rising bread (Q67-890). In Catalina, T.B., masqueraders stole valuables from mantel pieces and

returned them three days later. In Lewisporte, N.D.B., they might take people's brooms. In Carbonear, C.B., Ochre Pit Cove, C.B., Renews, S.S., and Winterton, T.B., they stole a Christmas cake from one house and left it in the next. Ochre Pit Cove janneys made the hosts laugh so that they would not notice them stealing the cake from the table.

If mummers had a grudge against a particular person they might play a trick on that person for revenge. Some of the tricks were rough. In Catalina, T.B., if mummers did not like someone or if they had had a disagreement or if that person was stingy or of a different religion, they might drag in as much snow and slush on their boots as they could. The woman of the house probably spent the next day cleaning up the mess (I 16/6/77). If a group of janneys in Outer Cove, near St. John's, did not like someone, they forced their way into that person's house and blackened [his?] face with stove polish (Q67-418). In Mount Carmel, S.M.B., mummers took revenge on a man who had sold them a worthless pig. They blackened his entire body with stove polish, nipped his ear with a hobby horse, and threw him into the harbour (Q67-662).

Occasionally, mummers played tricks on people for no apparent reason, except that the people seem to have been different or weak or susceptible to teasing. Some of these tricks were nasty. In Southern Harbour, P.B., three "fellows," in disguise, stirred up with their sticks, that

is crushed, a woman's Christmas dinner in the pot. The woman was furious. She was a descendant of a Frenchman and "a wonderful woman to curse" (TC311). In another community, mummers played a trick on "Rat" _____. "Rat" _____ had a small face shaped like a rat's but no one ever told him so directly. The mummers took a census at "Rat's" house and asked, "How many sheep? How many rats?" "Rat" _____ was "enraged" (Q67-1035). In Conche, W.B., mummers poked people in the genitals with their sticks and ridiculed them verbally. One man, who was perhaps sensitive about his sexuality, jumped out a second story window to avoid a group of mummers when he heard them thudding up the stairs to tease him. Janneys in Holyrood, C.B., lured "a sickly, nervous man" into his barn. The man's grandfather had drowned a few weeks before. When a coffin that the janneys had hidden in the barn began to open, with their help, the man fell and broke his leg. Afterwards, he had "nightmares for years" (Q67-1233).

In some communities, mummers were not the only ones who played tricks. Hosts played tricks, also, on mummers. In Sunnyside, T.B., a host rolled a match inside a cigarette and gave it to a janney. When the cigarette was lit, the end away from the janney flared up (Q67-1130). In Bay Roberts, C.B., a host offered beet juice to a mummer, instead of syrup. After one sip, the mummer threw the juice in the host's face. In Bishop's Cove, C.B., janneys were given coal instead of cake. The coal dirtied the

janney's hands (Q67-927). In Paradise, N.D.B., mummers were given coal or a rotten potato (Q67-382). In Bloomfield, T.B., they were offered cookies with salt (Q67-716). In Garnish, F.B., an old man who was not fond of mummers fed them liniment biscuits and chased them with a red hot poker (Q67-34).

On the whole, most mummers' tricks, inside houses as well as outside houses, and most tricks played on mummers by hosts, were quite harmless. When mummers stole cake, and brooms, and valuables, though, even if the valuables were returned, and when mummers spilled water on floors, they were behaving as children in Newfoundland, and adults, were normally not to behave. Ordinarily, stealing and spilling water were bad.[18]

(D) Frightening and Chasing Children

In Little Bay Islands, N.D.B., adult mummers "made much of the children" (Q67-514). In Hermitage Bay, they sometimes unmasked if the children in the house were frightened of their strange costumes (76-215ms).

Although mummers in these two communities were particularly considerate of children, in many communities, adult mummers tried to scare children, inside houses. In St. Mary's, S.M.B., janneys shook their sticks at children, although they "only pretended to be rough" (TC341). Janneys in Creston, P.B., used their sticks to frighten "in fun" (Q67-813) small children. One wonders if the small children found it fun. In Cow Head, G.N.P., janneys chased children "until they screeched" (TC265). In Cartwright

Labrador, Campbell's Creek, S.G.B., and Blaketown, near Trinity Bay, adult mummers "tried to frighten" young children by "shouting and waving their sticks" (Q67-274) and chasing them "into the bedrooms and everywhere" (Q67-889). In Blaketown, the parents "loved" (Q67-889) to have the mummers chase their children. In Shearstown, C.B., the children hid in the cupboards and behind stoves but the janneys always found them "with the help of their parents" (Q67-403). In Spaniard's Bay, C.B., one mummer cracked a horsewhip on the floor beside a child (Q67-189).* As a result, many children were frightened of mummers.

Sometimes, parents increased the fear which mummers caused by using them as "threatening figures"[19] before they came, to keep the children in line. In Cow Head, G.N.P., parents said, "If you don't keep quiet, the janneys might take ya" (TC265) or "Be good or the janneys are coming for you" (TC247). In Upper Island Cove, C.B., parents warned, "Be good or the janneys will eat you" (Q67-317). Where mummers were used as threatening figures, children would have been frightened of them even before they knocked at the door.

Sometimes, as if to reinforce parents' threats, janneys spoke and acted the way they were portrayed. In Creston, P.B., a janney grabbed small children and informed them, in his or her disguised voice, "I'm going to carry you away" (Q67-541). In Shearstown, C.B., mummers scooped up children and asked if they could keep them (Q67-403). Fogo,

Fogo Island, N.D.B. janneys announced, "We are the janneys of the night. You better watch out; you better not cry; I'm telling you why; the janneys will get you tonight" (Q67-982).

By using janneys as threatening or disciplinary figures instead of themselves, parents in Newfoundland were able to displace some of the resentment which children feel towards disciplinarians onto mummers. Perhaps, also, though, when adult mummers chased children, they were reaffirming the authority of adults. Children in Newfoundland were expected to do as adults directed.

To make matters more complex, normally, running around in the house and tormenting other people were bad.[20]

(E) Fighting and Poking

Although mummers were often rowdy and noisy, when they were inside houses they rarely fought. Perhaps this was because, as one informant explained, "It was difficult to swear and talk janney talk at the same time" (TC3658).

In Torbay, near St. John's, if janneys poked too hard with their sticks, a fight could begin (Q67-263). In Fogo, Fogo Island, N.D.B., fights sometimes started when hosts tried to "strip" mummers (Q67-1110).

When mummers fought, often, it seems, they had been drinking. In Harbour Deep, W.B., there were sometimes a few squabbles if someone were drunk (75-10ms). In Harbour Grace, C.B., if mummers (or hosts) had had too much

"Christmas joy," there could be a fight or things could get broken (Q67-113). In Flower's Cove, G.N.P., there were "occasional quarrels" when men got drunk and someone might get hit over the head with a mop (Q67-683). In Port Anne, P.B., where mummers drank St. Pierre black gin at twenty-five cents a bottle, "two a.m. rows" were common. "The best man won. [It] happened again and again" (TC21).

More often, when they were inside houses, mummers poked other mummers or hosts with their sticks. In Creston, P.B., they "hit in fun" (Q67-813) fellow mummers. In Port Union, T.B., they banged their sticks on the floor or used them to poke hosts (Q67-812). In Conche, W.B., janneys poked people in the genitals with their sticks. One man jumped out a second story window when he heard a group of mummers climbing the stairs to tease him (TC3658).

Generally, mummers seem to have actually fought very seldom, whether inside houses or outside houses. Poking and "tormenting" others was more common and, in Newfoundland, "annoying or tormenting adults or other children" was normally unacceptable.[21]

(F) Guessing and Perhaps Unmasking

The guessing of mummers' identities, at each house, by the hosts, was a major part of each house-visit. It seems to have been at least as important as entertainment by the mummers. It was expected.

The guessing of mummers' identities was done almost systematically. Often, hosts tried, first of all, to guess mummers' genders. An informant from Conche, W.B., explained, "Once you broke down the gender, you were on your way to guessing who it was" (TC3658). Next, hosts frequently tried to guess mummers' individual identities. If all else failed, hosts might "strip"[22] their guests. This pattern did not always hold--in some communities, hosts stripped mummers right away--but it seems to have been generally true.

There were various ways to guess a janney's gender. In Carmanville, N.D.B., Fogo, Fogo Island, N.D.B., Gambo, B.B., Garnish, F.B., Gander, Lethbridge, B.B., and St. Albans, B.d'E., informants report that mummers always wore costumes of the opposite sex so guessing mummers' genders, in these communities, was easy. In Lethbridge, costume reversal was "taken for granted" (Q67-1201).

In communities where some mummers disguised themselves in clothes of the opposite sex, and where other mummers wore the clothes of their own sex or something else, a sheet or a quilt perhaps, hosts might throw an orange, an apple, or a ball into mummers' laps to find out which sex they were.[23] Women, who were accustomed to wearing skirts, were expected to spread their legs to catch the orange or whatever was thrown; men, who normally wore pants, were expected to snap their legs together or to catch the object in one hand (TC320).

In Canada Harbour, W.B., and Dunfield, T.B., janneys were asked to thread a needle or to knit twine so that they would reveal their sex. I suppose the theory was that women were more adept at threading needles and knitting twine than men.

In other communities, or in the same communities, hosts watched the way mummers walked and sat. Even though mummers tried to conceal their normal gaits, in Lawn, P.B., "girls walked as girls" (77-114ms). On Indian Islands, N.D.B., gaits were "hard to alter" (TC176). In Butter Cove, T.B., Lamaline, P.B., Topsail, C.B., and Change Islands, N.D.B., women who were disguised as men often sat with their legs apart for awhile, to look like men, then they "forgot" (TC321) that they were trying to sit like men and crossed their legs, giving their gender away. In Butter Cove, T.B., Lamaline, P.B., Topsail, C.B., Bonavista, B.B., and Fogo Island, N.D.B., men forgot that they were wearing skirts and "sprawled" (Q67-111). Another informant from Change Islands noticed the way men and women handled their chairs. "Women didn't pull out their chairs with their hands between their legs" (TC165), even if they were trying to act as men. An observant host could tell which gender they were.

Sometimes, janneys' costumes gave their gender away. In Conche, W.B., female mummers' costumes were "neater" than male mummers' costumes. Male mummers were "sloppy even as women" (TC3658). In Catalina, T.B., and Topsail, C.B., one

could often tell female and male mummers by their footwear. In Paradise, C.B., however, male and female mummers often exchanged shoes so this method was not reliable (Q67-382). In Biscay Bay, T.B., and Salmon Cove, C.B., male janneys wore their costumes over their ordinary men's outdoor garments "so you could see" (Q67-104) the ordinary men's clothes underneath. (Female mummers in Biscay Bay and Salmon Cove dressed mainly in men's clothes and frequently, in Salmon Cove, "tried to pass for men" (73-168ms).) A male mummer in Bay of Islands disguised as a woman wore a skirt, a blouse, a necklace, a white hat, white gloves, and nylons on his hairy, "unshapely" (Q67-896), obviously male legs.

Sometimes, if they could get close enough without being kicked (I 16/6/77), both male and female hosts "grabbed" (Q67-387), "pinched" (Q67-209), "felt" (I 16/6/79), or "squeezed" (Q67-278) mummers' legs, knees, and thighs to see if they belonged to men or women, or they might feel mummers' stomachs or breasts. Corner Brook hosts "occasionally made mistakes" (72-56ms) when they announced the sex of the owners of legs. On Pardy's Island, P.B., hosts felt mummers' stomachs (TC150). In Conche, W.B., Witless Bay, S.S., "Cat Harbour," and on Change Islands, N.D.B., hosts might feel mummers' breasts "to see if they were real or not" (TC321). If they were real, then hosts had to decide whose they were. A male "host" in "Cat Harbour," on feeling a female mummer's breasts, "immediately announced

who he thought it was, which brought roars of laughter from both the mummers and the undisguised" people present. "When the mummer finally unmasked, the [host] had been wrong" (CMN, p. 132). These open explorations of other people's bodies did not happen ordinarily. In Witless Bay, S.S., hosts took "liberties in examining legs and breasts which were not normally sanctioned" (75-3ms). In "Cat Harbour," feeling a woman's breasts in public was not "allowed normally" (CMN, p. 132).

In many communities, another way to tell if mummers were men or women was to see if they drank liquor, or moonshine, or homebrew when it was offered to them. Usually, women did not "drink." In Harbour Grace, C.B., hard liquor for women was "forbidden" (Q67-1163). In Port Rexton, T.B., "men drank, women didn't" (Q67-996). In Twillingate, N.D.B., "while the men drank, the women ate cake" (73-159ms). (In Greenspond, B.B., if a mummer refused a drink, he or she was "taken for a woman" (Q67-125).) Occasionally, though, some women did drink so this method of detecting a mummer's gender was not infallible. Only male mummers in Ireland's Eye, T.B., were expected to drink but some women, while they were mummering, "asked for grog" (76-454ms). On Change Islands, N.D.B., "some women gulped down moonshine just to offset you" (TC165). In Cow Head, G.N.P., some women got drunk "trying to drink like men" (TC265). In Upper Gullies, C.B., "many women could drink men under the table" (Q67-281). In

a few communities, female mummers accepted a drink of liquor but the way that they drank revealed that they were women. In Conche, W.B., a woman attached a bottle to the inside of her veil. When no one was looking, she hoped, she poured the liquor into the bottle instead of drinking it (TC3658). In Topsail, C.B., men sprawled and gulped their liquor; women, in Topsail, sat with their legs together and sipped (Q67-1151).

In some communities, male mummers were bolder or "rougher" (Q67-264) than female mummers so hosts were able to tell mummers' genders. On Change Islands, N.D.B., female mummers were "slower to dance" (Q67-910). In Bay Bulls, S.S., "men danced more than women." Female mummers in Bay Bulls "sang and waited around" (Q67-258). Boy mummers in Buchans were "louder and rougher" (Q67-410) than girl mummers. In Valleyfield, B.B., male mummers were "noisier" (Q67-458) than female mummers. In Lewisporte, N.D.B., male mummers were "bolder of course" (Q67-495).

In other communities, although most male mummers were rowdier than most female mummers, a few female mummers rivalled or even surpassed the men in rowdiness just as, in some communities, some women drank liquor. In Marystown, P.B., female mummers were sometimes "roughnecks" (Q67-223). On Pass Island, Hermitage Bay, female mummers were usually quieter "but last year three women were noisier than any six men" (Q67-644). In Cow Head, G.N.P., a group of female

mummers arrived at a man's house while the man's wife was out. The women danced and jumped around and threw water on the floor. "They must have been drinking. Doing all this to make me think they wudden women see, men er something" (TC265). In Seal Cove, F.B., one "occasionally saw a large group of women dressed up together. The men were more afraid of these women than of a bunch of men because they ganged up on the men and gave them a rough time" (76-372ms). In Hermitage, Hermitage Bay, a group of women, dressed as men, poked at everyone, especially men "because men won't retaliate. Five or six might turn on one man. They were the most frightening group" (77-64ms).

In a few communities, female mummers generally were rowdier than male mummers. In Upper Gullies, C.B., male mummers were "quieter than women" (Q67-497). In Calvert, S.S., female mummers "danced more than men" (Q67-263). In Port Elizabeth, P.B., female mummers "tended to talk and jump around more than men" (Q67-1018). Female mummers in Thornlea, T.B., were "usually rowdier" (Q67-287) than the males.

Sometimes, hosts tried to discover either mummers' genders or their individual identities, whichever happened to turn up first.

In Dunville, P.B., to inspire laughter or "speech" (Q67-389), hosts poked or tickled or pinched mummers anywhere at all. A janney's real laugh would give away his or her gender and perhaps also his or her individual identity.

A mummer's real voice, if he or she could be induced to use it, would certainly reveal his or her identity. In Long Cove, T.B., to make sure that mummers would reveal their normal voices, hosts pinched them "to make them scream" (Q67-663).

Another way to discover mummers' genders and also, likely, their identities, was to try to catch a glimpse of their hands. Hands are unique but in the Newfoundland outports, because of the hard physical work, people's hands were often scarred. The scars made mummers' hands especially identifiable, if they could be induced to remove their gloves. In Calvert, S.S., and Fermeuse, S.S., hosts tried to pull off janneys' mittens or gloves to see if they were men or women. In Torbay, near St. John's, hosts tried to pull off mittens and gloves to see "who the mummers were" (Q67-263). In Bay de Verde, C.B., Heart's Content, T.B., and Wesleyville, B.B., hosts "asked" (Q67-1303) to see mummers' hands. The mummers did not always show them.

In other communities, hosts felt mummers' hands, through their mittens or gloves. When hosts shook hands with mummers at the door, in Biscay Bay, Trepassey Bay, they tried to identify their hands or, at least, to determine if they were the hands of men or women. In Salmon Cove, C.B., one old man "could tell anyone by feeling his or her thumb" (Q67-172).

Other guessing techniques were used primarily to try to determine right away mummers' individual identities.

Hosts might look at mummers' hair or at parts of mummers' faces, if they could. In Campbell's Creek, S.G.B., hosts tried to see the colour of mummers' hair (Q67-187). In Cartwright, Labrador, Red Cove, F.B., and Victoria, C.B., hosts examined mummers' eyes to see if they could recognize them. If the mummer were bundled up in a quilt or sheet, his or her eyes might be the only human part which was visible. In Channel-Port aux Basques, janneys' ears and noses were exposed so hosts tried their best to recognize them. Some noses, at least, would be indubitable. In St. Lawrence, P.B., mummers had to lift part of their masks if they wanted to drink (Q67-439). When hosts saw mummers' mouths and chins, they could usually tell who the mummers were. Hosts in Cupids, C.B., tried to see through mummers' masks. If the masks were made of a piece of lace curtain, this might be possible. A man's identity in Cow Head, G.N.P., was revealed when his curtain veil caught the light (I 9/77). In Bay Bulls, S.C., and Carmanville, N.D.B., hosts tried to peek under mummers' masks. In Carmanville, a man peeked under a mask and saw his grandmother. He "laughed till he nearly passed out" (Q67-217).

In almost all communities, hosts examined carefully the costumes which mummers wore. Even though mummers frequently exchanged clothes or wore garments which had not been seen for a while, in Freshwater, P.B., "everyone knew what everyone else owned" (Q67-557) and, in Twillingate, N.D.B., "it was hard to wear something unrecognizable"

(73-159ms). In "Deep Harbour," a mummer was identified because he wore his wife's belt. "Where didya get that belt? Isn't that Mary Rose's belt?" (CMN, p. 95). In St. Joseph's, P.B., female hosts, at least, often recognized the stitching on janneys' quilts, if janneys wore quilts (TC3660). Although a mummer who was disguised in a quilt might not have made the quilt herself, she (or he) was probably a relative or a friend of the owner.

When mummers performed, they frequently revealed their identities. Janneys who played musical instruments had their own particular styles of playing which were hard to conceal. Those who danced often disclosed an individual gait or dance step. Those who sang or told stories or jokes or recited, in disguised voices, often were only partially able to conceal their normal voices. In Corner Brook, "only a few mummers could disguise their voices" (Q67-97) well. Most mummers inadvertently revealed their normal voices when they spoke or sang--or, mummers sometimes forgot to speak in their disguised voices and, so, gave themselves away.

Throughout the house-visit, until all the mummers were identified, hosts peppered mummers with direct questions about the dangers of their journeys, since most mummers said that they had come from somewhere else, and about the mummers' families, and the costumes that they wore. "How many rabbits did your father get today?" (CMN, p. 213). "Isn't that Ed Seward's coat you got on there?" (CMN, p. 212). Hosts hoped that a lot of questions would disconcert their

guests enough so that they would answer in their own voices, by mistake, or, as when mummers entertained, hosts hoped to be able to detect a mummer's ordinary voice underneath his or her assumed voice. Often, mummers evaded these direct questions and answered with "lies" (Q67-585). In Roddickton, W.B., it was "common for janneys to tell lies when they were masked." In fact, it was "expected" (72-247 #4). Normally, telling lies was wrong.[24]

Occasionally, if hosts were having a hard time identifying a group of mummers, one of the mummers might give the host a direct clue. In Wesleyville, B.B., a janney might give his initials or "the part of the harbour he was from" (69-2ms). In Port Blandford, B.B., and Summerville, B.B., a mummer might show her or his hands to a host.

Quite often, if hosts could guess one mummer correctly, they could guess the rest. Friends or people who normally spent time together frequently janneyed together. In "Ross," "if you guesses one right, boy, it's no trouble to guess the lot of 'em" (CMN, p. 110). This was not always the case though. "Friends never [mummered] together" (Q67-12) in Heart's Content, T.B. In Conche, W.B., a married woman might mummer with the unmarried man next door. She would never ordinarily visit the neighbours with him. In Plate Cove, B.B., a girl might mummer, at night, with three or four men. She would never, normally, walk alone, at night, with three or four men.

If hosts were having a hard time guessing mummers' identities, or even if they were not, they sometimes resorted to more drastic methods of identification.

In Butter Cove, T.B., Cavendish, T.B., St. Lawrence, P.B., and on Bell Island, C.B., hosts might offer more liquor, rum, or beer if mummers would unmask. In Salmon Cove, C.B., and Creston, P.B., hosts bribed mummers with [more?] cake (Q67-541). Hosts in New Harbour, T.B., offered [more?] drinks and cake if mummers would unmask. In Foxtrap, C.B., if mummers unmasked, they got "raisin bread and carrots" (Q67-443).

In Ochre Pit Cove, C.B., hosts tried to get janneys drunk so that they would reveal their identities (Q67-202).

In Freshwater, C.B., Ochre Pit Cove, C.B., Cape St. George, Port au Port Peninsula, and Heart's Delight, T.B., hosts sometimes locked the door and piled wood on the fire so that mummers would become hot and unmask.

In quite a few communities, hosts "stripped" (Q67-296), or tried to strip, mummers; that is, hosts tried to haul off mummers' masks and sometimes their costumes.

Sometimes, the stripping seems to have been a fairly gentle procedure. In Grand Falls, hosts tried to lift janneys' masks while the janneys held them down (Q67-89). In Newman's Cove, B.B., hosts sneaked up behind mummers and took of their veils (Q67-32). In other places, however, stripping could become quite rough. In Williamsport, W.B., "all the janneys were known before they left" so, if

necessary, the house door was locked and janneys' masks were hauled off (Q67-978). In Salmon Cove, C.B., if mummers could not be identified in any other way, their costumes were "torn off" (Q67-908). In Blackhead, near St. John's, hosts "often threw mummers on the floor and stripped them" (Q67-797). In Old Perlican, T.B., hosts "mobbed the visitors" (Q67-47), threw them on the floor, took off some of their clothes, and "felt them all over" (Q67-47). In Shoal Harbour, T.B., men occasionally threatened to strip women if they did not unmask (Q67-1093). In Marystown, P.B., if hosts could not guess who mummers were, they forced them on the floor "and if they were girls . . ." (Q67-79). The dots are included in the reference. In Heart's Delight, T.B., "all was fair in war and janneying" (Q67-257). Mummers reacted to stripping in different ways. Mummers in Port au Port, S.G.B., "enjoyed being guessed or having their masks hauled off" (Q67-723). In Blackhead, it was "part of the game" (Q67-797). In Little Bay, P.B., if mummers were unmasked by force, hosts would find, the next day, that their fence had disappeared or that their horse-sled had been stolen (Q67-489). On Fogo Island, N.D.B., if mummers were stripped, there were occasional fights. In Butter Cove, T.B., there were "some real fights."

Nearly always, mummers tried to ward off "unmaskers" (Q67-813), with their splits or sticks or guns or with whatever they were carrying. Dark Cove, B.B. mummers carried sticks, canes, and broken guns "to frighten unmaskers and

the curious" (Q67-887). In Haystack, P.B., if hosts tried to remove mummers' masks, the mummers threatened to strike "though they probably never would" (Q67-62). In Little Bay, P.B., it was "lawful" for mummers to use their splits "if attacked" (Q67-489). Burin Bay Arm mummers used their sticks to "snock" (Q67-538) face mask lifters. Cow Head, G.N.P. mummers carried splits against "tarmenters" (TC246) and they would "hit anyone who interfered" (TC265). In Lushes Bight, N.D.B., if janneys were touched, they "would strike" (TC305). In Cartwright, Labrador, a mummer carried a hot water bottle inside his costume. If hosts came "too close" the mummer "squirted them in the face" (Q67-274). In Old Perlican, mummers turned people "upside down" if they came too near. Most of the time, in Old Perlican, hosts found it "best to lie low and smile" (Q67-47). In Salvage, B.B., mummers were "safe" (TC26) if they were left alone.

All sorts of hosts tried to strip mummers. Children in Bay Roberts, C.B., tried to remove janneys' masks, "if they were not too scared" (Q67-806). In Musgravetown, B.B., where usually only males mummered, young ladies tried to lift off mummers' masks (Q67-759). In Freshwater, C.B., an informant's grandmother "hauled off masks" (Q67-850). In Bryant's Cove, C.B., an informant's "father and brother" tore off janneys' blankets, "if they couldn't guess" (Q67-912).

In a few communities, mummers were never stripped. In Gaultois, Hermitage Bay, it was "wrong" (Q67-236) to hurt

or touch mummers. In St. Joseph's, P.B., it was "not fair" (TC366). In Lewisporte, N.D.B., stripping was "a breach of etiquette" (Q67-1181). In Campbell's Creek, S.G.B., hosts were allowed to remove mummers' masks any way they could only on January 6, "stripping night" (Q67-162).

If mummers' identities were correctly guessed by hosts, without stripping, mummers usually removed their own masks or "threw up," so that hosts could see who they were. Sooner or later most mummers were identified. When janneys uncovered their faces, they "reverted to their normal selves. They were not as brave in speaking" (Q67-326). In Change Islands, N.D.B., there was "a startling change." Mummers who before were "noisy and talkative" became "mute and self-conscious" (Q67-860). Windsor mummers who had unmasked were treated as their "normal selves" and they "behaved as such" (Q66-110). In "Ross," "once an adult mummer [had] been identified, he [ceased] his aggressive behaviour . . . , returning to the usual demeanor of normal social encounters" (CMN, p. 111). When child mummers unmasked,

> . . . the change of behaviour [was] even more noticeable, as their unmasking and identification [caused] them to return to their normal behaviour before adults, that is, a "seen-and-not-heard" manner that has them sit at a distance away from adults, carefully avoiding any position that could be construed as placing themselves on the same level as adults (CMN, p. 111).

Then, on Change Islands, N.D.B., adult mummers who had unmasked chatted for awhile in their normal voices with

the hosts or, in St. Brendan's, B.B., they might "sing a song with the household" (Q66-69). In "Deep Harbour," child mummers who had unmasked sat quietly "watching and listening to the adults" (CMN, p. 100). If they had not already been offered something to eat or drink by the hosts, mummers almost always accepted a drink and probably a piece of cake after they had unmasked.

If they were not identified by the hosts, occasionally mummers unmasked anyway. In Hermitage Bay, janneys unmasked for older people "because they were lonely" or, now and then, for children "if they were afraid" (76-215ms). In Bareneed, C.B., and on Bell Island, C.B., mummers unmasked to eat or to drink. In Little Heart's Ease, T.B., all mummers had to unmask before they left each house because one of them "might be the devil" (Q67-593).

Usually, however, janneys who were not guessed left without raising their veils. In Heart's Content, T.B., mummers who were not identified were "the talk of the town" (Q67-58) the next day. In "Deep Harbour," a lone mummer, who did not drink and who had "not mummered in recent years" (CMN, p. 93) was recognized by hardly anyone. No one expected him to mummer. In Williamsport, W.B., there was "always one" mummer whom hosts could not identify. One year, an informant's grandmother "in men's underwear" visited every house. She drank all the syrup and ate "as much cake as she could hold" (Q67-226) and no one knew who she was for six months. In "Coughlin Cove," janneys who were not

identified wished the hosts "Good Night" or "Merry Christmas" in janney talk as they left. In Victoria Cove, Gander Bay, and Garnish, F.B., unidentified mummers sometimes played tricks on hosts, such as removing the gate or upsetting the water bucket. In Fortune, F.B., mummers who were not recognized "stamped, pushed stuff around a bit, and left laughing" (TC217).

A few mummers never unmasked, whether they were identified or not. On Pass Island, Hermitage Bay, a group of boy mummers would not unmask because they were underage and they wanted a drink (Q67-644). On Deer Island, S.C., mummers sometimes did not unmask "because of brazen remarks made earlier" (Q67-249). Adult male mummers in Placentia, P.B., used their sticks "sometimes offensively" (Q67-792) and did not remove their masks. In Mount Carmel, S.M.B., hosts did not even try to guess who mummers were. Most mummers in Mount Carmel were rough and, if they caused "hurt or damage or injury," they "didn't want to be known" (Q67-662).

When they were ready to leave each house, mummers who had unmasked "donned their masks again" and bid the hosts "good night or Merry Christmas, either in their own voices or in janney-talk" (CMN, p. 215). In Burin, P.B., Campbellton, N.D.B., Fortune, F.B., and Freshwater, C.B., as they left, janneys who had remasked reassumed the role of janneys and tipped over the water bucket on the porch. In Bay Roberts, C.B., and Salvage, B.B., if hosts had not been able to guess the identities of a group of mummers, they might

heave a bucket of cold water out an upstairs window onto the departing mummers below. The cold water was supposed to make the mummers cry out in surprise and, thus, reveal their normal voices.

In conclusion, the genders and the identities of most mummers were recognized eventually. Frequently, it seems, and probably unconsciously, janneys gave small clues to hosts so that guessing was not as difficult as it might have been; for example, on Fogo Island, N.D.B., men who were disguised as women forgot that they were wearing skirts and sprawled; a male mummer in Bay of Islands displayed his hairy legs; female mummers usually did not drink so one could tell that they were women; in St. Lawrence, P.B., janneys exposed their mouths and chins when they drank so one could usually guess who they were; often, when they sang or told stories, mummers were only partially able to conceal their normal voices so hosts were able to identify them. It is as if most male and female janneys wanted to conceal their genders and their identities for awhile and then have them recognized and reaffirmed, after they had had a bit of fun. In "Ross," John Szwed noticed that "there is usually no wish to stay completely unidentifiable . . . It is significant . . . that in most cases mummers [were] eventually recognized by their hosts" (CMN, p. 111). In Grand Bank, F.B., mummers "usually stayed until they were recognized." Most often, they "wanted to be guessed" (Q67-252).

(G) Treats

After they had entertained, or after they had unmasked, almost always, janneys were offered a "treat" (Q67-395) or "some Christmas" (Q66-110), that is, something to eat and drink, by the hosts. In quite a few communities, such as Brigus, C.B., and Bay Roberts, C.B., treats were given in return for entertainment.

Most frequently, to eat, mummers were offered pieces of cake. The cakes were usually rich, dark and light fruit cakes. The women of each house baked them weeks before Christmas and put them away to age. In some communities, at least, these Christmas cakes and the other baked goods seem to have been symbols for the women's baking ability. In Conche, N.B., a female host would have two or three different kinds of cake on hand for janneys when they visited. "Kids" whom the host did not know "wouldn't get the good stuff" but Mrs. X, who was an important person in the community, might get a special piece of cake (TC3658). In Hooping Harbour, G.N.P., if only a few mummers came to visit, hosts felt that their "food was not good enough" (76-56ms).

In Spaniard's Bay, C.B., janneys called the dark fruit cake "dirty cake" (73-186ms). In Fortune, F.B., it was called "dark cake" (TC217). In Corner Brook, "toejam" (Q67-1013) was said to give flavour to the cakes.

Occasionally, mummers might be offered raisins, apples, candy, soda biscuits, sweet bread, raisin bread, blood pudding, or "figgy duff" (TC343). Figgy duff was

raisin pudding boiled in a cloth.

To drink, mummers were offered tea, cocoa, lime juice, "lemon crystal" (Q67-272), "clingy" (Q67-806) or "swanky" (Q67-281), "winker" (Q67-231) or "freely" (Q67-1237), "berryocky" (Q67-604), winter green drink, ginger and hot water, "squatum" (Q67-660), ginger wine, partridge berry wine, blueberry, dogberry, black currant, and raspberry wine, spruce beer (TC211), homebrew, moonshine, gin, whiskey, and rum.

"Clingy" or "swanky" was fruit syrup which, I understand, was generally bought from a store. One added water to it and drank it hot or cold. "Winker" or "freely" was a mixture of bakeapples, sugar, and water. It was "delicious" (Q67-1237). "Freely" was made in Cape Freels. Berryocky (Q67-604) or berryhockey (Q67-694) or berryawky (Q67-760) was partridge berry juice with sugar (Q66-10). "Squatum" (Q67-1230) or "squattum," according to the Newfoundland Dictionary Centre file, was [I do not quote directly] blueberry wine; a drink made from the juice of berries; a drink made from partridge berries--not without a bit of liquor. The fruit wines were "strong" (Q67-231). Two or three glasses of raspberry wine, in Cow Head, G.N.P., "would knock you out" (TC257). Spruce beer was "splendid stuff" (TC211). It was made from a spruce bough boiled in water, molasses, and yeast. Homebrew was homemade beer. In Catalina, T.B., and Port de Grave, C.B., the homebrew was usually kept in a keg behind the stove. It was "very

powerful stuff." It was also illegal.[25] Its illegality gave it an extra "kick" (I 16/6/77). Moonshine was prepared when "the crops were in and the fishing was finished" (Q67-875). It, and homebrew, seem to have been made mainly by the men, although in Bishop's Cove, C.B., an informant's mother once made moonshine (Q67-927). "In the old days," in Port Anson, N.D.B., most of the old men would make twelve bottles of moonshine . . . , "one for each night" (Q66-76). In Kingston, C.B., the man who was most skillful at running off moonshine was kept busy with requests for "a drop of stuff for Christmas." The moonshine apparatus was called "The Moonshine Can" (Q66-49). On the south coast of Newfoundland, gin, whiskey, and rum were usually smuggled in from St. Pierre or Miquelon in the fall of the year, to avoid the import duty. In Colinet, S.M.B., the rum was "hidden in the marsh ponds" (72-101ms) until Christmas. In Eastport, B.B., which was farther north, rum was brought from St. John's on a schooner (TC343).

In most communities, the men drank the homebrew, the moonshine, and the "hard" liquor. An old man in Bay Bulls, S.S., described mummering in his time: "Men drank liquor then" (TC322). Quite often, drinking by male mummers culminated in drunkenness. In Savage Cove, G.N.P., "drunkenness on the part of men [was] expected" (CMN, p. 67). In Spaniard's Bay, C.B., male mummers "came home drunk if at all" (73-186ms). Male mummers in Bay Roberts, C.B., "tried to see who could be drunkest" (Q67-779). In Rocky Harbour, Bonne

Bay, by the end of an evening of mummering, male mummers were "three sheets in the wind" (Q67-901). In one community, however, drunkenness was not expected for men, or anyone else. In St. Joseph's, P.B., "rum was costly and the people were poor" (TC3660). One or two bottles had to last each family for the whole of Christmas.

Although, as has been mentioned, some female mummers drank, most women, in most communities, did not drink home-brew, moonshine, or hard liquor. In Lewisporte, N.D.B., "decent women didn't drink" (Q67-437). In Melrose, T.B., it was "not right for a girl to drink" (72-36ms). In St. Brendan's, B.B., it was "taboo for women to drink" (73-174ms). Instead, most women drank syrup or juice or they might accept "a drop or two of wine," that is, one or two glasses. In a few communities, especially in the later years of janneying, women might have one or two hot rum toddies--rum, hot water, and sugar.

Often, liquor was referred to by a euphemism. In Buchans, it was "something stronger" (Q67-795). In Kingston, C.B., it was "a stronger liquid" (Q67-657). In Lamaline, P.B., it was "a stronger beverage" (Q67-358). Men in Witless Bay, S.S., were given "a drop of the hard stuff" (75-3ms). In Spaniard's Bay, C.B., they accepted "a drop of some stuff in bottles" (Q66-100). In Beaumont, N.D.B., which was Methodist, drink was "the devil's poison" (TC300). In Shoal Harbour, T.B., it was "granny's whiskey" (Q67-1084). Liquor in Harbour Grace, C.B., was called "Christmas joy"

(Q67-113). In Corner Brook, it was "the bull with many horns" (Q67-478). In Dunville, P.B., liquor was "the Christmas Bull" (Q67-378). An informant from St. John's called moonshine "white lightning" (I 1/78).

Frequently, at the end of an evening of mummering, mummers had a large meal or a "scoff" (Q67-996) at the last house which they visited. In Buchans, they might have pork and cabbage soup (Q67-875). In St. Lawrence, P.B., they might have fresh goose, or duck, or chicken. St. George's, S.G.B. mummers might have rabbit pie. Port Rexton, T.B. mummers might have a scoff of moose meat (Q67-996). Often, the vegetables or the meat for the scoff or both were stolen by the mummers from someone's root cellar or barn. Sometimes, janneys took the stolen vegetables or meat to be cooked and eaten in the same house from which they were stolen. Normally, stealing was unacceptable behaviour.

Sometimes, on January 6, the last night of mummering, mummers were offered special treats. In Heart's Content, T.B., they were given pieces of Old Twelfth Cake "to complete the Christmas festivities" (Q67-990).[26] In Avondale, C.B., on Twelfth Night, lady hosts gave out sweet buns, twelve in a pan (TC-11).

If hosts did not offer treats as soon as mummers felt that they should, or even if they did, mummers sometimes asked for treats, or helped themselves. In Campbellton, N.D.B., a mummer wore a tall hat with "I like sweet cake"

(Q67-1274) inscribed around it. In Salmon Cove, C.B., a mummer displayed "Sal wants cake" (Q67-148) on a cardboard shield. Old Perlican, T.B. mummers demanded syrup and cake (Q67-47). In Port Anson, N.D.B., they patted their stomachs and asked for "Christmas" (Q67-402). In Red Bay, Labrador, a boy mummer helped himself to a piece of pie from a cupboard. "Making requests of this nature would only be done by janneys since normally a neighbour visiting the home would never ask for food or drink" (CMN, p. 214).

Very occasionally, mummers were not offered treats by the hosts. This was rare because "the name of the house was at stake" (TC3659). In Conche, W.B., a house was known as a "mean" house or a "good" house according to the treats that it gave (TC3659). Probably, only hosts who did not like mummers for some reason would not offer them food and drinks. [This is my guess.] On Bell Island, C.B., mummers who were not given a treat emptied the offending family's garbage can and cut their clothesline (Q67-502). Mummers in Brigus, C.B., who were not treated took gates and marked windows. In Tor Bay, Marine Drive, they upset the water bucket or dragged the male or female host into the snow. Mummers in Shearstown, C.B., who were not adequately treated, were "destructive of property" (Q67-782). They carried sticks. In Fortune Harbour, N.D.B., a group of janneys who were not treated hit an old man on the head with their sticks and left laughing (Q67-962).

Now and then, treats were used to patch up a dispute between two people. In Conche, W.B., a host might be "extra generous" to a janney if he wanted to end an old quarrel. Treats, in Conche, were usually offered before janneys unmasked, so the host could "save face" (TC3659) by pretending not to recognize the janney he was being generous to.

Treats seem to have represented several different things. Cakes were symbols of women's work and skills. Liquor, because it was usually a prerogative of men, seems to have symbolized masculinity, male status, and authority. As women did not often drink liquor, it separated men from women. The twelve bottles of moonshine, one for each night, in Port Anson, the Old Twelfth Cake in Heart's Content, and the sweet buns in Avondale, twelve in a pan, helped to set the Twelve Days of Christmas, the mummering season, apart as a special period of the year.

Notes

[1]Chiaramonte points out that ingressive speech can disguise age as well as gender. "Sometimes these [little] mummers are mistaken for big mummers because it is difficult to tell from the ingressed speech how old they are" (CMN, p. 99).

[2]See John Widdowson, If You Don't Be Good (1977), pp. 88-91.

[3]Ibid., pp. 88-91.

[4]Ibid., pp. 88-91.

[5]Manuscript 348 in the Archive of Undergraduate Research on Newfoundland Society and Culture.

[6]Ibid., pp. 88-91.

[7]In Gaultois, Hermitage Bay, "in the old days," it was the custom for men to settle their disputes at Christmas, when they had finished the year's work. Two men, at a time, used to fight each other "in an open space with a crowd around" (Q67-1027). No one could interfere until one man fell.

[8]The nautical term "bridge" is a common term in Newfoundland for porch or veranda.

[9]In Carbonear, C.B., mummers sometimes wore flags as costumes (Q67-273). In Herring Neck, N.D.B., King George of the mummers' play was said to represent the British Empire (TC172).

[10]"Anticks" in Pennsylvania, in 1782, also barged into houses. "Custom has licensed these vagabonds to enter by force any place they chose." A.L. Shoemaker, Christmas in Pennyslvania: A Folk-Cultural Study (1959), p. 23.

[11]In England, the Marshfield Paper Boys are "strongly aware that they . . . have something to dispense . . . and that thing, in their own words, is 'luck'" Alan Brody, The English Mummers and Their Plays (1970), p. 16. In eleven townlands near Enniskillen, County Fermanagh, Ireland, some people associated the local mummers with luck and some did not. One lady "never saw them bringing good or bad luck." One of the mummers said, "Yes, the mummers were supposed to bring good luck . . ." H. Glassie, All Silver and No Brass (1975), pp. 112, 113.

[12]There is a Newfoundland folk song called "Harbour le Cou."

[13]John Widdowson, If You Don't Be Good (1977), pp. 88-91.

[14]Probably some dancers would want to have their dance steps and, hence, their identities recognized. A good singer, too, would want his or her singing to be recognized and praised. In any case, it would be difficult to sing for long periods of time in a disguised voice and, after a while, hosts would get tired of distorted singing (H. Halpert).

[15]I can find no serious discussions of the mnemonic rhymes known for different dance tunes. Herbert Halpert has recorded a number of them from both the south and the west coasts of Newfoundland. He has also recorded a considerable number from Dr. Leslie Harris who is from St. Joseph's, P.B.

[16]These mummers seem to have been acting as children.

[17]James Faris, Cat Harbour (1972), p. 157.

[18]John Widdowson, If You Don't Be Good (1977), pp. 88-91.

[19]In If You Don't Be Good, pp. 227-240, John Widdowson discusses and gives examples of mummers as threatening figures.

[20]Ibid., pp. 88-91.

[21]Ibid., pp. 88-91.

[22]"Stripping" meant removing mummers' masks and sometimes their costumes.

[23]Throwing something into people's laps to find out what sex they are is not limited to Newfoundland mummers. It is a traditional and widespread folk test. It appears in Huckleberry Finn, by Mark Twain. It has been recognized by E.W. Baughman in Type and Motif-Index of the Folktales of England and North America, p. 298, H1578.1.4.1 and by Stith Thompson in Motif-Index of Folk-Literature, volume 3, p. 518, H1578.1.4 and H1578.1.4.1.

[24]John Widdowson, If You Don't Be Good (1977), pp. 88-91.

[25]In Elliston, B.B., on April Fools Day, April 1, a favourite trick was to send small plastic mounties to known makers of homebrew (70-21ms).

[26]In England, on Twelfth Night, large Twelfth Cakes were once commonly served. See British Calendar Customs (1938), volume 2, p. 51.

# CHAPTER V

## THE HOBBY HORSE, THE CHRISTMAS BULL, AND OTHER ANIMAL FIGURES[1]

### Introduction

Hobby horses, hobby cows, hobby goats, hobby sheep, hobby bulls, hoppy cows, Christmas Bulls, Bull-and-Hobby Horses, "cows," "bulls," and one Derby Ram are recorded as appearing in Newfoundland at Christmas, as mummers' costumes or as figures which mummers carried. In this chapter I describe these animal figures as mummers' costumes and the behaviour of the janneys who wore or carried them, and I offer a typology of these figures and a table of their distribution in Newfoundland.

The hobby horse, in one shape or another, was the "standard" animal figure or animal disguise. It is recorded as appearing in almost one-third of the communities studied. The other animal figures or disguises were present in only a few communities and such communities usually also had a hobby horse. Most frequently, the name "hobby horse" was given to what I have called the hobby horse figure but, occasionally, it was called other names such as the hobby hoss, Horsechopper, Horsey Hops, Horse Chops, Horsey Chops, Flop Jaws, Lop Chops, the hobble horse, or the hoppy horse. In the section which shows the distribution of these figures throughout Newfoundland, I have

noted the communities where the hobby horse was called by these other names. Unless I say otherwise, the name of the hobby horse figure was "hobby horse."

With only two exceptions that I know of, hobby horses and the other animal figures were worn or carried by males. In the two exceptional communities, Bishop's Falls and Cow Head, G.N.P., females or a female carried the hobby horse. In Bishop's Falls, women, disguised in quilts, carried a hobby horse in front of them on a stick. Inside houses they "danced, frightened children, and ran in circles" (Q67-1003). They acted very much the way men with hobby horses usually behaved. In Cow Head, G.N.P., a woman sometimes carried a hobby horse made from a wood junk on a stick in front of her. The woman herself crouched behind, with someone else, to form the rear of the horse. There is little information on the behaviour of this particular hobby horse in Cow Head. Since females did carry hobby horses in these two communities, though, it is possible that they carried hobby horses or other animal figures in other communities. As yet, I have no evidence of this; but, let me stress, women may have carried animal figures in other communities.

As well as being carried by males (usually), from all of the information in the questionnaires at my disposal, hobby horses and all the other animal figures were made only by males. Most often, they were constructed by the

community blacksmith or carpenter. In some communities, however, skillful men and older boys made their own. None of these figures were made publicly. Generally, they were built in a secluded shed or forge and, occasionally, they were made "in secret" (Q67-689).

Since all of these animal figures took time to make, most communities seem to have had only one or, perhaps, two hobby horses at a time. In a few communities, a hobby horse and perhaps one other figure appeared. A very few communities had more than two hobby horses. In Harbour Breton, F.B., four or five hobby horses crowded into one house (TC148). On Pool's Island, B.B., five or six hobby horses "like a drove of cattle" (TC157)[2] were driven along by ten or twelve mummers running behind. There was no single type of construction for a hobby horse or any other animal figure. In the same community, the same name could have different shapes though probably at different times. In Whitbourne, for example, three quite different hobby horses were made in succession, over a period of years, by the same man. The first hobby horse was made from a wood block covered in fur. It had a "snocking jaw." The second hobby horse was the skin of a caribou's head, with antlers, stretched on a wood block. The third hobby horse was a ram's head. The carrier wore it over his own head and enveloped the rest of his body in a "big sheep's fleece" (72-176ms). Each of these figures was called a "hobby

horse." On the other hand, if one compares the shapes under the different names, it will be seen that one shape could have different names. A log with a movable "jaw," for example, might be called a hobby horse or the Hoppy Cow or the Christmas Bull. This is because one shape might have different names though not in the same community. Similarly, in St. Lawrence, P.B., the Hoppy Cow was variously a wood junk covered in hide with snocking jaws and horns on top; a cow's head on a pole; and a complete cow or bull's skin worn over a mummer's head and body. As far as I can tell, these figures were made and appeared at different times.

To clarify the relationships between the different forms and how they were carried or worn, I have prepared a typology. The typology is based primarily on the different shapes in which the figures were made but with other considerations too. Very often, the descriptions of these animal figures were not clear so I may have set up a category which does not exist or which flows from another category. With this warning, here is the typology.

The Typology

(A) The Hobby Horse

(1) The wooden log or wood "junk" hobby horse.

A log, two or three feet long and eight to ten inches high, with a movable front bottom section, a "mouth."

The wood log or "junk" was covered in various ways to disguise it. I will discuss these ways later. The junk might be carried or worn in one of the following ways:

(a) Hollowed out and worn over the mummer's own head.

(b) Carried under the mummer's arm or in the mummer's arms.

(c) Carried on his shoulder.

(d) Carried in front of the mummer on a pole.

(e) Carried high above the mummer's head on a stick or on a complete wooden framework attached to the mummer's chest.

(2) Other hobby horses worn over the carrier's own head.

(a) A bull's head, carved from wood, hollowed out. It was worn on the mummer's head.

(b) A full horse, cow, goat, ram, or bull's head dried and worn over the mummer's head.

(c) The skin of the head of a cow or ox, dried and worn over the mummer's head.

(d) A cardboard horse's head. It fitted over the mummer's head.

(3) Other hobby horses on sticks.

(a) A carved wooden head with a notched mouth. It was carried on a pole.

(b) A horse, cow, goat, ram, or bull's head dried and carried on a stick in front.

(c) The head of the hobby horse was a wire frame covered with cloth. It was carried on a pole by two people who crouched behind, covered in cloth.

(d) The roasted skin of a whole young pig was carried on a pole.

4. Full hobby horse figures.

(a) A wooden head on a long stick with wheels at the bottom. The stick was put between the legs of the rider and the rider held up the head with reins.

(b) A large wooden head and body with legs on rockers.

(c) A wooden head attached to a frame. The frame was on wheels.

(d) A large wooden horse with a wooden head, neck, body, legs, and tail. A pedal moved parts of the horse.

(e) A wooden head and a wooden frame with a hole in the middle of the frame. A man stood in the hole and hung the frame from his shoulders with straps. False legs and boots on the outside of the frame gave the appearance that the man was riding a horse.

(f) A full horse skin including the skin of the horse's head. It was worn over the head and body of the carrier.

(B) The Hobby Cow, Goat, Bull, or Sheep

(1) A dried cow, goat, bull, or sheep head.

The dried cow head was called the hobby cow; the dried goat head was called the hobby goat; the dried bull head was called the hobby bull; and the dried sheep head was called the hobby sheep. The dried cow head was worn over the mummer's own head. It was like hobby horse 2b. The reference does not say how the goat, bull, and sheep heads were worn.

(C) The Hoppy Cow

(1) A log with a movable "mouth" on a long pole. It was like hobby horse 1d.

(2) A cow's head dried, on a long pole. It was like hobby horse 3b.

(3) A whole cow's skin (or a whole bull's skin), including the skin of the head. It covered the head and body of the carrier.

(D) "Cows"

(1) A wood junk covered with the skin of a cow's head. The reference does not say how the junk was carried.

(2) The head of a cow on a stick. The carriers crouched behind under canvas. It is like hobby horse 3b.

(E) The Christmas Bull

(1) A wood junk with a movable "mouth." The reference does not say how it was carried.

(2) The head of a dead bull worn over a mummer's head. It is like hobby horse 2b.

(F) "Bulls"

(1) A wood junk covered with fur or a wood junk covered with the skin of a bull's head with horns. The references do not say how the junks were carried.

(G) The Bull-and-Hobby Horse

(1) A wood junk with a movable "mouth." It was carried on a pole. It is like hobby horse 1d.

(2) The head of a dead bull, dried, on a pole. It was like hobby horse 3b.

(H) The Derby Ram

(1) A log with a movable "mouth." The reference does not say how it was carried.

Hobby Horses and Other Animal Figures as Costumes

As the typology shows and as I have already mentioned in the introduction, hobby horses, hobby cows, bulls, goats, and sheep, hoppy cows, "cows," Christmas Bulls, "bulls," the Bull-and-Hobby Horse, and the Derby Ram were

all made in several different shapes and, often, one shape could have several different names. A Hoppy Cow could be a wood junk with a movable "jaw," a dried cow's head on a pole, or a whole cow's skin worn over the carrier's head and body. A dried cow or bull's head on a pole could be called a hobby horse, a hoppy cow, a "cow," or the Bull-and-Hobby Horse. This is because, in one community, one name might have several different shapes, probably at different times. One shape might have different names in different communities. Obviously, as the typology shows, the basic form was the wood junk.

In creating the animal figures, there was little attempt at strict realism, unless the figures were made from full horse or cow skins. As I have seen only the several hobby horses in MUNFLA and as there are very few drawings of these animal figures, it is hard to be certain. Hobby horses made from wood junks, though, were often covered with cow, goat, or sheep skin. They might have birch bind ears and glass telegraph pole insulator eyes. In St. Phillips, C.B., the Bull-and-Hobby Horse might have horns and whiskers. Even a hobby horse made from a real horse's head, as in Colinet, S.M.B., or a hobby horse made from a wood junk covered with a real horse's skin, could be extraordinary. The mummer/carrier of the hobby horse might haul the hobby horse "head" over his own head and disguise the rest of his body in a lady's dress or a

white sheet. In fact, most of the animal figures seem to have been "monsters," that is, animals that are "structurally abnormal or grotesquely deformed."[3]

The hobby horses and the other animal figures were mummers' costumes or carried by mummers. This must be stressed. Like other janneys' costumes, animal figure costumes were worn to disguise the identities of the mummers who masqueraded in them and, like other costumes, animal figure disguises were often "ugly" (Q67-765) and "frightening" (Q67-863). Unlike the identities of most mummers, however, the identities of masqueraders who wore animal figure disguises were seldom guessed. Hosts do not seem to have even tried. Probably this was because the carriers of most animal figures behaved roughly and did not want their identities known. Unlike other janneys' costumes, too, animal figure disguises were usually consciously "designed to frighten" (Q67-383). In Curling, near Corner Brook, a hobby horse was "made to look fierce" (Q67-136). In Wesleyville, B.B., a hobby horse with a "frightening and horrible head" (Q67-863) was made by "the bigger boys to scare females and smaller children" (Q67-16).

In this section, I will describe in as much detail as I can the appearances and shapes of the various animal figure costumes.

(A) The Hobby Horse

By far the most common type of hobby horse was Type 1, the log, shaped "like a codfish" (Q67-86) with the movable front bottom section or "mouth." It appeared in 85 of the 343 communities studied. I will discuss this kind first.

The mouth was made by cutting out a large front lower section of the log or "junk" and then replacing it on leather or metal hinges. A rope, knotted at one end, was threaded through the movable lower jaw, from the bottom, and out, through a hole, to the back of the head. By pulling on the rope, mummers who carried this type of hobby horse could "snock" the jaws together. The "snock, snock"[4] made by the jaws was a "big noise" (TC324). In Wesleyville, B.B., on dark nights as it chased one down the road, [the hobby horse] "sounded like the jaws of an ancient beast" (Q67-16).

Inside, the mouth was often painted red, with vicious four-inch nail teeth or bits of tin or hob nails hammered in around the side for teeth. The heads of the nails were filed off to make them more intimidating and painful, if they bit anyone. In Wesleyville, B.B., the nail teeth of the hobby horse "sparked when they were chopped together" (Q67-1303). Occasionally, as in Mount Carmel, S.M.B., real horse's teeth were glued in. Sometimes, there was a red flannel tongue.

On the outside, the wood junk could be painted brown or black (or grey or charcoal or red) with old house or boat paint. More frequently, though, the wood junk was covered with a dried cow, goat, or sheep skin. Most families killed one of these animals late in the fall so that they would have meat for the winter and fellows, who were planning to make a hobby horse, would save one of the skins. Occasionally, too, the skin of a deer, caribou, bear, fox, or an actual horse skin was used. A few informants said that, if cow, goat, or sheep horns were available, they were attached to the top of the hobby horse head (Q67-231). If a caribou skin were used, as in Whitbourne, the caribou antlers or "horns" might be nailed on (72-176ms). Ears were made out of bits of cloth or hide or birch rind. The mane, if there were one, might be real horse's hair, or cow's hair, or unravelled rope. Eyes could be made with paint which "shone in the dark" (Q67-517), or marbles, or buttons, or glass telegraph pole insulators, or green bottle bottoms. One informant stressed that the green bottle bottoms he knew were rum bottle bottoms. Several hobby horse makers even added whiskers made from cow's hair to the hobby horse head.[5] The whiskers were probably to make the head look more ferocious.

Sometimes, the wood junk was hollowed out and worn over a mummer's head. Then, the mummer "looked through its eyes and spoke through its mouth" (I 16/6/77) and along

with the head, which acted as a mask, the mummer wore a regular mummer's rig which was, usually, a dress, a sheet,[6] or a bright quilt. In Pinchard's Island, B.B., a hobby horse carrier balanced the hobby horse head on his shoulders with pillows and underneath he disguised himself in a lace blouse, a black satin skirt, and stockings for his hands (Q67-1021).

Sometimes, the hobby horse made from the wood junk was carried under a mummer's arm, or in a mummer's arms, or on a mummer's shoulder. Then, again, frequently, the carrier wore a regular mummer's rig; or, in Witless Bay, S.S., a mummer with a hobby horse under his arm once wore "a fur coat" (75-3ms); in St. John's, a man in "a long dark cape" (Q67-108) carried a hobby horse under his arm and made the hobby horse talk by ventriloquism.

In Catalina, T.B., the hobby horse was mounted high above a mummer's head on a brace with straps around the mummer's shoulders and chest to hold it on. In this case, to hide the brace, a piece of sheet or cloth hung down from the hobby horse head and over the carrier's shoulders. Underneath, the carrier wore a mummer's rig. The final apparition was nine feet tall and "horrid" (I 16/6/77). Similarly, in Twillingate, N.D.B., a wood junk covered in skin was held high above a mummer's head on a long pole. The pole and the mummer were covered in "a white sheet" and "people screamed" when they saw the hobby horse coming.

When it arrived at a house, it might "look in through the window and snap" its jaws (TC185).

When the hobby horse was carried in front on a pole, the mummer carrier had two choices. He could disguise himself in a mummer's rig and carry the hobby horse ahead of him or he and maybe one or two comrades could crouch down behind the pole to form the horse's body. Mummers who crouched behind the hobby horse were covered with brin bags, a dark blanket, goat skins, or a white, black, or red sheet which was attached to the neck of the hobby horse head. Sometimes, these mummers put socks over their shoes "to look like animal feet" (TC265) or they wore skin boots. In Englee, W.B., they wrapped their legs in cow or deer skins. (Presumably, the mummer in Pinchard's Island who wore stockings on his hands intended his hands to look like hoofs in the same way.) To imitate a tail, a real sheep's tail or a real horse's tail or a rope might be pinned on behind.

All the other types of hobby horse, with the exception of the hobby horses made from full horse, cow, goat, ram, or bull heads, are recorded as appearing in Newfoundland in only one or two communities. Hobby horses made from full, dried horse, cow, goat, ram, or bull heads are recorded as appearing in seven communities.

Hobby horse 2a was in the shape of a bull's head, carved from wood and covered with a "bull's skin." It was worn "on the head," that is, it was fitted in front of a mummer's head and held on by straps around the mummer's

neck and chest. It was carried in Herring Neck, N.D.B. The reference does not say whether or not the jaws "snocked."

Hobby horses made from full horse, cow, goat, ram, and bull heads could be worn over mummers' heads (Type 2b) or carried on sticks (Type 3b) and the jaws of these hobby horses did actually snock. In Colinet, S.M.B., if a horse, a cow, a sheep or a goat were killed at Christmas, the head might be worn over the mummer's head, as a hobby horse. The Colinet hobby horse "snapped at passers-by" (Q67-1295). In Twillingate, N.D.B., a "sheep's head" hobby horse was transported high above the carrier's head, on a pole. The carrier was enveloped in a white sheet. In Winterton, T.B., a hobby horse was made from a horse' head, "mounted on a stick" (Q67-1219). Hobby horses in Portugal Cove, C.B., Paradise, C.B., Whitbourne, and Englee, W.B. were also made from whole dried horse, cow, ram, or caribou heads but the references do not clarify whether these heads were worn over mummers' own heads or carried on sticks. In Portugal Cove, near St. John's, two men cleaned and cured a horse's head in salt. Then, to form a "terrifying" (Q67-835) hobby horse, one man put the horse's head over his own head or carried it in front and both men concealed themselves under a cow or a horse skin. A rope tail was attached at the rear. In Paradise, C.B., a hobby horse was made from a "cow's head" (Q67-382). The reference does not elaborate. In Whitbourne, a man disguised himself as a hobby horse by enveloping himself in a "big sheep's fleece"

and wearing or carrying in front of him "a ram's head." At each house he visited, he dropped sheep's "buttons" from his pockets on the floor. Outside, he snocked the jaws and "grabbed fellows" with the ram's teeth (72-176ms). In Englee, two men under a canvas covering carried a caribou head. The jaws of the caribou head opened and closed with a "snock" and ate cookies and cakes. A linen bag hanging from the lead carrier's neck caught the goodies inside.

A hobby horse made from the skin of the head of a cow or ox (Type 2c) is reported in only one community, Femme, F.B. This is surprising because hobby horses made from wood junks and whole dried animal heads were heavy.[7] Carrying only the skin of the animal head would have been a solution to the weight. The Femme reference mentions only that the skin of the head of a cow or ox was "worn over the head" (Q67-515) of the mummer/carrier.

In Gander and in Upper Island Cove, C.B., mummers made hobby horses out of pieces of cardboard sewn together in the shape of a horse's head (Type 2d). In Upper Island Cove, C.B., the cardboard was "painted to look life-like." It had a string mane and it was hollow in the middle to fit over a mummer's head. The carrier and maybe another mummer crouched behind the cardboard head under "a black or red sheet" (Q67-925). Although these cardboard hobby horses had jaws which moved up and down when pulled with a string, since they were cardboard, they did not make a "snocking" sound as the wooden or animal head hobby

horses did.

The third type of hobby horse was those which were carried on sticks, other than the wood junk hobby horses which were carried on sticks. Near Trinity, T.B., a hobby horse was carved from wood (Type 3a). This hobby horse seems to have been a variation of the wood junk hobby horse. It had a "serrated" mouth and was carried on a stick. The informant does not say what shape the head was or whether the jaws clapped up and down. A hobby horse head in Channel-Port aux Basques (Type 3c) was constructed out of wire and covered in cloth. "Old bits of cow hair" were used "for the horse's whiskers and mane." Two men under a blanket formed the body of the hobby horse and a third man led the horse around "by the dirtiest old rope he could get." People in Channel-Port aux Basques liked to poke fun at this hobby horse by saying, "That's not a horse. It's a cow" (TC343). In Ming's Bight, Ming's Bight, the whole skin of a roasted young pig was put on a pole and called a hobby horse (Type 3d). The carrier, under a quilt, squealed "like a pig" (TC97).

Full hobby horse figures were the fourth type of hobby horse. In St. John's and in Upper Island Cove, C.B., at Christmas, "children and adolescents" rode broom handles or long sticks with wheels at the bottom and a wooden horse head at the top (Type 4a). The riders held the hobby horse heads up by reins. These hobby horses were children's playthings. On Bell Island, C.B., too, a hobby horse was

"ridden as a Cock Horse." This horse, though, snapped at people and frightened them and it was "quite able to tear people's clothes or even to remove clothing" (Q66-23). In Herring Neck, N.D.B., a large wooden hobby horse with legs was built on rockers (Type 4b). In St. John's and St. Chad's, B.B., an "ugly" wooden horse with a snocking mouth and "nail teeth" and legs travelled on wheels. In St. John's, "a white sheet" and in St. Chad's, "goats' skins" hid the wooden legs. These hobby horses were rolled, by their keepers, around houses (Type 4c). "A huge wooden horse" (74-65ms) in Cow Head, G.N.P., was "worked by a pedal" (Type 4d). When the pedal was pumped up and down, the legs moved, the neck and head swung up and down and sideways, the jaws opened and closed, and the tail swished back and forth. In Twillingate, N.D.B., a hobby horse was made so that the carrier appeared to be riding a horse.[8] A wooden head with clapping jaws was attached to a wooden frame covered with a horse's hide. On top of the frame was an imitation saddle with a hole in the middle. In this hole the carrier stood. Straps from the back and front of the saddle over the carrier's shoulders held the hobby horse "up around the carrier's waist" (Q67-207). To conceal the hole, the mummer wore "a split tail overcoat" which spread out over the saddle. From underneath the overcoat, false legs and boots protruded so that the mummer seemed to be sitting astride the horse. Strings to the jaw and ears of

the head moved the jaw up and down and the ears back and forth (Type 4c). In Cavendish, T.B., a recently killed horse was skinned for a hobby horse (Type 4f). The skin of the horse's head covered the mummer's head. The mummer's arms fitted into the front legs of the horse and "a line to the horse's jaws" (Q67-694) clapped the jaws together when the line was pulled.

(B) The Hobby Cow, Goat, Bull, or Sheep

"Years ago," in Little St. Lawrence, P.B., groups had with them, for protection, what was called a "hobby cow." A man was dressed in the skin of a cow with the head of the animal, complete with horns, on his head. Groups with hobby cows did not worry about being stripped (Q67-188).

In Summerville, B.B., hobby horses were made out of wood junks covered with sheep's wool. Sometimes, though, if a goat or a bull or a sheep had just been killed, mummers used the real head and made a hobby goat, bull, or sheep, instead. The reference does not give any more details.

(C) The Hoppy Cow

Hoppy Cows were made in St. Lawrence, P.B.

Sometimes they were wood junks covered with hide with snocking jaws and horns on top. In all but name, these were the same as hobby horse ld. Bells might be hung on the horns and the red flannel tongue, "attached to two long pieces of twine" might be "pulled in and out" (Q67-1150).

This kind of hoppy cow was mounted on a tall pole and carried by a man disguised in a bed sheet or a quilt.

Another similar sort of hoppy cow was a dried cow's head, on a pole, carried by a mummer in a bedsheet or quilt. In all but name, this hoppy cow was the same as hobby horse 3b.

Or, a hoppy cow could be an entire cow's skin with the head, horn, and tail attached or, "better still," it might be an entire bull's skin. Like the hobby horse made of the full horse skin, this hobby cow was worn as a complete disguise over a mummer's head and body. When the eyeballs of the head "popped out and rested outside" and when "the long tongue hung down over the lips," this hoppy cow could be "frightening in the dark" especially when the mummer made "horrible sounds" by manipulating the large jaws. A bell was attached to a horn and to the tail (Q67-353).

(D) "Cows"

In St. Anthony, G.N.P., a mummer disguised himself as a cow. He wrapped his body in a cow's skin. He carried or wore on his own head a wood junk covered with the skin of a cow's head, complete with horns. The "cow" was led around on a rope by another mummer.

In Coachman's Cove, B.V., a couple of mummers rigged up to represent a cow. They concealed themselves under a sheet of canvas. The man in front held in front of him the head of a cow on a stick (TC96).

(E) The Christmas Bull[9]

In four communities where the hobby horse appeared, the Christmas Bull appeared, too. In Cape Broyle, S.S., the Christmas Bull was known until about 1890. It was a figure "in the shape of a bull's head" (Q67-876). In Outer Cove, Tor Bay, a Christmas Bull was made with "imitation fur and eyes" (Q67-520). The reference does not elaborate. The Christmas Bull in St. Thomas, C.B., was made from "half a tree" covered with hide, with "real horns or crooked sticks" (Q67-681) on top. The "fellow" who carried it crouched behind under canvas. This type of Christmas Bull is the same as the wood junk kind of hobby horse. The Christmas Bull in Bay Bulls, S.S., was the head of a dead bull worn over a mummer's head. In shape, this Christmas Bull is the same as hobby horse 2b.

(F) "Bulls"

In five communities, janneys disguised as bulls, not Christmas Bulls. In Ferryland, S.S., there was a hobby horse and "occasionally a bull or a Derby Ram" (Q67-577). The bull was a wood junk covered with fur or a wood junk covered with the skin of a bull's head, the horns intact. The "bull's head" in Flatrock, near St. John's, was made the same way. It was carried by young men in fancy shirts decorated with coloured beads, lace, and long ribbon streamers. They tried to "puck" (Q67-1220) people with the bull's horns. In Sandy Cove, B.B., there were horse and

bull disguises, "some over seven feet tall" (Q66-58). On Bell Island, C.B., "in the old days, janneys feared the hobby horse and the bull" (Q66-6). The bull was a cow's head. A bull janney in Southport, T.B., once "danced around the open fire" (Q66-21).

(G) The Bull-and-Hobby Horse

In St. Phillips, C.B., a disguise called "The Bull-and-Hobby Horse" was made from a wood junk. It had snocking jaws and horns and whiskers (the same as hobby horse 1d) and it was carried on a pole. The mummer carriers crouched behind the "head" under canvas or animal skins. Or, sometimes, in St. Phillips, C.B., the Bull-and-Hobby Horse was the head of a dead bull, on a pole (like hobby horse 3b). Again, the carriers crouched behind under canvas or animal skins.

(H) The Derby Ram

Unfortunately, the only reference which I have to the Derby Ram is vague. In Ferryland, S.S., a hobby horse was made from a wood junk and brin bags, which covered the carriers. "The horse's mouth was always chopping" (Q66-577). "Sometimes a Bull was used on the same principle and sometimes the Derby Ram" (Q67-577). Was the Derby Ram made from a wood junk or was it made from a ram's head?

## The Behaviour of Hobby Horses and Other Animal Figures

Hobby horses and the other animal figure disguises were made and worn or carried, usually, by men or older boys. Often, the male mummers who wore or carried the animal figures travelled in all-male groups, apart from groups of male and female mummers (Q67-283).

A few hobby horses were gentle and a "cow" in Coachman's Cove, B.V., seems to have been fairly harmless. One wonders if these mild animal figures appeared in communities where other mummers, too, were particularly mild. This does not seem to have been necessarily so. In Channel-Port aux Basques, a hobby horse with a wire frame head neighed peacefully but other mummers in the community had "a wild, swinging time" and there were "occasional fights" (Q67-486). In Coachman's Cove, B.V., as well as a mild "cow" there was a hobby horse with "clopping jaws." The hobby horse "chased people to the tops of houses" (TC96).

Most animal figures were rough. Inside houses, hobby horses often harassed women and children,[10] especially. Outside, they chased anyone at all. The Hoppy Cow, in St. Lawrence, P.B., tore people's clothes if he caught them. The Bull-and-Hobby Horse "sometimes set fire to a house" (Q66-84). Hobby horses were usually rough on purpose; they were frequently "designed to frighten" (Q67-383). The other animal figures behaved very much like hobby horses; however, it is not clear whether they were actually designed to

frighten as the hobby horse was. More research is needed in this area. It should be remembered that all-male mummers' groups, without animal figures, were generally rough.

Hobby horses were the most common animal figure disguises. In several communities, a Christmas Bull or the Derby Ram or a "cow" appeared also. In two communities, the Hoppy Cow or the Bull-and-Hobby Horse replaced the hobby horse.

In the following pages, I describe the behaviour of all of these animal figures in more detail. Since the mummers who carried or wore the animal figures frequently behaved more roughly outside houses than inside houses, in my description I have progressed from "inside" behaviour to "outside" behaviour. In contrast, the climax of a night of mummering for male and female "mixed" groups was usually the "house-visit" (CMN, p. 37), inside houses.

(A) Hobby Horses

Very occasionally, hobby horses were mild and well behaved. The man who wore the cardboard hobby horse as a mask in Upper Island Cove, C.B., "ran and kicked and neighed," quite harmlessly. The man in Channel, Port aux Basques, who crouched under the hobby horse with the wire and cloth head, "neighed," too, but people only made fun of him and tried to make him laugh so he would give himself away. In Cow Head, G.N.P., the large wooden horse which was worked by a pedal was carried from house to

house "to entertain." A hobby horse made from a wood junk, with snocking jaws, in Beaumont, N.D.B., was "quiet." It "didn't chase" (TC310).

In St. John's, and in Upper Island Cove, C.B., hobby horses with reins, on long sticks, were children's playthings.

Very occasionally, hobby horses were used to punish social offenders. In Bay de Verde, C.B., the "hobby hoss" "snapped at bad boys and girls" (Q67-86) and frightened dogs. In Corner Brook, the hobby horse punished janneys who destroyed gates and fences and "behaved improperly" (Q67-858).

Most hobby horses were rough.

Hobby horses made from wood junks with "cavernous jaws" which snocked and fierce nail teeth were most common, by far. Except in Beaumont, N.D.B., they were offensive, according to the reports which I have read. I will describe the behaviour of wood junk hobby horses first.

To get into houses at all, the wood junk hobby horse in Twillingate, N.D.B., had to "hide behind the door" and "plunge in at last" (TC186), probably with a crowd of unsuspecting mummers. The hobby horse in Catalina, T.B., also hid behind the doors of houses, waiting to dart inside, or "hovered in the background" (I 16/6/77), behind a crowd of mummers. In Curling, near Corner Brook, where most mummers were "groups of men for serious drinking" (77-125ms), the hobby horse was carried "to frighten people" (Q67-136)

into letting the mummers (and the hobby horse) in. In Outer Cove, Tor Bay, and St. Paul's, G.N.P., the hobby horse dashed in first, ahead of a crowd of mummers.

Once inside houses, wood junk hobby horses snocked their jaws, neighed and whinnied loudly and, often, set off to frighten and chase women and children. In Plate Cove, B.B., this was the hobby horse's "main aim" (72-261 #4). In Lumsden, B.B., "the young uns flew" (Q67-231). In Indian Arm, B.B., a man made a hobby horse in secret and went to his own party to chase the women (Q67-376). The hobby horse in Branch, S.M.B., was "brought right up to the women's faces to scare them" (Q67-1016). The hobby horse in St. Paul's, G.N.P., "got after girls and boys" (TC284, TC285) and tore the girls' dresses with its nail teeth. Occasionally, hobby horses even bit women and children. In Brigus, C.B., the hobby horse "chased children and nipped" (Q67-509). The Outer Cove, Tor Bay, horse horse was used to "frighten and bite children" (Q67-520). In Plate Cove, B.B., a hobby horse "bit" women and children "if he got near" (72-261 #4).

Some women and children apparently "didn't mind" this behaviour. In fact, the children in Garnish, F.B., "enjoyed" (Q67-452) being chased by the hobby horse. It was exciting. Some women "acted" scared. Most women and children were terrified. In Harbour Breton, F.B., and on Pilley's Island, N.D.B., hobby horses were abolished because they frightened women and children.

Sometimes, inside houses, as well as chasing women and children, wood junk hobby horses danced. In Cape Broyle, S.S., the hobby horse was carried by an especially good dancer (or singer). A hobby horse in Renews, S.S., "did the twist or a lively step dance to accordion music" (Q67-960). In Eastport, B.B., to the music of "the accordion, the juice harp, the mouth organ, and the fiddle," a hobby horse danced "in all sorts of grotesque shapes and positions" (Q67-800). Hobby horses in Tors Cove, S.S., Wesleyville, B.B., and St. John's danced, too, but the references do not say how.

Sometimes, wood junk hobby horses acted in other ways. Hobby horses in Herring Neck, N.D.B., and Markland, Avalon Peninsula, caught oranges and apples in their teeth. The Herring Neck hobby horse "practiced for weeks" (TC179). A hobby horse in Salvage, B.B., bit into dried caplin which was fed to him by another mummer (Q67-872). A hobby horse in Cow Head, G.N.P., peed on floors from a water bottle (I 9/77). A Bell Island, C.B., hobby horse stole a boiler of soup off the stove (Q67-53). In Codroy, Cabot Strait, hobby horses "grabbed tablecloths" (72-74ms). Hobby horses in Colliers, C.B., and Campbellton, N.D.B., "snapped" at hosts who did not offer a treat. A Ming's Bight, Ming's Bight, hobby horse caught clothes off hooks in the hall. In Summerville, B.B., a hobby horse "knocked over tables and tore down curtains" (Q67-283). In St. John's, a hobby horse "often ripped off a host's sleeve to even a score" (Q67-946).

In Plate Cove, B.B., a hobby horse gave a special performance. On Twelfth Night, accompanied by a large crowd of men and women, a blacksmith, and a "teamster," a hobby horse visited each house where he demanded hay and a bucket of water. When the blacksmith tried to shoe the horse, it kicked over the bucket, scattered the hay, and left "an unholy mess" (I 16/6/77) on the kitchen floor. The blacksmith and the teamster each blamed the other for the mishap. They fought on the floor, in the mess (72-261 #4, 73-65ms, 76-274ms).[11]

Outside houses, most wood junk hobby horses were even wilder than they were inside. Although they were still particularly "bad for women" (TC327) and children, they were less fastidious and they assaulted everyone, old and young, women and men. For one man in Wesleyville, B.B., they were "more demon than life-like" (Q67-863). In Upper Gullies, C.B., a man with a horse's head jumped out and took children's candy. A hobby horse in Buchans played pranks on people whom he met in the street. He blacked their faces with shoe polish and cut their clothes. There was no "bodily harm" (Q66-111) unless the hobby horse had a grudge against someone. That person, however, could receive a "severe mauling" or even serious wounds (Q67-875). On Bell Island, C.B., a hobby horse asked people on the road for tobacco. If they refused, he hit them with a stick or a whip (Q67-575). Another hobby horse on Bell Island frightened other janneys "with chains" (Q67-148).

In St. John's, a hobby horse bit off mummers' clothes if he caught them and chased them home. In Coachman's Cove, B.V., a hobby horse chased people to the roofs of houses (TC96). A hobby horse in Plate Cove, B.B., chased a young woman who fell over a bank. She survived but the hobby horse had to "nurse her for a day and a night" (73-65ms). In Colliers, C.B., where there was an expression, "You're as bold as a hobby horse," men in the nineteenth century chased "the young women" with a hobby horse and flaming goats' skins, tied to the hobby horse (Q67-767). In Whitbourne, where only men mummered, the hobby horse with snapping jaws had a further function. As well as being made to frighten, it was an instrument of initiation into the mummers' ranks. A "shaving gang," with the hobby horse in the lead, blacked and shaved with a barrel hoop razor every man they could catch. Once shaved, the men were allowed to join the gang and to parade on Old Christmas Day. Unfortunately, some men were "desperately afraid" and had to be chased all night. One man in his fright, ran into a clothesline and choked. It was "no trouble to shave _____ _____. He was dead" (72-176ms).

Outside, as inside, some people did not mind being harassed by the hobby horse. The mummers whom the St. John's hobby horse chased home thought it was "frolicking fun" (Q67-946). It was "exciting and frightening to mummer on the same night as the hobby horse. Everyone asked if it had been seen" (Q67-1273). Most people, though, women

and men, were terrified of hobby horses outside. The hobby horse in Wesleyville, B.B., "nearly scared people out of their wits at night" (69-2ms). A woman in Coachman's Cove, B.V., was "old when [she] was still afraid" (TC96) of the hobby horse there. The hobby horse in Colliers, C.B., was "loathed" (Q67-228) by everyone, except its carriers. In Whitbourne, men "ran for their lives" (72-176ms) to get away from the hobby horse.

The behaviour of the Whitbourne hobby horse was exceptional in Newfoundland. Men with hobby horses did not usually shave their victims and mummering fatalities were rare. Still, the comments of the men who carried the hobby horse in Whitbourne emphasize the relativity of roughness in Newfoundland mummering. Even though a man died while he was being chased by the Whitbourne hobby horse, the carriers of the horse did not view their behaviour as rough or cruel. They said that mummering died out in Whitbourne partly because, after they gave it up, "a crowd of hooligans got at it. They'd go into people's houses and make a big racket and tear things up, so I think [mummering] just died . . ." (72-176ms).

The other sorts of hobby horses were usually rough, too, but they appeared in only a few communities.

Hobby horses made from the heads of horses, cows, goats, and rams, or from the skin of the head of a cow or ox, as in Femme,F.B., had huge jaws which could snap and grab, just as the wood junk type of hobby horse did. The Colinet,

S.M.B. hobby horse made from a horse, cow, sheep, or goat head "snapped at passers-by" (Q67-1295). In Winterton, T.B., the hobby horse made from the horse's head was used "to frighten people at night" and some people "climbed trees even to get away" (Q67-1219). In Portugal Cove, C.B., a hobby horse made from a horse's head was "a terrifying figure." It "snuck in [to houses] with mummers" (Q67-835) and danced. In Whitbourne, the "ram's head" hobby horse chased fellows through the night and grabbed them with the ram's teeth when it caught them. Unfortunately, the Twillingate, N.D.B., and the Paradise, C.B. references do not describe the actions of the hobby horses, in those communities, which were made from animal heads.

The hobby horse made from the skin of a whole roasted young pig did not have snocking jaws but it was intimidating. The carrier of the hobby horse, who was disguised in a quilt, "squealed like a pig" and chased people with the skin. "All hands [ran] bawlin" (TC97).

The two hobby horses on wheels, in St. John's and in St. Chad's, B.B., were "ugly and frightening" (Q67-517). Pushed by their keepers, they rolled around houses "chasin de women" (TC28).

The hobby horse with the imitation saddle, legs, and boots had "clapping jaws" (Q67-207). The reference does not say how it behaved.

The wooden hobby horse head made in the shape of a bull's head, the wooden hobby horse head with the notched

mouth, the hobby horse on rockers, and the hobby horse made from the whole horse skin are described in shape but not in action, again unfortunately.

(B) The Hobby Cow, Goat, Bull, Sheep

The two references to hobby cows, goats, bulls, and sheep do not give specific details of the behaviour of the mummers who wore these costumes, except that groups with hobby cows did not worry about being stripped. In Summerville, B.B., though, hobby horses knocked over "chairs, table, stoves" and chased people out of houses and "down the road." If a hobby goat, bull, or sheep sometimes replaced the hobby horse, probably it behaved in a like manner.

(C) The Hoppy Cow

In St. Lawrence, P.B., the Hoppy Cow, like Hobby Cows, protected the mummers' group he was with against strippers. The Hoppy Cow was "merciless" and tore people's clothes if he caught them. "Often" people jumped into the sea "in their terror" (Q67-439), if they were being chased by the Hoppy Cow.

(D) "Cows"

The St. Anthony, G.N.P. reference does not say how the "cow" behaved there but in Coachman's Cove, B.V., the two men who crouched under the sheet of canvas to form the cow's "body" had with them a bucket of ochre. When another mummer "stuck" the cow, the men under the canvas

kicked over the bucket of ochre. It ran all over the kitchen floor "like blood" (TC96).[12]

(E) The Christmas Bull

The Cape Broyle, S.S., and Outer Cove, Tor Bay, references do not say how the Christmas Bull behaved in those communities and the Bay Bulls, S.S., reference says only that the hobby horse and the Christmas Bull "travelled apart" (Q67-258). In St. Thomas, C.B., the hobby horse and the Christmas Bull "worked together." "The Bull kept [mummers] away while the hobby horse tore up [other mummers'] clothes" (Q67-681).

(F) "Bulls"

In Flatrock, near St. John's, the young men who carried the "bull's head" tried to "puck" (Q67-1220) people with the bull's horns. In Southport, T.B., a bull janney once "danced around the open fire" (Q66-21). The other references to janneys who disguised themselves as bulls do not describe the janneys' behaviour.

(G) The Bull-and-Hobby Horse

The Bull-and-Hobby Horse in St. Phillips, C.B., tipped over tables and chairs and "sometimes set fire to a house." If anyone interfered he would be "roughhandled." Outside, if the Bull-and-Hobby Horse caught anybody on the road, that person would "get a beating" (Q66-84).

(H) The Derby Ram*

The reference (Q67-577) does not say how the Derby Ram behaved.

The Distribution in Newfoundland of Hobby Horses, the Christmas Bull, and Other Animal Figures

The animal figures are listed in the order of the typology. Under each figure, the communities where that figure appeared are listed in alphabetical order. Beside each community is the MUNFLA number of the questionnaire, tape, transcript, or manuscript which was the source of information about the figure in that community. In the two instances where the source was a personal interview, the date of the interview is given.

The descriptions in the Archive of the figures were not always clear. When a description could not be classified under a particular figure, the community where the figure appeared and the MUNFLA number are listed at the end of the distribution lists.

Some communities appear more than once in the lists. In these communities, one figure, for example the hobby horse, was made in several different shapes or, these communities might have had two different figures, for example, a Christmas Bull and a Hobby Horse.

(A) The Hobby Horse

(1) A log, two or three feet long and eight to ten inches high, with a movable front bottom section, a "mouth." The log, or junk, was carried or worn in one of the following ways.

(a) hollowed out and worn over the carrier's own head or held in front of the carrier's head with straps around his head and chest:

Bay Bulls, S.S. (Q67-258)

Beaumont, N.D.B. (TC310)

Bell Island, C.B. (Q67-148, Q67-53)

Botwood (Q67-429)

Brigus, C.B. (Q67-509)

Campbellton, N.D.B. (Q67-531)

Catalina, T.B. (I 16/6/77)

Flatrock (Q67-1220)

Markland, Avalon Peninsula (74-175ms)

Middlebrook, B.B. (Q67-515)

Moreton's Harbour, N.D.B. (Q67-1198)

Pinchard's Island, B.B. (Q67-1021)

Port Union, T.B. (Q67-949). In this community, the figure was called Lopchops.

Robert's Arm, N.D.B. (TC331)

Salvage, B.B. (TC26). In this community, the figure was called hobby hoss.

Trinity, B.B. (Q67-799). In this community, the figure was called Lop Chops or Horsey Chops.

Twillingate, N.D.B. (Q67-945)

Wesleyville, B.B. (Q67-817). In this community, the figure was called the hobby horse or Lopchops.

Whitbourne (72-176ms)

Witless Bay, S.S. (75-3ms)

(b) under the mummer's arm or in the mummer's arms:

Adam's Cove, C.B. (Q67-298)

Curling, Corner Brook (Q67-136)

Ladle Cove, Fogo, N.D.B. (Q67-1169)

Pilley's Island, N.D.B. (TC324)

St. John's (Q67-108)

St. John's (Q67-1273)

Southern Head Harbour (TC311)

Upper Gullies, C.B. (Q67-443). In this community, the figure was variously called Lopchops, Hobby Horse, and Horsey Hops.

Witless Bay, S.S. (TC42)

(c) on the mummer's shoulders:

Calvert, S.S. (Q67-1179)

Grand Bank, F.B. (TC154)

Lewisporte, N.D.B. (TC92)

(d) in front of the mummer on a pole:

Branch, S.M.B. (Q67-1016). In this community, the figure was called the "horse chopper."

Brigus, C.B. (Q67-383)

Cape Broyle, S.S. (Q67-876)

Carbonear, C.B. (Q67-1234)

Coachman's Cove, B.V. (TC96)

Codroy, Cabot Strait (72-74ms)

Bell Island, C.B. (Q67-575)

Bishop's Falls (Q67-1003)

Colliers, C.B. (Q67-767)

Corner Brook (Q67-858)

Cow Head, G.N.P. (TC265, I 9/77)

Eastport, B.B. (Q67-800)

Flatrock (Q67-1220)

Forteau, Labrador (Q67-260)

Foxtrap, C.B. (Q67-443)

Gander [?] (Q67-689)

Garnish, F.B. (Q67-452)

Harbour Breton, F.B. (TC148)

Harbour Grace, C.B. (Q67-334, Q67-98)

Herring Neck, N.D.B. (TC179)

Outer Cove, Tor Bay (Q67-520)

Plate Cove, B.B. (73-65ms)

Pool's Island, B.B. (TC157)

Port Anson, N.D.B. (TC327). In this community, the figure was called the hobby horse or horse chopper.

Renews, S.S. (Q67-590)

Riverhead, S.M.B. (Q67-994)

St. Thomas, C.B. (Q67-681)

Salvage, B.B. (Q67-872)

St. John's (Q67-946)

St. John's (Q67-894). The figure was called Lop-chops by this informant.

Summerville, B.B. (Q67-409)

Tors Cove, S.S. (Q67-837)

Upper Gullies, C.B. (Q67-281)

Winterton, T.B. (Q67-1219)

(e) high above the mummer's head on a stick or on a complete wooden framework:

Catalina, T.B. (16/6/77)

Twillingate, N.D.B. (TC199)

(2) Other hobby horses worn over the carrier's own head:

(a) a bull's head carved from wood:

Herring Neck, N.D.B. (TC184)

(b) a full horse, cow, goat or sheep head, dried:

Colinet, S.M.B. (Q67-1295)

Englee, W.B., Paradise, C.B., Portugal Cove, C.B., and Whitbourne had hobby horses made from a caribou's

head, a cow's head, a horse's head, and a ram's head, respectively. The references do not clarify, however, whether the heads were worn over the mummers' own heads or carried on sticks.

(c) the skin of the head of a cow, ox:

Femme, F.B. (Q67-515)

(d) a cardboard head:

Gander (Q67-1021, Q67-721)

Upper Island Cove, C.B. (Q67-323)

(3) Other hobby horses on sticks.

(a) a carved wooden head with a notched mouth:

Trinity area, T.B. (Q67-195)

(b) a dried horse, cow, goat, ram, or bull's head mounted on a stick:

Twillingate, N.D.B. (TC199, TC188)

Winterton, T.B. (Q67-1219)

(c) the head of a hobby horse was a wire frame covered with cloth:

Channel, Cabot Strait (TC343)

(d) the roasted skin of a whole young pig:

Ming's Bight, Ming's Bight [?] (TC97)

(4) Full hobby horse figures.

(a) a wooden head on a stick with wheels and reins:

St. John's (Q67-732)

Upper Island Cove, C.B. (Q67-1045). In this community, the figure was called the Hobble Horse.

Bell Island, C.B. (Q66-23)

(b) a large wooden head and body with legs on rockers:

Herring Neck, N.D.B. (TC173)

(c) a wooden head attached to a frame. The frame was on wheels:

St. Chad's, B.B. (TC28)

St. John's (Q67-517)

(d) a wooden horse operated by a pedal:

Cow Head, G.N.P. (74-65ms)

(e) the wooden head and frame with the hole in the middle where the "rider" stood:

Twillingate, N.D.B. (Q67-207)

(f) a full horse skin:

Cavendish, T.B. (Q67-694)

(B) The Hobby Cow, Goat, Bull, or Sheep

(1) A dried cow, goat, bull, sheep head:

Little St. Lawrence, P.B. (Q67-188). In this community, the figure was called the Hobby Cow. A cow's head was used.

Summerville, B.B. (Q67-409). In this community, the figure was called the hobby goat, bull, or sheep if the head of one of those animals was used.

(C) The Hoppy Cow

(1) A wood "junk" with a movable "mouth." It was carried on a pole.

St. Lawrence, P.B. (Q67-1150)

(2) A cow's head, dried.

St. Lawrence, P.B. (Q67-439)

(3) A whole cow or bull skin, including the skin of the head.

St. Lawrence, P.B. (Q67-353)

(D) "Cows"

(1) A wood junk covered with the skin of a cow's head.

St. Anthony, G.N.P. (Q67-1200)

(2) The head of a cow on a stick. The carriers crouched behind under canvas.

Coachman's Cove, B.V. (TC96)

(E) The Christmas Bull

(1) A wood junk with a movable "mouth."

Cape Broyle, S.S. (Q67-876)

Outer Cove, Tor Bay (Q67-520)

St. Thomas, C.B. (Q67-681)

(2) The head of a dead bull worn over the mummer's head.

Bay Bulls, S.S. (Q67-258)

(F) "Bulls"

(1) A wood junk covered with fur or a wood junk covered with the skin of a bull's head with horns.

Ferryland, S.S. (Q67-577)

Flatrock (Q67-1220)

(2) Undescribed bull disguises.

Bell Island, C.B. (Q66-6)

Sandy Cove, B.B. (Q66-58)

Southport, T.B. (Q66-21)

(G) The Bull-and-Hobby Horse

(1) A wood junk with a movable "mouth." It was carried on a pole.

St. Phillip's, C.B. (Q66-84)

(2) The head of a dead bull, dried, on a pole.

St. Phillip's, C.B. (Q66-84)

(H) The Derby Ram

(1) A log with a movable "mouth." [?] Unfortunately, the description is not clear.

Ferryland, S.S. (Q67-577)

(I) Unclearly Described Hobby Horses

Other communities had hobby horses but the descriptions of the hobby horses are so unclear that they could not be placed with certainty in any category.

(1) Hobby horses made from wood junks. The references do not say how the wood junks were carried.

Bay de Verde, C.B. (Q67-86). In this community, the figure was called the "hobby hoss."

Bareneed, C.B. (Q67-1007)

Buchans (Q67-875)

Ferryland, S.S. (Q67-577)

Heart's Delight, T.B. (Q67-693)

Lumsden, B.B. (Q67-23)

Mt. Carmel, S.M.B. (Q67-662)

North River, C.B. (Q67-579)

Placentia, P.B. (Q67-464)

St. Paul's, G.N.P. (TC284)

St. John's (Q67-650)

Salmonier, S.M.B. (Q67-620)

Victoria, Carbonear, C.B. (Q67-209)

Whitbourne (72-176ms)

Windsor (TC97)

(2) Other vaguely described hobby horses and hobby horses which are not described.

Cape Broyle, S.S. (Q67-1111)

Bishop's Cove, C.B. (Q67-1124)

Canada Harbour, W.B. (72-38ms)

Deer Lake (Q67-956)

Dunville, P.B. (Q67-387)

King's Cove, B.B. (TC49)

Mount Pearl (Q67-834)

Newtown, B.B. (Q67-824)

Paradise, N.D.B. (70-13 #103)

Port de Grave, C.B. (Q67-278). In this community, the figure was called Horse Chops.

Ramea, S.C. (Q67-379)

Red Bay, Labrador (Q67-796)

Reginaville, S.M.B. (Q67-267)

St. Brendan's, B.B. (73-174ms)

Salmonier, S.M.B. (Q67-620)

Notes

In these notes, all the references to British animal figures are taken from Dr. Halpert's very extensive hobby horse file in MUNFLA. Further material may be found in this file and in Ritual Animal Disguise by E.C. Cawte. I have cited only a small portion of the available non-Newfoundland data.

[1]In Chapter III of this study, I describe the ways in which animal skins, heads, horns, tails, etc., were worn as complete or partial mummers' disguises. These animal "costumes," as I call them, did not have specific names. Hobby horses, Christmas Bulls, and the other animal "figures," as I call them, were also sometimes made from parts of animals but they had specific names. For this reason, animal "costumes" and animal "figures" are separated.

[2]Hobby horses in Newfoundland often had features normally associated with cows. They might be covered with cow's skin or, occasionally, they had cow's horns or even cow's hair whiskers. In "West Country Hobby Horses and Cognate Customs" (1932), p. 76, H.W. Kille describes "the white horse" which, on St. John's Eve, in King's County, leaped through a village bonfire. The white horse "represented all cattle."

[3]The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, paperback edition (1969), p. 458. Victor Turner in The Forest of Symbols (1967), pp. 104-106, writes about monsters. He suggests that man-made figures which are structurally abnormal may have symbolic meaning. When parts which do not normally belong together are put together each part stands out. In a ritual of liminality, each part may represent an aspect of a culture.

[4]In The English Dialect Dictionary "snock" means 1. n. a knock; a smart blow. 2. v. to give a downward blow on the head or top of anything. 3. v. to snort contemptuously cf. snocker or snook. In Burin Bay Arm, P.B., sticks were used by mummers to knock and "snock" face mask lifters (Q67-538). In Wiltshire, England, the jaws of the Wiltshire "Wooset" "snocked" together. The "Wooset," in 1853, was a horse's skull with deer horns attached,

mounted on a cross of wood. See Percy Maylam, The Hooden Horse, an East Kent Christmas Custom (1909), p. 69.

[5]Violet Alford in The Traditional Dance (1935), pp. 142-144, describes Padstow's Old Hoss. It was "as black as the devil." It had a wooden horse head and a beard made from a cow's tail.

[6]In Cheshire, a man, covered in a white sheet, carried a horse's skull on a pole. The skull was decorated with plumes, bells, and ribbons. This figure was called Old Hob. It was meant to frighten people. See Percy Maylam, The Hooden Horse, an East Kent Christmas Custom (1909), p. 68.

[7]In Campbellton, N.D.B., a wood hobby horse was so heavy that it was pulled on a sleigh between houses and, in Mount Carmel, S.M.B. a wood hobby horse was so heavy that it was carried by two men. In Mount Carmel, men carried the hobby horse because, in early times, the horse was "the king of all animals" (Q67-662).

[8]In Violet Alford's The Traditional Dance (1935), pp. 146, 152, there is a picture and a brief description of a horse figure which appeared in Athens at Carnival time. A man stood in the centre of the horse and false legs and boots hung down from the saddle, outside, so that the man looked as if he were riding the horse. In Twillingate, N.D.B., the hobby horse with the false legs and boots was much the same.

[9]In Stourton, Wiltshire, the Christmas Bull was "the head of a bull with great bottle eyes, large horns, and lolling tongue." It was manipulated by a man stooping inside a body composed of a broomstick, a hide of sacking and a rope tail. Inside houses, the Bull chased young people with "fearsome bellowings." See Percy Maylam, The Hooden Horse, an East Kent Christmas Custom (1909), p. 70.

[10]Old Hob or Old Ball, described in Fletcher Moss' Folklore, Old Customs and Tales of My Neighbours (1898), p. 41, was a real horse's head. It snapped its jaws at the legs of girls, who screamed. "Women [were] the favourite game" of the Padstow hobby horse. See T. Peter, "The Hobby Horse" (1913), p. 248.

[11]C. Johnson in "English Christmas Plays" (1896), p. 1093, describes a hobby horse which visited houses accompanied by a jockey, a hostler, a blacksmith, and a farrier. The horse entered each house with "a great clatter." It was calmed down, shod, given a drink, and a horse powder.

[12] S.O. Addy in "Guising and Mumming in Derbyshire" (1907), pp. 31-42, mentions the Old Tup. The Old Tup was a real or imitation sheep's head with sheep's horns and a "red flannel tongue." A boy disguised as a butcher stuck the tup. Another boy disguised as an old man caught the blood in a basin. Addy does not say what the blood really was or where it came from.

## CHAPTER VI

## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Although mummers in Newfoundland say that they masqueraded in whatever they could dig out of the old trunk in the attic or haul off the bed, when the mummering practices of 343 outport communities were examined together, significant patterns emerged in mummering time, groups, costumes, behaviour, and in the occurrence of the hobby horse and the other animal figures. For example, in almost all of the 343 communities, janneys visited only after dark and never on Sunday; mummers always wore masks and almost always knocked on doors with splits or sticks or another hand implement; in many communities, they disguised themselves in the clothes of the opposite sex or in neuter costumes, such as quilts or sheets; sometimes, in quite a few communities, male or female mummers decked themselves in wedding dresses or supplemented their costumes with the horns, tails, and skins of cows, sheep, and goats; sometimes male janneys (usually in all-male groups) carried or wore hobby horses which they used to chase and bite anyone at all but especially women and children; and, often, female and male mummers dressed and acted specifically as children in Newfoundland were <u>not</u> to dress and act--along

with their wedding dresses or sexually reversed costumes, they might have put their boots on the wrong feet and stolen a cake from somebody else's table or vegetables from somebody else's root cellar.

In the isolated, outport communities, the ingredients for mummers' costumes were limited but not so limited that janneys had to wear hobby horses or the clothes of the opposite sex. Since the patterns in the mummers' house-visit occurred too frequently, that is, in too many communities, to have been accidental, it seems that, unconsciously, mummers chose particular sorts of groups, particular sorts of costumes, particular ways of behaving, and a particular mummering time, after dark, never on Sunday, and usually during the Twelve Days of Christmas.

In the main body of this thesis, Chapters II to V, I described the janneys' house-visit in Newfoundland by giving examples of these patterns. Now, in the conclusion, I suggest (1) that these patterns, the unconsciously chosen time, groups, costumes, and behaviour, were ritual symbols; (2) that, through these symbols, mummers both escaped from, temporarily, and expressed or reaffirmed the norms or values of their culture; (3) that mummering was a ritual of transition and that the Twelve Days of Christmas, the customary mummering period, was a liminal state, a threshold, a "sacred time,"[1] when deviance was sanctioned, without jeopardizing normal social values or relationships,

but when the social mores were also upheld.

My understanding of ritual symbolism is especially influenced by The Forest of Symbols and The Ritual Process by Victor Turner; Women and Men: An Anthropologist's View by Ernestine Friedl; and Purity and Danger by Mary Douglas. James Faris, in his essay in Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland proposed the specific symbolism of the mummers' house-visit in Newfoundland. Faris' symbolism is in turn suggested by Edmund Leach in Rethinking Anthropology and by Arnold van Gennep's The Rites of Passage.

If a ritual symbol is an object or an action which, by analogy or association, expresses a cultural value or norm or a cultural abnormality or evil, then the mummering patterns are ritual symbols.

Why are the patterns ritual symbols? How, through these symbols, did mummers both escape from and reaffirm the values of their culture? What were the cultural norms or values and abnormalities?

When they are looked at together, the patterns form a system; they fall into two groups. The patterns in the first group, which include stealing cake and wearing the clothes of the opposite sex, represent by analogy or association, principal moral wrongs and gender aberrations in Newfoundland outport society. Normally, stealing was wrong and, normally, each sex wore its own clothes. These patterns, therefore, are ritual symbols. Through this

first group of patterns, or symbols, that is, by behaving as Newfoundlanders would not ordinarily behave and by dressing as they would not ordinarily dress, mummers seem to have escaped, temporarily, from the normally strict gender and moral rules of their culture; for this reason, I have called these patterns, or symbols, the symbols of escape. The patterns in the second group (and I will explain which they are in a moment) represent, by analogy or association, principal moral and gender values or norms in Newfoundland society. Therefore, these patterns are also ritual symbols. Through these patterns, or symbols, mummers seem to have expressed or reaffirmed the same strict moral and gender rules from which they were also escaping; so, I have called this second group of patterns, or symbols, the symbols of reaffirmation. Although, in the small Newfoundland outport communities, there was only one gender code and one moral code, or more probably because there was only one, not everyone found these codes easy to follow all the time. By expressing and reasserting the values of their society in the mummering ritual, mummers seem to have strengthened and reestablished these values for another year.

More explicitly, here are the symbols of escape and the symbols of reaffirmation. I will try to show how, through these symbols, mummers both escaped from and reaffirmed their cultural norms. Within each of the large

symbol groups, there are two smaller groups--gender symbols and moral symbols. Some of the symbols, such as the hobby horse, have more than one meaning.

To begin with, here are the symbols of escape; and first, the symbols of freedom from gender roles.

Ordinarily, in Newfoundland, as in many other cultures, "a man had to present himself as having full control over his wife; he was less than a man if he didn't."[2] Naturally, not all women wanted to be controlled. Therefore, gender relations could be "strained."[3] As well, the work of each gender was normally set. Men had to fish whether they liked fishing or not; otherwise, their families would have no fish to eat and no fish to exchange for dry goods, such as flour and sugar. Women had to sew and knit whether they liked these chores or not; otherwise, their families would have nothing to wear. Also, women and men usually socialized apart. Women visited other women, when they could, in the afternoon. Men met with other men to talk and smoke, in the evening, in the shops or in the fishing stages.

Because the clothes worn by each sex were normally as distinct and prescribed as gender roles, the bulky costumes which nearly all mummers wore were definitely abnormal. They made almost all mummers appear, at least at first, sexless, or "almost its . . . neither male or female" (TC3658). By inverted association, these sexless

costumes symbolized a freedom from customary gender restrictions and pressures. In addition, the neuter costumes, such as quilts and sheets, and the clothes of the opposite sex in which many mummers disguised themselves and the mixed costumes in which some mummers masqueraded symbolically reinforced this abnormal freedom from gender categories.

Mummers' disguised voices, their unusual gaits and actions, and the mixed male and female mummers' groups were other symbols of escape from ordinary gender restrictions and territories. Normally, of course, voices were almost always recognizable as men's or women's voices. The ingressive voices in which many janneys spoke "sounded the same for men and women" (TC3658), the extremely high or extremely low false voices which other janneys used "hid their sex" (Q67-162), and even when mummers talked as the opposite sex, genders became confused when some janneys talked as the opposite sex and other janneys talked in altered voices of their own sex. Mummers' shuffling or limping gaits and their abnormal actions also helped to hide their genders. The mixed male and female mummers' groups were unusual because, normally, men and women in Newfoundland did not work or visit together. "In some areas, [women] were permitted to participate in the fish cleaning process in the stage" [but] "usually male and female territory was strongly delineated."[4]

Next, there are the symbols of escape from moral rules and restrictions. They include darkness, cow, goat, and sheep parts, knocking, dancing, drinking, bawdy behaviour, and dressing and acting as children in Newfoundland were not to dress and act.

Darkness in Newfoundland was associated with evil and the devil. The devil, or Blackman, the ultimate personification of evil, had a cloven hoof. By mummering only after dark and never on Sunday, a holy day, by sometimes wearing the horns, tails, and skins of cows, sheep, and goats (all of these animals have cloven hoofs), by covering wood junk hobby horses with cow, goat, or sheep skins, or by painting the junks dark colours or red (the devil was sometimes depicted as red),[5] and by sometimes blacking their faces so they were "right black" (TC319) like "the blackman" (Q67-277) mummers, by analogy, allied themselves with evil. A few mummers even disguised themselves directly as the devil. In Robert's Arm, N.D.B., a huge man masqueraded as the devil in black oilclothes, horns, and a tail, and in Long Pond, Manuels, C.B., horns of sheep, goats, and cattle were worn especially in representations of the devil (Q66-19). By associating themselves with evil and the devil, mummers seem to have purged themselves of any immoral urges they had suppressed during the year.

Dancing, drinking, and sexual license, such as singing bawdy songs in mixed company and kissing other men's wives also associated mummers with immorality. Ordinarily, throughout the year, these activities were regarded as "sinful indulgences"[6] and it was only at Christmas and "times" that they were sanctioned or "allowed."[7] Like the devil, liquor at Christmas was often referred to by euphemisms; for example, "The Christmas Bull" (Q67-387) and "the bull with many horns" (Q67-478). Since bulls have cloven hoofs, these euphemisms further associated liquor with evil. It is probably no coincidence, too, in Newfoundland, that the devil was thought to be a fine dancer.[8]

Dressing and acting as children, and other-people, were specifically not to dress and behave[9] again associated mummers with badness and allowed them to purge themselves of immoral urges. Frequently, mummers wore their costumes inside out or back to front and their shoes on the wrong feet; often they had dirty faces; they went outdoors in nightgowns, underwear, summer clothes in the middle of winter and clothes which needed mending (over their normal, warm, winter attire); when they chased each other through slush and mud, they got their clothes dirty and wet; they were noisy; they ran around in the house; they played tricks on other people; by masquerading as old men and old women, cripples, and hunchbacks, they made "fun of others,

especially old people, recluses, and those who [were] physically or mentally unusual or abnormal";[10] they lied, when they said that they were from far away; they stole cake, brooms, and vegetables or chickens, sheep, or goats for late-night "scoffs"; they played with water inside houses and generally made "an unholy mess" (I 16/6/77) with their dirty boots on kitchen floors; male mummers in all-male groups often fought or were rough; men who wore or carried hobby horses or other animal figures usually tormented others and frequently damaged property. All of these were things that children and adults in Newfoundland were ordinarily not to do. It should be noted, however, that male and female mummers in mixed groups were usually only mildly bad. The tricks that they played and the lies that they told were mostly quite harmless. In contrast, male mummers in all-male groups could be rough and even violent.

Knocking at doors associated mummers with strangers. In the outports, only strangers knocked, and mummers. Generally, people from the same community who were visiting a neighbour opened the kitchen door and walked right in. By knocking, as strangers did, and by saying that they came from far away, mummers took on the role of strangers. This role allowed their behaviour, at Christmas, to be bad without endangering the normal values of the community throughout the rest of the year; that is, at Christmas, strangers[11]

who did not know any better were being bad, not community members.

The stranger role also allowed anger and grudges which had been restrained all year to be released without jeopardizing normal social ties and relationships. Normally, "conflict and hostility [were] avoided or at least repressed in [such] small and isolated [communities] where the social networks [were] so totally entwined."[12] When mummers played tricks on hosts, such as stealing cake from tables and upsetting water buckets, strangers were playing tricks, not friends or neighbours and, when hosts played tricks on mummers, they were tricking strangers. Although most of these tricks were not harmful, they were a way of releasing pent-up anger and hostility and displacing[13] it outside the community,[14] onto strangers. Frightening others was another way of releasing pent-up hostility and janneys' strange, weird costumes and unpredictable, aggressive actions, such as chasing, were often frightening though they were not always intended to be. (Hobby horses and the other animal figures were almost always intended to frighten and some mummers disguised themselves as ghosts, Indians, gypsies, pirates, doctors, dentists, soldiers, hunchbacks, bears, and bulls. In many communities, these figures were frightening or threatening.)[15]

Now, for the second group of symbols, the symbols reaffirming gender and moral norms; first, once more, the gender symbols.

Even though mummers disguised themselves in large, bulky sexless costumes--some of which were clothes of the opposite sex, neuter costumes such as quilts and sheets, and mixed costumes, such as men's long underwear, a lady's straw hat, and high heeled shoes--nearly always a clue gave their true genders away. Women "forgot" that they were trying to disguise their gender and crossed their legs; men "forgot" that they were wearing skirts and sprawled; or one could see a man's hairy legs. It was as if both sexes wanted to escape their genders for awhile, by wearing sexless costumes and by speaking in genderless voices, and then they wanted to have their sexes reconfirmed.

Other masculine reaffirming symbols were drinking, the hobby horses and the other animal figures, the all-male groups themselves, and, perhaps, roughness.

Since drinking in Newfoundland was a male prerogative, by drinking, male mummers and the undisguised men in the all-male drinking groups which formed in many communities at Christmas reasserted their masculinity. Horses in Newfoundland, too, were part of "the world of men."[16] (They were owned and driven exclusively by men); therefore, the hobby horses which were almost always made and carried by men and which aggressively chased women and children, especially, inside houses and anyone outside houses represented and expressed masculine aggressiveness and dominance. Newfoundland men were expected to dominate women and children. (The Whitbourne hobby horse was an exception

because it chased only men but it initiated the men whom it caught, by blackening and shaving them, into the all-male hobby horse group. Shaving the face is another prerogative of men and a symbol of masculinity.) The other animal figures were also made and carried by men and since they usually looked and behaved like hobby horses they probably represented the same things. The all-male groups, that is, the groups with the animal figures, the mummers in communities where only males mummered, and the undisguised men in the male drinking groups, reassured any male group member in doubt of his masculinity of his inclusion in the high status male world. Roughness may have been yet another symbol of manhood. In Newfoundland, physical strength, like dominance, was "expected" (TC3658) in men. Perhaps male mummers in all-male groups fought and were rougher than mummers in groups with males and females to [unconsciously] display their strength and reaffirm their manhood.

Symbols reaffirming a woman's role were, in contrast, a bit different. Because a woman's status did not need to be flamboyantly defended (because it was inferior to a man's), women's symbols, such as the elaborate home-made quilts and the Christmas cakes, stressed instead the importance of women's work and skills. Normally, women's accomplishments were hidden in their houses and received little public recognition or esteem but, at Christmas, for

once, women had a chance to display their prowess and they did: their cakes, when mummers came to visit, were tested by all and approved; their quilts, as mummers' costumes, travelled all over the community and were approved.

Some women, though, usually a few in each community, were not impressed with this manifestation of women's skills or with costume clues. They dressed and/or acted exactly as men, or as near to men as they could. On Change Islands, N.D.B., "some women gulped down moonshine just to offset you" (TC165). In Salmon Cove, C.B., female mummers, disguised in men's clothes, frequently "tried to pass for men" (73-168ms). In Hermitage, Hermitage Bay, a group of women, masquerading as men, poked and frightened men (77-64ms), as men with the hobby horse frightened women. Both status and temperament were probably reasons why these female mummers adopted, briefly, the dress and the behaviour of men. In a male dominated society, mummering may have been the only opportunity for a strong willed woman to experience directly an authoritarian, prestige position.

The last gender symbols, the wedding dresses worn by women and men, and mock wedding ceremonies, burlesqued but also reasserted the value, in Newfoundland, of marriage, the union of the two major social divisions. In one community, one mummer minister amused his audience by reading the almanac, instead of the Bible, upside down in a funny voice. Even so, his bride and groom were always pronounced man and wife before the end.

Symbols reaffirming the moral or social values of the community were more subtle but no less potent.

Although adult mummers played tricks and did many things that Newfoundland children were not supposed to do, they frequently visited all the houses in the community, renewing old friendships and cementing ties for another year.

Although not all mummers unmasked at each house, most mummers did unmask when they were guessed. If masks and costumes disguised mummers' individual and therefore morally-accountable identities and their genders, unmasking at each house and the final removal of costumes at the end of Christmas, on Twelfth Night, symbolized a return to ordinary community ways.

The mummers' house-visit at Christmas in Newfoundland does seem to have been a ritual of transition, of liminality, when deviance was sanctioned, temporarily, but when the social mores were also upheld. The Twelve Days of Christmas, the usual mummering period, which spanned the end of the old year and the beginning of the new, seems to have been a liminal state, a "sacred"[17] time, a "ritual frame,"[18] within which mummers could forget their genders and their morals for awhile, without jeopardizing normal social values and relationships, but within which as well these same social relationships and values were reaffirmed and reestablished for another year.

What did the kindling sticks and the longer sticks symbolize which mummers often carried? What did the other hand implements symbolize? Did mummering usually begin on St. Stephen's Day, December 26, because Christmas Day, like Sunday, was a holy day? Were female mummers, who did not usually drink, and females generally in Newfoundland upholders of the social order more than men? When adult janneys behaved as children, and others, were not to behave, were they only being "bad" or was age reversal also involved? When adult mummers chased and frightened children inside houses were they only acting as threatening figures or were they also reaffirming age differences and the authority of adults over children? Were janneys bad partly to ward off evil for the rest of the year? There are many questions about the mummers' house-visit which have yet to be answered. Since this study obviously cannot pretend to cover all aspects of the house-visit, these questions must be left for later students.

On the whole, one can say that the Newfoundland mummers' Christmas house-visit was an extraordinary kind of thing. Once a year, for a limited period of time, the Twelve Days of Christmas, a whole people took turns masquerading in strange costumes and facial disguises to entertain, amuse, and frighten, but also to escape from and to reaffirm their value system.

Notes

[1]E.R. Leach, "Two Essays concerning the Symbolic Representation of Time" (1961), p. 136.

[2]L.G. Small, "Becoming a Man in Newfoundland: Education and Machismo in an Island Community" (1976), p. 13.

[3]James C. Faris, Cat Harbour (1972), p. 86.

[4]L.G. Small, "Becoming a Man in Newfoundland: Education and Machismo in an Island Community" (1976), p. 13.

[5]See John Widdowson, If You Don't Be Good (1977), p. 107.

[6]James C. Faris, Cat Harbour (1972), p. 157.

[7]James C. Faris, "Mumming in an Outport Fishing Settlement: A Description and Suggestions on the Cognitive Complex" (1969), p. 132.

[8]I owe this information to E. Verrall. See also Martin Laba, "The Devil Legend in Newfoundland," undated.

[9]See John Widdowson, If You Don't Be Good (1977), pp. 88-91, for a list of unacceptable ways of behaving in Newfoundland.

[10]John Widdowson, If You Don't Be Good (1977), p. 91.

[11]The devil in Newfoundland was often thought to be a stranger. See Martin Laba, "The Devil Legend in Newfoundland," undated.

[12]James C. Faris, "Mumming in an Outport Fishing Settlement: A Description and Suggestions on the Cognitive Complex" (1969), p. 139.

[13]See John F. Szwed, "The Mask of Friendship: Mumming as a Ritual of Social Relations (1969).

[14]An informant from Fortune, F.B., said that in Fortune, normally, throughout the year, hostility was directed outside the community rather than inside. Much hostility in Fortune was directed at Grand Bank, a neighbouring community with the same ethnic, religious, and social structure. In the informant's grandfather's time, on certain days of the year, the young men of the two towns

would meet halfway and "fight it out" in organized battles (TC217).

[15]See John Widdowson, If You Don't Be Good (1977).

[16]L.G. Small, "Horsemen of the Landwash: The Horse in Traditional Newfoundland Outports" (1976), p. 13.

[17]E.R. Leach, "Two Essays concerning the Symbolic Representation of Time" (1961), p. 136.

[18]Mary Douglas, Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo (1969), p. 165.

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| TC22 | TC92 | TC179 | TC265 | TC321 |
| TC23 | TC96 | TC184 | TC270 | TC322 |
| TC26 | TC97 | TC185 | TC284 | TC324 |
| TC28 | TC148 | TC186 | TC285 | TC327 |
| TC33 | TC150 | TC199 | TC289 | TC330 |
| TC42 | TC157 | TC211 | TC300 | TC331 |
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| 72-36ms | 73-159ms | 75-3ms | 76-373ms |
| 73-38ms | 73-168ms | 75-10ms | 76-454ms |
| 72-56ms | 73-174ms | 75-77ms | 77-64ms |
| 72-74ms | 73-186ms | 76-56ms | 77-75ms |
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| 72-113ms | 74-8ms | 76-102ms | 77-114ms |
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