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COMMUNITY DRAMA IN KINTYRE:
A case Study of Dunaverty Players
1952 - 1988.

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Thesis for Degree of M.Litt.

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and
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SUMMARY:

Throughout this study of drama in a remote rural parish, the intention has been to proceed from an empirical study to a consideration of the relationship between the results of the research and existing theoretical models. After an initial account of the Scottish Community Drama Association, its introduction to Kintyre in the immediate post-war years and its development since then, the study focuses on one dramatic club from Kintyre for closer scrutiny. Dunaverty Players, the club chosen for this purpose, meets in the village hall at Southend throughout the winter months.

Thereafter the work falls into three main sections: a study of the parish is followed by an account of the club and, finally, by an account of the productions mounted by the club over the period of thirty-six years since its formation.

The empirical account of the parish leads to a consideration of the relationship between the existing parish and the fictional kailyard, the evidence of the continuing attraction of the idealised rural community, and the consequences of this for the

present rural population.

An outline of the history of the club is followed by consideration of the changes in its organisational arrangements; and an account of the present membership is a necessary preliminary to the attempt at analysis in terms of Becker's conception of an 'Art World'. This leads to a recognition of a movement in the club away from existence as a traditionally oriented group towards the development of a more modern outlook.

In Chapter Five, however, theoretical discussion of drama as a means of communication, as well as consideration of the constraints on the choice of play, and the importance of typecasting in amateur drama, precedes a detailed analysis of the plays. This analysis shows that, in spite of the movement towards modernity in the club, the hegemony of traditional values has not been disturbed and, with this in mind, the narrative form of the plays is related to the importance placed by Alasdair MacIntyre on story-telling in the transmission of the virtues.

In the final chapter an attempt is made to place the account of the Southend community as it has been during the life of Dunaverty Players into a slightly wider context historically and geographically, by

drawing attention to the atypical nature of the period under discussion in the whole history of the parish, and to the factors which distinguish its present situation from that at present existing in other parts of the Highlands of Scotland.

As the the work of Scottish Community Drama Association consists, primarily, in the organisation of drama festivals, a continuing theme is the role of competition in rural and urban life. The value of deliberately introduced competition at a social level to a rural life-style that may lack such a stimulus, is demonstrated at an early stage in the thesis.

CONTENTS:

Chapter 1.	Introduction.	1
Chapter 2.	Background.	12.
	The Scottish Community Drama Association.	
	The SCDA in Kintyre.	20.
Chapter 3.	The Parish of Southend.	
	Introduction	38.
	Population and Housing	50.
	Employment	59.
	Education	62.
	Religion	63.
	Social Activities and Transport	72.
	Position of Women -	
	Marriage and Divorce	81.
	The Future	87.
	Southend as a kailyard parish	90.
	Conclusion	95.
Chapter 4.	Dunaverty Players	
	History	108.
	The Committee	139.
	Power in the Club	143.
	Dunaverty Players Today	146.
	The Club as an Art World	160.
	Conflict and Competitive Drama	171.
	Conclusion	180.

Chapter 5. The Plays

Choice of Play	187.
Levels of Communication	192.
Typecasting	198.
The Kailyard	202.
Angus MacVicar's Plays	204.
Kitchen Comedy	231.
Scots Historical Comedy	244.
MacVicar's Productions 1966-87	251.
New Writing	256.
Alastair Maiden	
and The Theatre of the Absurd	258.
Other Producers	264.

Chapter 6. Conclusion. 275.

Key.

Appendices 1 - 16.

Transcripts of Interviews.

Mary Taylor	Angus MacVicar
Iain Rattray	Charles Reppke
David McCallum (extracts)	
Elsbeth Lennox	Elizabeth Semple

Bibliography.

CHAPTER 1 -Introduction

The decision to investigate drama in a rural area contains the assumption that theatrical activity in such an area will differ in some substantial way from that in the towns. The concept of a rural/urban dichotomy leads into dangerous territory, hedged around with myth, as Raymond Williams has shown in The Country and The City¹, but some examination of the 'good life' believed to exist in rural areas is becoming increasingly relevant as people move out of the overcrowded cities in search of a more humane way of life. Here one aspect only of such a life is closely observed, but it will be seen that the activity of drama is closely related not only to the social reality but also to the values of the parish in which it operates, and that the effort to understand this relationship leads to searching questions regarding the nature of the 'good life' in both rural and urban areas.

The competitive amateur drama encouraged by the Scottish Community Drama Association flourished in Scotland in the 1930's, and while it has been less widespread since the second World War, it still

flourishes in Kintyre and other rural areas. Therefore, it would appear to be worthy of more careful study than it has been given to date. This effort to undertake that work was begun with no preconceptions; but it seemed probable that a study of one successful club was more likely to produce illuminating insights into the nature of this form of community drama, than a large scale compilation of data covering the whole of the movement in Scotland. Hence the focus has been placed on Dunaverty Players, a club which has been active in Southend, Kintyre, since its formation in 1952 and which has been affiliated to the SCDA for most of that time.

This study, therefore, operates at a point where performance studies, the sociology of culture and community studies converge; yet it would find a comfortable home in none of these. Nevertheless, by placing the work of the club, which might be seen to lie within the province of the academic study of drama, in the context of a study of the life of the parish, which falls within the domain of sociology, the study is able to provide a unique view of a community with a distinctive popular culture which has not so far been explored.

Hitherto the academic study of theatre has concentrated on the work of professionals and has tended to treat the efforts of amateurs as being peripheral and unworthy of serious study - though academics have been prepared to give consideration to amateur work falling within the general field of politically active community theatre. The extensive account of working class theatre in Britain contained in Theatres of the Left,^{2.} by Raphael Samuel and others, exemplifies the great interest in left-wing political drama, as do articles by Linda MacKenney in Scottish Theatre News,^{3.} by John Hill and Doug Allen in The New Edinburgh Review^{4.} and the recent rediscovery of Joe Corrie as a left-wing playwright (see Linda MacKenney's Joe Corrie: Plays, Poems and Theatre Writings).^{5.} Bradby and McCormick in their People's Theatre,^{6.} however, are carefully selective in their brief description of his work and are misleading in their account of the work of SCDA.

There was an active Scottish Community Drama Association playing in the mining towns of the Lowlands. One of their authors was Joe Corrie, a Fifeshire miner whose plays depicted the everyday life of rural and mining communities. Although

traditional in form, these plays contributed to the development of a working class drama with a distinct political message.⁷

Here we have a very restricted picture of the work of SCDA, which covered the whole of Scotland and through its one-act festivals was open to any form of drama which could be contained within the time span of a one-act play (and, in addition, organised less well known three-act festivals and playwriting competitions). Moreover, it overlooks the plays written by Joe Corrie, primarily for the SCDA festivals, which had no overt political content. The extract, therefore, serves to provide a specific instance of the way in which, unless it could be shown to have a serious political purpose, amateur drama has tended to be discounted in an academic study of theatre.

Drama, however, can be shown to serve a social purpose even when the work performed seems, at first sight, to be of no great merit. However, the sociologists of culture, also, have tended to restrict their studies to the work of the professionals, unless the work is considered to be genuine 'folk art'. Efforts for example to fit the work of Dunaverty Players into any of Becker's⁸ categories were

unsuccessful, since his conception of art though broad did not encompass the work of the amateur outside the category of 'folk art',⁹ which was limited to the production of work with a practical application, or 'naive art',¹⁰ which was the creation of the isolated producer. Yet the study of a non-practical non-professional art, involving many people regardless of sex, age or class, should be of interest to sociologists of culture.

Community studies are designed to be comprehensive, and are consequently too broad in scope to deal adequately with one particular cultural product within the survey of a whole community. The study of Dunaverty Players, as an example of such a product, merits a more meticulous attention than could be provided as part of a general account of the parish. It is, therefore, apparent that the study of Dunaverty Players envisaged here will not fit neatly into any previously delineated field of study, but that, nevertheless, it should illuminate aspects of both social reality and drama in Kintyre.

The project begins with a short chapter giving an account of the Scottish Community Drama Association in Scotland; the introduction of the movement to Kintyre in the immediate post-war years; and its development

since then. However, as has been noted, the main focus of the research has been on one club, Dunaverty Players; and the account of the findings of this research has been divided for convenience and coherence into three much longer chapters, dealing consecutively with the parish, the club and the productions.

The first of these gives an account of Southend as a community which still retains many of the characteristics of the way of life described in kailyard literature, even in a world where modernity prevails. It attempts to explain the differences in life-style between the metropolis and the rural community in terms of overstimulation and understimulation, and thus to account for the need for competition in rural social life. Finally, it draws attention to the danger to the culture of rural areas from the present accelerating movement from the overpopulated areas of Britain.

The following chapter outlines the formation and development of Dunaverty Players and demonstrates the efforts made to maintain harmony within the club. It also seeks to show the value of the SCDA festivals in providing an outlet for the competitive instinct. The second half of this chapter is an attempt to use

Becker's approach to the sociology of art (ie through the forms of social organisation^{11.}) to discover how the club functions and, in so doing, reveals that the club is not immune to modernist ideas brought in by well-meaning non-locals.

The section on the performances indicates the constraints on the choice of play, and attempts to show through careful analysis how these choices have tended to reinforce the religious beliefs and moral values of the community. Here it is suggested that the continuing attraction of the kailyard is not simply nostalgia, but manifests a rejection of the values of the secularised metropolis and, in particular, the 'meaninglessness' which is concomitant with Nietzsche's concept of 'the death of God'^{12.}; and attention is drawn to Alasdair MacIntyre's concept of the role of story-telling^{13.}, historically, in the transmission of the virtues - in relation to the narrative form of the plays chosen.

Thus, while the main body of the work is an empirical account of the results of the research, certain main themes become evident: the nature of competition in both rural and urban contexts; the continuing attraction of an idealised organic rural community; and the contrast between the values of

country and city. From all this the study of Dunaverty Players emerges as an exemplary instance of a general pattern of narrative drama being nurtured to foster a particular conception of society, and a particular vision of the good life for the individual.

The final chapter attempts to draw these varying threads together around MacIntyre's conception of the good life presented in After Virtue,^{14.} which contrasts the virtues of Aristotle, which broadly speaking are those which are valued by the rural community, with those recommended by Nietzsche to modern man and, taking up MacIntyre's advocacy of the 'telos', argues that ways must be found of developing 'the whole man' within the modern metropolis.

Before moving on to the main body of the work, however, it will be necessary to give some account of the method of participant observation used in this study. This was an unusual variant of the method, inasmuch as I had been a participant for much longer than I was likely to be an observer, having been a member of Dunaverty Players since 1972.

I, therefore, had access to information that might not have been so readily offered to a stranger - not because it would have been deliberately suppressed, but because the members were all aware that

competitive drama is not held in high esteem by those who aspire to a 'higher' culture and, regarding their knowledge as being of little value, might well have withheld it. In addition, I had experienced, in a way not possible to a researcher who comes in from outside, normal membership of the group in the period before the research was contemplated (ie free of the heightened consciousness inseparable from the research process). Much of the section on the club is based on a series of extended interviews with members¹⁵, and this involved a clear separation of roles. The questions were formulated in advance, in my role as researcher; but in the interview I reverted to being a friend and fellow member who wished to record the answers to the questions on the sheet in connection with some work I was doing at the university. Thus, in the event, the tapes recorded a relaxed dialogue between two members of the club, with my own comments as open to dissection as any others, though I tried to keep them to a minimum. I am sure that this shared vulnerability contributed much to the frankness and fluency of these interviews. (Transcripts of six of these interviews form the final Appendix - the remainder are available as tapes or as transcripts.)

There were, of course, very obvious drawbacks to the

situation, of which I was well aware. However, to be aware of the need for detachment is not necessarily to achieve it; so at the outset I undertook a series of weekly meetings, stretching over several months, with a friend who is a psychotherapist. He helped me to become aware of the complexity of my emotional attachment to the community in which I lived and to the club of which I was a member, so that I might attempt to 'bracket' my personal involvement. In addition I have tried, as far as possible, to rely on the evidence of the tapes; on factual material which can be verified; and on published texts - though the conclusions drawn from these are, of course, my own. If, in spite of all this, my affection still shows, the reader must make his own allowances.

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15. Quotations from these interviews are identified by numbers in brackets (9). A key is provided as Appendix 0.

CHAPTER 2 - Background.

THE SCOTTISH COMMUNITY DRAMA ASSOCIATION

The two factors which must be borne in mind in any discussion of the Scottish Community Drama Association are the extraordinary rapidity of its growth in the late 1920's and throughout the 1930's, and the wide range of activity that was included beneath its umbrella.

The initiative in founding the association, in 1926, came through the secretary of the Scottish National Players, D Glen MacKemmie. He was approached by the British Drama League, based in London, who wished to involve the Scottish clubs in a competitive festival to find a team which would represent Britain in the United States' competition for the David Belasco Trophy. This trophy, incidentally, was won by the Ardrossan and Saltcoats Players two years later. David Hutchison gives a concise account of the SCDA in this period:

The amateur theatre movement in Britain, as we now know it, began in the middle of the nineteenth century as essentially a pursuit of the upper and middle classes, and by the turn of

the century was firmly established. By the end of the first World War it was such a significant activity among all social classes that there came into being associations of amateur clubs, The British Drama League being founded in 1919, and the Scottish Community Drama Association in 1926, the latter with the aims of encouraging the drama in Scotland and organising festivals of community drama. The sudden rise to popularity of the amateur theatre in Scotland can be seen by comparing the number of entries for the one-act play festival in 1926-27 (35), 1928-29 (88) and 1930-31 (243); by the 1932-33 season the entry had reached 307. By 1937 there were more than 1000 amateur groups in Scotland.

It is difficult for people who did not live through the boom period in amateur drama to realise how extensive the activity was. A perusal of the newspapers of the time makes it clear that this was no coterie pursuit but one in which a lot of people were either involved or interested. The Scottish newspapers of the thirties, for example, all had regular weekly columns on the amateur scene and reviews of productions.^{1.}

Inevitably in such a mass movement the quality was

uneven; the general aim of 'encouraging drama in Scotland' is capable of wide interpretation and the movement was frequently criticised, especially by those who aimed at a genuine Scottish theatre, free from the sentimentality of kailyard and tartanry. Joe Corrie, whose own work was regularly performed in the festivals, is quoted by Hutchison as being critical and complaining that the majority of the clubs were

'.....not interested in drama as an art so much as they are interested in it as an amusement. Their primary object is to make the audience laugh, a process which they themselves enjoy. (SMT Magazine, November, 1937)

The study of Dunaverty Players suggests that there is much truth in the argument that at least some of the clubs regarded drama as a pastime rather than as an art form, but it also demonstrates that the second part of Corrie's argument was true only in the early stages in the development of the club and that there was a real commitment to the improving of standards in every respect. Later Corrie himself came to realise this. In an article written for The Scottish Stage in 1936, after two of his more controversial plays had reached the Scottish Finals of the SCDA competition, he points out,

For quite some time now the critics have been

criticising severely the low standard of Scots drama. But they are forgetting that the movement, from author to electrician, is very young. A few years ago there was no Scots drama worth talking about at all. From now onwards there is going to be progress....I can see it coming. Authors, producers, groups, everyone connected with the movement, are gaining courage, they are getting bold, their audiences are no longer a fear to them.^{3.}

Aileen Clarke^{4.} has listed the plays being entered for the festivals in the 1930's and, while there is a considerable proportion of kitchen comedy and light entertainment, there is also evidence that many clubs were experimenting with more demanding material and, no doubt, had the second World War not intervened this process of development would have gained ground. It has to be remembered that SCDA covered the whole country and that, in addition to the differences between the rural and city clubs, clubs were in differing stages of development. It is unreasonable to expect a newly formed village club to have the same standards as a long established city club with a professional producer. SCDA was a broad church.

A further criticism of SCDA has been that it was middle-class, as opposed to the workers' theatre

movement that was flourishing in the same period. Again it is necessary to consider the whole range of SCDA activity before a judgment can be made. In the simplest, non-technical sense, 'community' might be taken to describe a group of people who are in regular face-to-face contact. In a rural area this means virtually the whole population, and, as might have been expected, community drama in these areas frequently included all sections of society. Joe Corrie, again writing in The Scottish Stage commented on this,

The drama festival, especially in the rural communities, is a thing in which all take part. Here it is a movement of the masses. In the cities it may be more of a cultural movement, patronised by the middle classes and the working man and woman who take an interest in drama. But the masses are at the music hall or pictures. In the village that is not so.⁵

However, other instances have been recorded where small-town clubs have been made up almost entirely from the local gentry and professionals with their wives. A recent example would be the Thurso club which is composed from members of the management of the Douneray nuclear establishment.

In urban areas the sheer size of the population

means that 'communities' in this sense are focussed on those places where people meet, in the workplace, church, housing estate or suburban area, so that their membership is likely to be more homogenous. Thus, in Glasgow, the Torch Club was formed originally of teachers from Jordanhill College, while the Barr and Stroud factory had its own workers' group. Other groups, like the Pantheon Players, which was formed to produce musicals, claimed to be open to anyone with talent, but tended to consist of office workers who recruited from within their own circle of friends. Thus both white-collar and workers' groups were to be found within the organisation. However, the administration of the society does seem to have been largely in the hands of the representatives of the more prosperous clubs. Linda MacKenney in her

Working Class Theatre in Glasgow records:

The 1930's was a period of considerable intense theatrical activity (particularly at an amateur level) in Glasgow, where a number of progressive socialist, working class theatre groups came into being: amongst these were the St George's Co-operative Players, Glasgow Workers' Theatre Group, Glasgow Corporation Transport Players, the Clarion Players and the Jewish Institute Players.⁶ It is possibly misleading to consider the activities

of SCDA and the Workers' Theatre movement as being in opposition. Both seem to have been part of an intense interest in theatre as an activity used for different purposes, at a time when television was virtually unknown. In fact, clubs listed by Linda MacKenney took part in the SCDA competitions and some were remarkably successful.

The Scottish Finalists in the years 1934-37 (listed by Miss Clarke) came almost exclusively from the large centres of population, and all were from the central belt, but their titles suggest the variety of background contained within SCDA. They included:

1934 1. Middle YMCA Drama Soc. Paisley.

2. Barr and Stroud Dramatic Soc.

1935 1. Edinburgh Elocution Club.

2. Kirkcaldy Triangle Players.

3. Troon Ex-Serviceman's A.D. Club.

1936 1. Forfar Dramatic Society.

2. Glasgow Corporation Transport Players.

1937 1. Newbattle Burns' Club.

2. Glasgow Jewish Institute.⁷

The plays performed in these finals included four by Joe Corrie, two by James Bridie, and one each by JM Barrie and Avrom Greenbaum.

This certainly shows a marked bias towards Scottish writers but, as will be seen in the discussion of the

plays performed by Dunaverty Players, there may be more than one reason for this; not least is the fact that amateur players can play more strongly if they can make use of their normal Scottish tongue. As was pointed out earlier, it would be unrealistic to expect that such a mass movement would have maintained a consistently high standard of production, or that the majority of ordinary people involved up and down the country would have shared in the vision of a National Scottish Drama that would do for Scotland what the Abbey Theatre had done for Ireland. Nevertheless large numbers of people were becoming involved in drama at a variety of levels, and it seems at least possible that increasing experience would have led to the gradual development of a wider range of work, had not the second World War intervened. The SCDA competitions were closed down for the duration, and when they were restarted after the war it was in a different world, and that part of the enthusiasm due to a shared popular craze had been dissipated. From then on the SCDA had to depend on a more limited section of the population. Some of the big amateur clubs in the Glasgow area have continued to support the movement, others are no longer in existence; the movement has declined in some rural areas but has flourished in others. For example, what was a very

strong festival in Oban died soon after the war, as did the Rothesay festival, but the Kintyre festival was born at that time and there is currently talk of a festival on Arran. Entries for the festivals throughout Scotland in 1988 are included as Appendix 3. These lists were taken from the February edition of Scene[&], but are not quite complete. For example, of the 8 entries from Kintyre only 5 are shown, and possibly other areas had incomplete lists at the time the February issue went to print. However of the 170 teams listed, 102 can be identified as rural or small town teams, the remainder being based in larger centres of population. The appendix includes a brief breakdown of the entries and an account of revived activity in Wigtownshire.

THE SCDA IN KINTYRE.

The initiative in the formation of the Kintyre festival came from outside the area. After the war, drama groups had been formed in connection with several of the Campbeltown churches (thus demonstrating that the earlier opposition between church and drama no longer operated in the area) and, in particular, the Highland Parish Church had a minister who was a drama enthusiast. He it was who introduced Norval Charteris (then recently appointed as manager of the local branch of the Bank of

Scotland) as producer of his church's drama group since, before his arrival in Campbeltown, Mr Charteris had had wide experience of drama at various levels and had taken an active part in SCDA festivals in Glasgow, Forfar and Perth. Lorne Street Church had also formed a group and one or two of the villages had groups of women attached to the Scottish Women's Rural Institutes who were experimenting with sketches and short one-act comedies.⁹ A successful festival had been running in Oban since the 1930's and a member of Argyll County Council for that area, who also happened to be to be a member of SCDA's Western Divisional Committee, approached the County Treasurer, who was known to be interested in drama, to explore the prospects of arranging a festival in Campbeltown. He, in turn, approached his bank manager who as we have seen was producing for the Highland Parish Church's drama group. Soundings were taken, and a strong local committee was set up with the support of the Western Division of SCDA.

The first festival was held in 1949 with six teams entering. Three of these were church teams from the Campbeltown area (St Kieran's Roman Catholic church also entered, as well as the two Church of Scotland teams already referred to) and three came from outlying villages: Drumlemble, where the group

consisted largely of miners and their families, together with Machrihanish and Tayinloan, both formed through the SWRI. There were nine entries in each of the following two years - but the whole undertaking almost collapsed in 1952, when the death of King George VI was announced on the second day of the festival. This faced the organisers with a serious problem, since considerable expense had already been incurred and cancellation would mean a possibly irretrievable financial loss. In view of this, and possibly as a result of a feeling that edicts on national mourning emanating from London did not apply locally, it was decided not to cancel the rest of the competition. This notion, that rules affecting the rest of the UK did not apply locally, was not as unreasonable as might appear at first sight. During the recently ended war, various war-time regulations had proved unworkable in the remote West Highlands where, for example, eggs were not rationed - even when the rest of the population was reduced to one egg per week. The attitudes that this remoteness occasioned were caricatured in Compton MacKenzie's Whisky Galore¹⁰, but they had a basis in fact. I will be arguing in later chapters that much of the culture of parishes like Southend derives from this very factor of remoteness. In the days before television

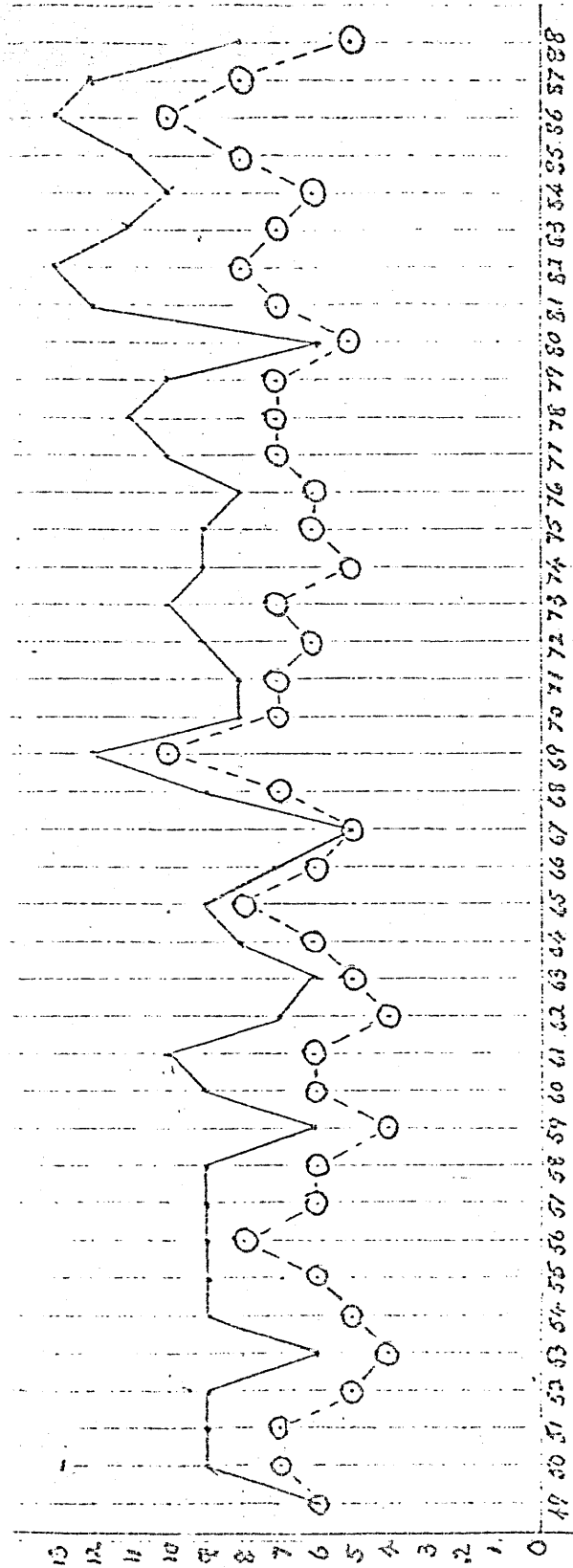
this must have been even more marked. It should, however, be noted that the decision was not taken out of defiance, but from a real concern that the committee would end up owing money that it had not the funds to pay; yet the feeling that nobody was going to care what happened at the back of beyond, was also a factor. (The festivals, at this time, were held in the Rex Cinema, a popular venue with the audience, but in this building the erection of extra staging was necessary to accommodate live theatre, as opposed to film. This was time-consuming and labour-intensive and, consequently, very expensive.) On this occasion, however, the decision to go ahead with the rest of the festival was unacceptable to the Chairman of the local committee, who happened to be a Sheriff of the County, and who, in his official role (the equivalent of a County Court judge in England), could hardly countenance this disregard of national mourning, and he resigned. The secretary and several other members of the committee also resigned and this incident might well have marked the end of the local festival but for the enthusiasm of the Highland Parish Church Drama Club. They put three teams forward the following

Diagram I.

Entries to Campbelltown Festival 1949 - 88.

— number of teams.

o--o number of clubs.



year, so that, together with one team each from three other clubs, a two night festival was arranged for 1953. Dunaverty Players, then playing as Southend SWRI, did not enter the festivals until 1954. They had been doing sketches and one-act plays in the village for a year or so and were encouraged to enter the festival to build up the numbers again after this setback.

As will be seen in Diagram 1, the number of entries in the Campbeltown festival has fluctuated over the years. Eight or nine teams are required to make a viable three-night festival, below that, the district SCDA festival committee finds difficulty in meeting the expenses of the festival. Thus the troughs in the graph tend to be followed by a peak, as the committee will have circulated the regular clubs begging them to try to enter two plays the following year to keep the festival going. At any one time the festival has depended on the commitment of a handful of clubs who can be relied upon to respond to such a plea, plus a number of other clubs who are either short lived or enter only intermittently. The full list of entries for the period is given as Appendices 1 and 1a, but the entries of the leading clubs have been extracted and for convenience of reference here

Table 1.

Entries by Leading Clubs.
(For full list of entries - see Appendix 1.)

✓ = teams entered. — = club non-existent.

Teams	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88		
Carradale DC																																										
Clachan Pl.																																										
Dunaverty Pl. (SWRI)																																										
Highland Parish DC																																										
Kinloch Pl. (Juniors)																																										
Lochgilphed DG.																																										
Machrihanish SWRI																																										
Miners (NCB Players)																																										
Peninver (Y Farmers)																																										
Davaar Pl.																																										
Lorne St. Church																																										
Albyn Players																																										
Castle Players																																										
Youth Club																																										
Campbeltown DG																																										
Accent Players																																										

are shown in Table 1. Dunaverty Players, who in the early days entered as Southend SWRI, are the longest lasting of the clubs, having missed only one year between 1954 and 1988, but they are closely followed by Peninver Players, who were originally The Young Farmers' Club, who have entered in 29 years between 1956 and 1988, and Clachan Drama Club who have entered continuously from 1969 to 1988.

In the early days of the competition, the leading clubs were Highland Parish Church, whose demise is discussed in the chapter on Dunaverty Players; Machrihanish, who fell apart when they lost their producer; and The Miners, later The NCB Players, who also went into decline as their producer aged, and finally died with him. John M B Anderson was as closely bound to The Miners, as we shall see that Angus MacVicar has been bound to Dunaverty Players. He was greatly respected and is commemorated by a trophy awarded annually at the County Festival held in Ardrishaig. Inevitably the loss of his club led to comparisons with Dunaverty but, as the discussion of that club will show, there are other factors to be taken into account, and Dunaverty Players should be able to survive the eventual retirement of their leader. Mr Anderson's death followed some years after

the closure of the colliery at Machrihanish; he had held a small group together in spite of this, but after his death there was no remaining mining community to support a distinctive club. However, on other occasions too the loss of their producer has led to the disbanding of a club.

While the village clubs seem to continue for as long as they have a producer, the town clubs appear to have more chequered careers. The drama club connected to Lorne Street Church became Albyn Players when the connection with the church had become so tenuous that the name could no longer be justified, and eventually, presumably as a result of some internal difficulty, the club folded and was reformed, with many of the same players, as Castle Players. When numbers became short, this group amalgamated with The Youth Club, but after complaints by other teams that the title was misleading, as these players were no younger than those in other clubs, the club split into Kinloch Players (a genuine teenage group) and Campbeltown Players, which after competing very successfully for several years was broken up following a disagreement, with some members forming Accent Players and the rest moving to Dunaverty Players. This can be traced quite clearly in Table 1. Davaar Players was formed

originally from the staff of the DHSS office in Campbeltown, with John MacKerral, who had just left Dunaverty Players, as their first producer.

Efforts to involve children and teenagers in drama have continued sporadically, but are seriously hampered by the continuing exodus of young people from the district in search of further education and employment. The Youth Club was one such experiment, but as we have seen, those original members who did not move on simply grew up until there were more mature players than new young people. After the club divided into Campbeltown Players and Kinloch Players, Mrs Dickson struggled for a number of years to keep the younger group in existence, but when she retired no-one could be found to take over, though one of her original players has tried to form a group of people in their late teens and early twenties, and has entered teams as Castlehill Players in 1985 and 86. In 1987 and 1988 they began rehearsals but withdrew their entries before the festival deadline. The larger clubs enter children's teams from time to time; usually, when three teams are entered, the third team is composed of children or young people. Fyneside Juniors were a temporary offshoot of the Ardrishaig club.

Table 2.

Membership of Drama Clubs in Kintyre.

<u>Rural Clubs</u>		
Name of Club	Membership (1983)	Population of Area
Carradale Players	c20	500
Clachan Players	c30	400
Dunaverty Players	c50	500
Peninver Players	c12	300
<u>Campbeltown</u>		
Campbeltown Players	c15	6000 (Junior)
Davaar Drama Club	c12	
Kinloch Players	c15	

The population of the landward area of Kintyre varies from 1-39 per 1000 acres^{11.} the average for Britain as a whole is 956 per 1000 acres^{12.} During the period covered by this study, the population of Campbeltown itself has decreased from 7152, in the census of 1951, to 6326 in 1981; while the population of the surrounding area has remained largely static. The decline in population within the burgh is not surprising as it suffers from a high rate of unemployment. In order to undertake any kind of training, or full-time further education, young people must leave their homes and travel to Glasgow or beyond. (As we have seen, this is reflected in the composition of the drama clubs, who find difficulty in recruiting and retaining young players.) The landward areas also suffer a steady drain of their young folk, so the fact that the overall population remains constant may be due, as will be seen in the study of Southend, to the drop having reached bottom and to a small number of people retiring to these areas. Some idea of the proportion of the total population involved in, or affected by, the drama festivals can be deduced from the figures in Table 2. However, these figures are slightly misleading, as the producers, who supplied the figures, applied different

criteria to decide who should qualify for inclusion as a club member. For example, Dunaverty Players, the Southend Club, counts occasional supporters, who may do anything from fund-raising to supplying props or giving technical advice, as full members of the club. The other clubs also have friends they can call on to help with specific problems but do not include these in their lists of members. No producer was prepared to give more than an approximate figure, as membership fluctuates, but it can be seen clearly from the figures that the movement is stronger in the rural areas. However, as Norval Charteris has pointed out, this is not just a matter of there being a greater number of competing interests in the town - since with modern transport the activities in Campbeltown are now equally available to most of the rural population. He laid more stress on the fact that rural areas have village halls which the clubs can rent at an economic price; suitable rehearsal rooms are very difficult to find in Campbeltown and those that are available are more expensive. The original church clubs had the use of church halls, but these are not available to secular groups on a regular basis.¹³

A further indication of the part played by the festival in the life of the area can be deduced from

the fact that the organisers (ie the local SCDA Festival Committee) can confidently expect an audience of up to 400 people on each of the three nights of the festival - although, oddly, the total attendance for the week seems not to rise appreciably if the festival extends to four nights. This is of some importance to the local committee, who have to pay for the use of the hall and the hire of the extra lighting (brought in for festivals) for an extra night, without any compensating increase in income. (A statement of accounts for 1980 is given as Appendix 2). The extra night is regarded as a bonus by the clubs, however, as it means that probably two teams will be allowed to go forward to the Divisional Final.

The number of teams moving on to the next round is dependent on the total number of entries and normally only one team travels from Kintyre. If one adds to the number of players and members of the audience, backstage crew, front of house staff and hostesses for the visiting teams, the number of people involved is quite considerable - given the total population of the area.

As the first steps in the formation of Kintyre SCDA were taken by non-locals, the extent to which the festivals have been dominated by incomers is a factor

Table 3.

Proportion of Locals and Incomers in the Festivals.

(Figures in this table are taken from the programmes covering all the entries in each year.)

Year	Locals	Blocked Spiral- ists	Local Spiral ists	Spiral ists	% of local origin	% left distr- ict
1949	36	4	6	5	82%	21%
1959	23	4	-	10	62%	27%
1969	58	14	13	15	71%	28%
1979	54	21	6	15	62%	22%
Remaining in District			Left District			

facing p 31.

to be considered. The figures in what follows are taken from my earlier work,^{14.} but there has been no significant difference in the pattern since 1979, when the figures were collated. I have retained the nomenclature used earlier, which was taken from Watson (1964)¹⁵ and used by Frankenburg in Communities in Britain.^{16.} The term 'spiralist' describes the careerist who spends only a short time in the area, before moving outwards and upwards to greener pastures. The term 'blocked spiralist' refers to the person who arrives in the area, usually, but not necessarily, towards the end of his career, likes the life, and settles down, often becoming more involved in local activities than the locals themselves. I have included in this category spiralists who have retired to the district. Most of these had a connection with the district earlier in their careers. The term 'burgess' was not particularly useful for my purposes and I preferred to keep the term 'local' to cover those who were born and have pursued their vocations in Kintyre (or Mid-Argyll, where this is appropriate.) The term 'local spiralist' has been invented to cover those young people who begin their careers locally and later move out of the district to obtain promotion.

Table 4.

Composition of Teams.

(Figures from Programmes, as before.)

	Campbeltown Youth later Kinloch Players		Dunaverty Players		Peninver Players		Tayvallich Drama Group	
	1969	1979	1969	1979	1969	1979	1969	1979
Local	1	4	8	9	8	12	8	4
Blocked Spiral- ists	1	0	0	9	3	3	1	0
Spiralists	0	2	4	3	0	1	1	1
Local Spiral- ists	4	1	1	2	0	0	0	0

Table 5.

Producers.

	Local	Blocked Spiralists	Spiral- ists	Local Spiralists
1949	2	1	1	2
1959	2	1	1	1
1969	6	3	1	2
1979	6	3	1	0

Facing p 32

Table 3 shows the proportion of each category appearing in the programme for the years 1949, 1959, 1969, and 1979.

The small number of local spiralists is indicative of the limited number of jobs available locally which have promotion prospects. Most ambitious young people leave the area when they leave school. As will be seen in Table 3, although there are sufficient spiralists to exert an influence, local players are in the majority. However the incomers are not spread evenly over the clubs. This will become evident if we compare the four Kintyre teams who competed in 1969 and 1979. (Table 4.)

As will be seen in the following chapter, Southend (Dunaverty) is becoming a popular place to retire to, hence the number of blocked spiralists, while Peninver, formed as an offshoot from the Young Farmers' Club, still has a majority of farmers. The difficulty experienced by the local youth group in keeping players is evidenced by the number of local spiralists. Of the six members shown in 1969, four had left the district in 1979. The club was finally disbanded in 1987. In most clubs, however, the producer has the last word when it comes to the choice of play and here the locals have a clear majority; again the figures are taken from the programmes

covering the whole of the festival.(Table 5.) The influence of local producers on the choice of play will be seen to be a key to the character of the drama, with its stress on the theatre as entertainment, and the predominance of narrative plays which do not disturb local assumptions of social harmony.

The competitive aspect of the festivals looms large and, inevitably the role of the adjudicator is a vital one. Appendix 4 lists the adjudicators for the period 1949-88. At one time these were drawn from the ranks of professional actors, and the BBC has provided producers and others who have acted in this capacity. More recently, lecturers from the drama departments of universities and training colleges have been much in demand. The fact that the adjudicators themselves are, in Becker's¹⁷ terms, 'integrated professionals' has not destroyed the hegemony of non-modernist popular culture. The adjudicator gives a public adjudication each night of the festival on the plays that have just been performed. He then sees the performers privately and gives advice. Usually a winner for the night is announced, but it is the first three teams overall who are awarded trophies on the final night, after the adjudicator has commented on the festival as a whole. A written adjudication is sent to each team later.

A complete list of the plays performed during this period is included as Appendices 5 and 5a.^{18.} Most surprising is the number of playwrights writing one-act plays, though it would appear that most of these had a limited output. Up to 1979, the work of 139 writers was performed in the Kintyre Festival, and of these 104 were represented by one play only, and twenty had written two of the plays performed, while 15 writers were represented by three or more plays. The pattern has remained unchanged since then: among 93 plays produced since 1980, 59 writers are represented by one play only, 8 have two plays included, and 4 have more than two. Over the whole period from 1949 - 1988, Joe Corrie has been the most popular, with 22 performances of his work, Agnes Adam and James Scotland have 16 and 15 respectively, Philip Johnson 13, David Campton 10, Angus MacVicar 8 and George Carruthers 7 - out of a total of 341 performances.

A simple analysis of these plays, up to 1979, had shown that while there has always been variety among the plays entered in the competition, in the early days there was a marked leaning towards kitchen comedy and plays with some religious content. Gradually, the tendency for teams to choose plays which reflected the life of their own community seemed to be replaced by a

desire to emulate what was being done elsewhere; and towards the end of the period plays by major dramatists were being tackled, alongside contemporary comedy, Scots historical comedy and some heavy drama.

Some explanation, and a deeper understanding, of these earlier, tentative findings is being sought in the following case study of Dunaverty Players.

Chapter 2 - notes and references.

1. Hutchison, David, The Modern Scottish Theatre, The Molindenaar Press, Glasgow, 1977. P32.
2. Ibid p33.
3. Corrie, Joe, What it Feels Like, Scottish Stage, May 1936.
4. Clarke, Aileen, Honours Drama Dissertation, University of Glasgow, April 1986.
5. Corrie, Joe, Use the Freedom of the Festival, uncatalogued Corrie papers.
6. MacKenney, Linda, Working Class Theatre in Glasgow, 1900-50, Scottish Theatre Archive SPT/GEN/1.
7. Opus cit.
8. Scene, the magazine of the SCDA, Series No. 42, February 1988.
9. The SWRI branches were frequently the source of innovation, a fact that tends to be overlooked in the traditional portrayal of rural women.
10. MacKenzie, Compton, Whisky Galore, Chatto and Windus, London, 1947.
11. MacDonald C M, The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Argyll, Collins, Glasgow, 1961. pp78-9
12. Whitaker's Almanac, 1982. J. Whitaker and Sons Ltd. London. pp 626 and 679.
13. This is not a matter of policy, merely that the halls are in regular use by church organisations and drama clubs are demanding in the number of nights they require and in their need for storage space.
14. Rattray, Mary, Community Drama in Kintyre and Changes in Moral Values, Dissertation for A403, The Open University, 1983.

15. Watson, W, Social Mobility and Class in Industrial Communities, in Closed Systems and Open Minds, Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1964.
16. Frankenberg, R, Communities in Britain, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1969.
17. Becker, Howard S, Art Worlds, University of California Press, London, 1982. p228 et seq.
18. Publishers of these plays are given in Appendix 6 - many of the smaller English publishers' lists have now been taken over by Samuel French Ltd.

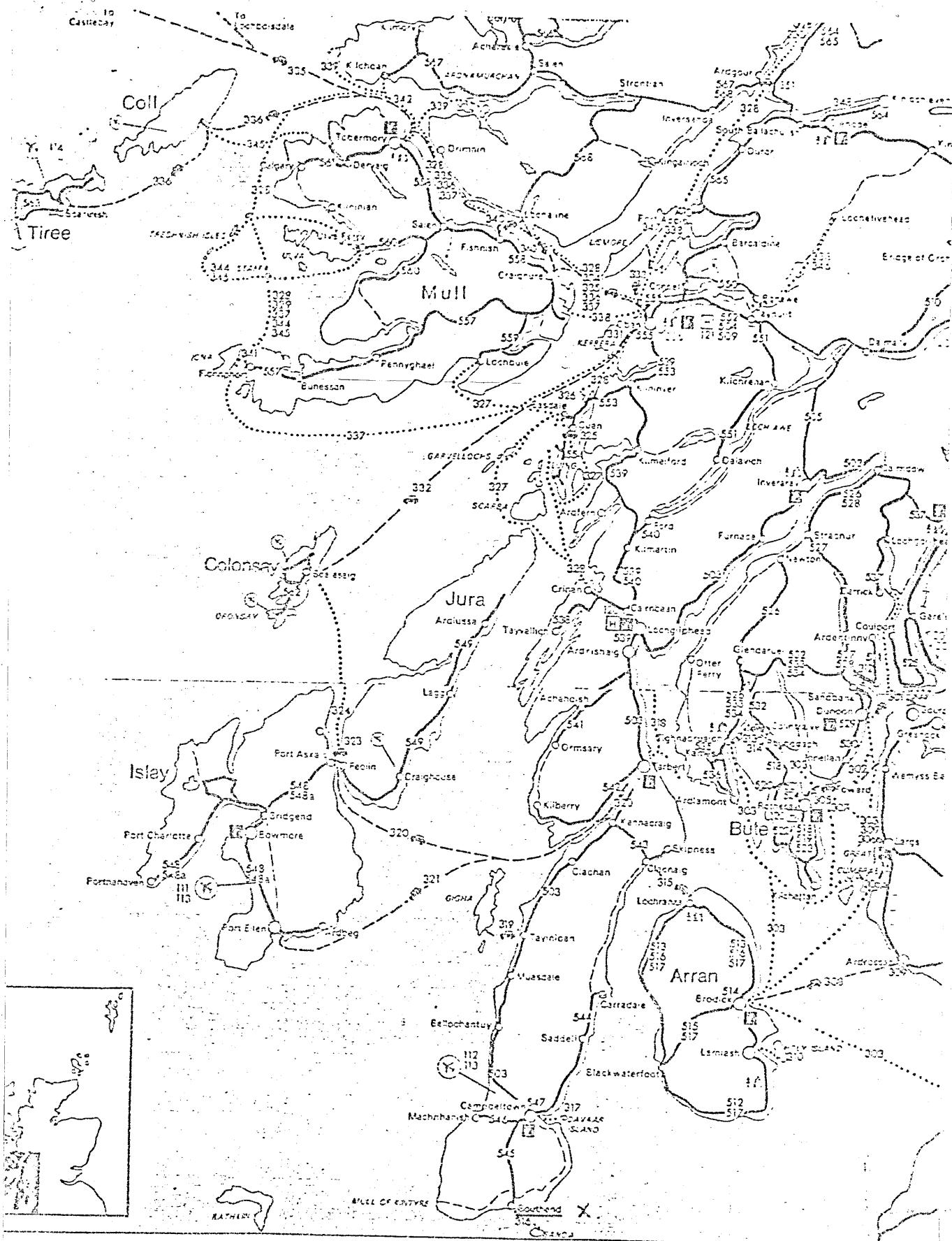
CHAPTER 3 - The Parish of Southend.

INTRODUCTION

This section is intended to present, not a complete community study, but a survey of life in the parish sufficient to provide a background to the description of the club which follows.

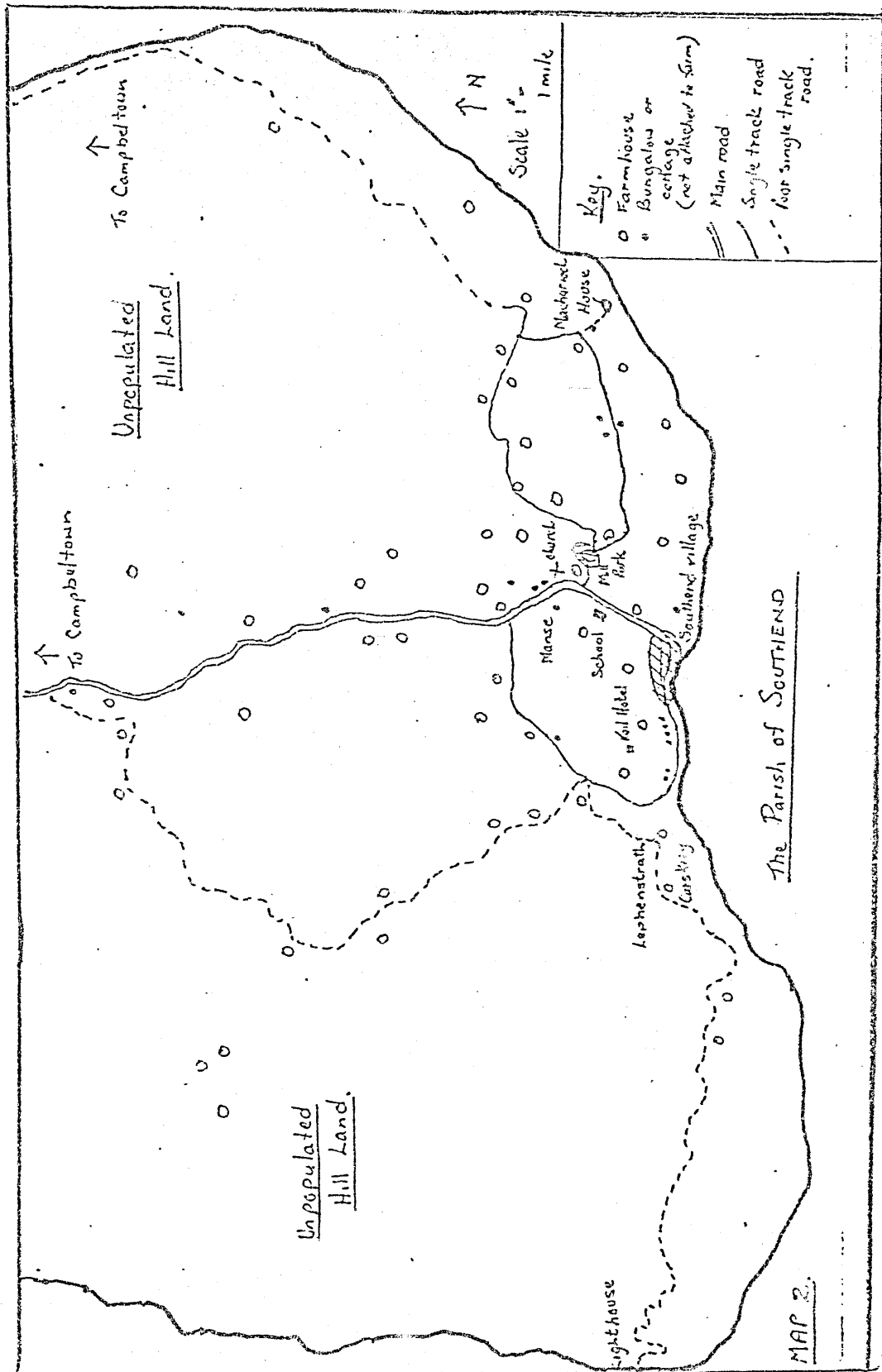
At the outset, it must be admitted that this presents the writer with the problem of accounting for the fact that Southend does, in many ways, resemble Tonnies 'Gemeinschaft' - that ideal of community so effectively demolished in Newby's The Deferential Worker^{1.} and that it does not suffer to any great extent from the class consciousness of Littlejohn's Westrigg^{2.} or the extensive population changes and the consequent local/incomer problem described in Stephenson's Ford^{3.} It is not intended to contradict these studies, merely to assert that Southend, during the period under discussion, has been atypical in these respects, for reasons which should become clear in the remainder of this chapter.

There is no doubt that the local people see themselves as a community; the term was used without prompting by most of the interviewees, but it is



impossible to determine how far this marked sense of community is due to the influence of Dr Angus MacVicar, who holds an idealised view of the parish, and who, as a public figure and as a well known Scottish writer, has widely disseminated his view of Southend as the ideal community. The problem is further compounded by the fact that Dr MacVicar, a charismatic figure, has been the unchallenged leader of Dunaverty Players during the whole period under review, and that his ideals and attitudes have had a marked influence on the development of the club will become evident in the account of its history. Nevertheless, it should also become evident that Southend is exceptional and that Dr MacVicar's view is not without some factual foundation.

In 1952, the year before Dunaverty Players first sent a team to the Campbeltown drama festival, the Rev Angus J MacVicar, (Dr MacVicar's father) wrote his account of Southend for the The Third Statistical Account of Scotland^{h.} It is proposed to bring this account up to date, section by section, commenting on the changes which have taken place during the life of Dunaverty Players, and thus drawing attention to the historical dimension which will be important during the discussion of the development of the club, as well

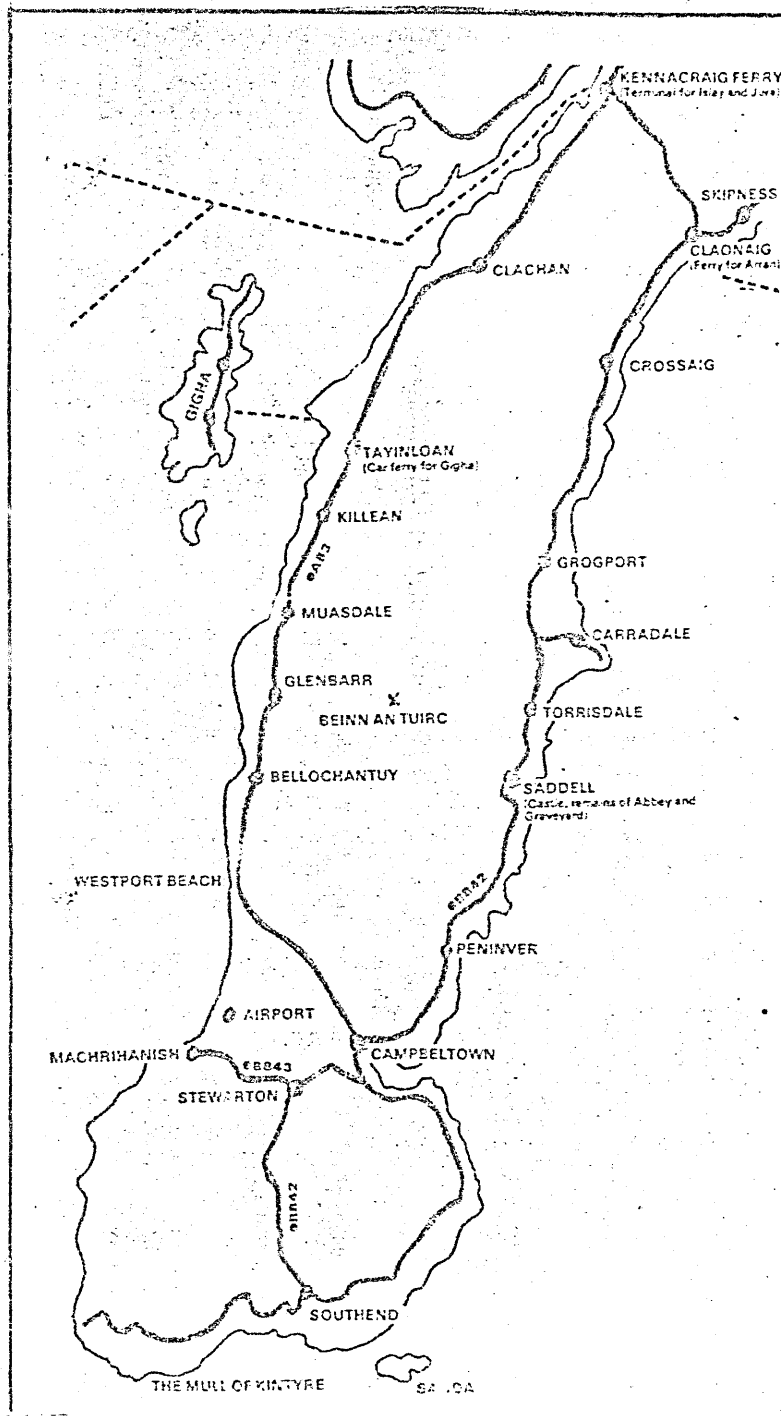


as being necessary to an appreciation of life in Southend at the present time. This discussion, therefore, tends to fall into the pattern set by Mr MacVicar.

Kintyre is a long peninsula, stretching 50 miles from Tarbert to Southend, which is at its southernmost tip. (see Map 1) Southend, therefore is not a place that people pass through. Having reached the end of the one good road into the village, the traveller has no alternative but to stay or go back the way he came.

There is a singletrack road following the East coast back to Campbeltown, which is used by hardy tourists and those few farmers who live there, but it is too narrow, hilly and winding to be used from choice for practical purposes. (see Map 2)

Most people regard Campbeltown as being the end of the peninsula since the circular tour down the West road and back up the East side turns at the town and does not continue the extra ten miles to Southend. (See Map 3) This adds to the sense of isolation endured or enjoyed by the local population, and, as will become apparent, it is this isolation which has, to an extent, insulated Southend from the influence of modern society. In prehistoric times the sea cut off the bulbous end of the peninsula and this area still



MAP 3.

Jaang p 41

retains some of the characteristics of island life, not least in that its boundaries are clearly defined, as the Rev Mr MacVicar pointed out.

Southend parish is bounded on three sides by the sea and marches on the north with the southern part of the parish of Campbeltown. Despite its proximity to the burgh of Campbeltown, it has retained its communal identity, with its own minister, doctor, and schoolmaster....It stretches 10-12 miles from east to west, is about five miles in width, and has an area of just over 48 square miles...^{5.}

The village, against all expectations, still has its own minister, doctor, and schoolmaster, and it is interesting that Mr MacVicar laid such stress on this, in view of the importance given to these roles in the writings of the kailyard school. They are still considered by local people to be vital to the continuance of Southend as an independent community.

The geographical conditions have combined with historical factors to make Southend into an unusual, if not unique, community. Unlike the rest of Argyll, the land in Conie Glen, ie the land lying on each side of the main road from Campbeltown, and that lying round the two main loops (see Map 2) where the farms

are clustered, is fertile - forming a landscape more akin to that of parts of Cumberland, than to the Highlands of Scotland. The farms are fairly even in size, deliberately so, since at one time all the land was owned by the Dukes of Argyll who broke it up into even units and brought in farmers from Ayrshire to farm it as tenants. According to a local farmer, most local farms have from 100 to around 130 acres of arable land with differing amounts of hill land. Machariorch, which was the home farm when Machariorch House was the dower house occupied by the Duchess of Argyll, is larger, but it supports a retired farmer and, unusually, two married sons. The amount of arable is gradually being increased by intelligent farming,

'But none of us is in the 600-700 acre class.'

In 1955, in order to meet death duties following the death of the tenth Duke of Argyll, the farms were sold to the sitting tenants, at what now seem to be incredibly low prices. These prices ranged from £1,250 to £6,500; the same farms, today, would be worth up to £500,000. Four coastal farms were in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland's trustees, but they, too, were sold to the sitting tenants in the late eighties, so that all the farms in the parish are

now farmed by their owners. Since the sale of the farms, the farmers have been working to clear their mortgages, to improve their land and farm buildings, and to purchase up-to-date machinery. Miss D J Scott describes this process,

One advantage of being remote from the busy life of Clydeside is that the farmers, who are keen and highly receptive to new ideas, instead of spending money on entertainment, plough it back into the land....having pride of possession, the farmers are undertaking further improvements such as the building of dairy parlours and crop storage units.^{6.}

The farms are mainly given over to dairying, with enough arable to make them self-sufficient. Miss Scott explains,

All the crops in the region now, are fodder crops for local use. The high cost of transport to the nearest large market, Glasgow, cancels any profit that could be made by growing commercial crops.^{7.}

The milk produced by the dairy herds is collected by the milk-tanker and taken to the creamery in Campbeltown. This reliance on home produced fodder and the disposal locally of the main product contributes to the sense of self-sufficiency which,

however unjustified in fact, is a feature of life in the parish. Unlike the areas described by Newby and Littlejohn, there is no marked difference in lifestyle between the farmers and the villagers, and though no doubt the ownership of a farm enables the farmers to enjoy a greater sense of security, the memory of the time when they were tenant farmers is recent. Moreover, the farms provide a living only for the farmer and the son who will succeed, his other children must compete with village children for jobs in Campbeltown or, like them, leave the parish in search of further education and employment. This tends to erode any differences that may exist.

Miss Scott summarises the history of the area admirably:

Norse influence in Southern Kintyre ended in the thirteenth century with the cession of the area to Scotland. There followed a long period of interclan warfare and it was not until the last decade of the seventeenth century that disorder and strife finally ceased. These wars had depopulated the area, but the inhabitants were further decimated by the bubonic plague which swept through Kintyre in 1647 - 1648.

In 1650 the Marquis of Argyll, then in possession

of the virtually deserted lands of Kintyre, arranged for its recolonisation by inviting lowlanders, mainly from Ayrshire and Renfrewshire, to settle the land. These men were usually lairds of estates in their own counties and so brought with them a large number of relatives, subtenants and servants. The farms thus settled were of one merkland, or $33\frac{1}{4}$ acres. The marquis in this way ensured that all the land was fully exploited.

The area around Campbeltown was the first to be taken up, and it was not until a second wave of immigrants, nineteen years later, that a plantation of any significance reached Southend parish. This second wave was due to other lowlanders being attracted to southern Kintyre by the prosperity of previous immigrants. Also, after the Restoration in 1660, and the Pentland risings in 1665 - 1685, covenanting refugees sought refuge with their kinsmen in Kintyre. However,the old Highland stock were still the main inhabitants of the land.

Another major influx of Lowlanders, again on the invitation of the Marquis of Argyll, occurred^{8.} between 1847 - 1900.

This last was the period when the original small farms were put together, as described by Mr MacVicar, to create the farms which exist today.

The period from 1831 to 1851 was a time of emigration from the parish and of vacant small farms. These small farms, instead of being relet as they stood, were frequently joined in twos, threes and fours to make up one large farm, and by about 1850 most of the farms in Southend were practically of the same size as they are today.^{9.}

(A full account of this can be found in Angus Martin's Kintyre Country Life.^{10.})

The descendants of these Ayrshire farmers still occupy the farms, and one club member mentioned in passing that her family had been on their farm since 1794. Local people are very aware of their history, as is evidenced by this extract from an interview with another drama club member:

'Mind you I think we are jolly lucky in Southend, because all the people who have come in are happy to integrate with the Southend people - now that's not the case in some places. If you think of a place like Carradale when people for many years had summer houses and the people who came just came for the summer. In Southend we don't

have that problem - most people who come in are people who want to take part - they don't stand aside from the local people. Now it's a curious thing - the Southend attitude (to incomers)- I'm quite certain it's something to do with the fact that Southend is a funny wee peninsula and has always been a hotch-potch of people. People came over from Ireland and settled in Southend - people came from Ayrshire and settled in Southend - we're a proper hotch-potch of Lowlanders, Highlanders, Irish folk - everything - and it's all integrated and it's very different from so much of the Highlands because in Morar or Oban - places like that have so many landed gentry - but I think Southend over the years has absorbed so many people that they just (take newcomers in their stride)..(11)

An interesting comment was made by one local farmer, who said:

'I hate this talk of incomers. We are all incomers; my family has been in the farm for only 150 years.'

At the time Mr MacVicar was writing, the farms were still owned by the Duke of Argyll, but as the Duke and, perhaps more importantly, his factor, were based

at Inveraray, 85 miles away, Southend always had a degree of independence not experienced by tenants elsewhere who were kept very much under the thumb of the landowner. Obviously this independence has increased since the sale of the farms.

To return to the previous informant:

You see the M's (a family of incomers) said that one of the things they liked about Southend was that, 'Jack's as good as his master.' There's no-one in Southend lords it over anyone else. In Mid-Argyll there was very much a social strata (sic) - but down here there isn't.(11)

This description of the situation in Mid-Argyll is borne out by Stephenson's account of the role of the gentry in Kilmartin and Ford, but there is some evidence that the lack of class consciousness in Southend might be less absolute than appears at first sight. The banns of marriage for the period 1952-1977 were examined and, taking the addresses as a guide, the names were divided into four groups: farming/non-farming, men and women. The non-farming element came either from council houses or farm cottages; many of the latter are no longer in existence, and few are now occupied by farm workers, but they appear to have been so occupied in the

fifties and early sixties. The results were surprising: of fifty two farmers' sons, just over half married farmers' daughters, either from Southend or from the area around Campbeltown. Rather more than one-third married Campbeltown girls with a non-farming background, and a handful (5) found wives from elsewhere. Some of these were teachers who had come into the area to work. Twenty five non-farming boys married either local or Campbeltown girls with a non-farming background, in the proportion of one girl from Southend to two from Campbeltown. One married a Campbeltown farmer's daughter and seven found wives elsewhere. Of thirty seven farmers' daughters nearly two-thirds married farmers from Southend or the area around Campbeltown - the remaining third married boys from Campbeltown(8) or elsewhere(6). The thirty one non-farming girls were split evenly between local boys, boys from Campbeltown, and from elsewhere. The eleven non-farming girls marrying out of the area were the largest group to do so.

There is not one case, in twenty five years, of a farmer's son or daughter marrying a non-farming Southend youngster. It is difficult to account for this apparent endogamy within the parish, as people from farming families were marrying into families

living in council houses in Campbeltown; so that the suggestion that it was a matter of finding a bride able to undertake the work of the farm was not entirely convincing. However, it may be that the sons remaining on the farm married farmers' daughters and those who found employment in Campbeltown or elsewhere found wives outwith Southend. Another explanation involved membership of the Young Farmers' Club, and this is discussed in the account of that organisation which follows later in this chapter. After 1977, records were kept in the Registrar's Office in Campbeltown, and were not available for examination, but local enquiries revealed one recent case of a farmer's son marrying a girl who, with her family, had come to live in the village from the Glasgow area. Otherwise the pattern has remained unchanged. Local people are surprised when the matter is raised, and they assure me that, in principle, there is now no reason why this should be the case, though they agree that in time past it would have been unlikely that a farmer's son or daughter would marry into a farmworkers' family.

POPULATION AND HOUSING

Mr MacVicar was much concerned about the decline in population:

The population has declined fairly steadily since 1831, owing to a lack of industry and housing accommodation; moreover, since the introduction of tractors, the farmers employ fewer hands. The figures at each census since 1801 are:-(1801),1,825; (1811),1,869; (1821),2,004; (1831),2,120; (1841),1,594; (1851),1,406; (1861),1,214; (1871),1,044; (1881),955; (1891),844; (1901),732; (1911),767; (1921),785; (1931),640; (1951),522¹¹.

The population has dropped even further since then; a head count of the population in February, 1986, (undertaken by the then minister, the Rev W Nelson, and his wife) produced the following figures:

Pre-school children	26
Primary schoolchildren	46
12 to 17	31
Voting age	<u>349</u>

Total	452
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It seems unlikely, however, that there will be any further decline, as very few of the farms still have outside labour to shed. The pattern, broadly, is that the farmer and his wife live in the farmhouse until the oldest son marries; he then takes over the

farmhouse, and the parents move to a modern bungalow on their own land - many of these bungalows have been built since the 1952 account was written. The other sons, for the most part, seek work in Campbeltown, or leave the district, going to Glasgow, or one of the other Scottish cities, for further education or training. This is increasingly true of the girls, too, but a proportion seek office jobs in Campbeltown which provide good training for doing the farm accounts when they eventually marry. As we have seen, farmers' sons frequently, but not invariably, marry farmers' daughters. Each farm normally carries a basic family unit of grandparents living in the bungalow, and parents (with those children still living at home) in the farmhouse, and it is difficult to see how this unit could be further reduced. If, at any time, the bungalow is not required by the family, it is let to summer visitors. Second homes are rare, and the owners of the one or two bungalows that come into this category are known to the local people and intend, eventually, to settle in the district.

Of the 347 names on the 1982 voters' roll, farmers and their families accounted for 144, and it seems likely that this number will remain fairly constant. (see Appendix 7)

The remainder of the population can be divided, roughly, into two groups:

Firstly, the occupants of the village and the council houses at Mill Park, and, secondly, incomers, usually retired people who have built new bungalows or, in one or two cases, have restored old properties, wherever they could get a site. (Few farm cottages were available for restoration since most of these fairly primitive buildings were destroyed when the workers moved into the council houses.) The new houses are scattered and have been built after individual negotiation with a local farmer, and not by speculative builders, though three small bungalows were built on a derelict site in the village by a local building firm. The village itself consists of a small number of older houses, including the now privately owned United Presbyterian Manse, a few modern bungalows, one shop cum post office, a petrol station, and the Argyll Arms Hotel, as well as the council houses. As the council houses, especially those at Mill Park, are attractive, it seems unlikely that they would fall empty, especially now that with modern transport they are within commuting distance of Campbeltown. Incomers who are retiring to the district and building their own homes, are adding to

the existing population.

It seems strange that the possibility that Southend might become a mere dormitory of Campbeltown did not occur to Mr MacVicar. While Stephenson describes how Ford,^{12.} another village of similar size, also in Argyll, and a similar distance from the larger town of Lochgilphead, has largely suffered this fate, so far Southend has not been affected similarly, largely because the population of Campbeltown, unlike Lochgilphead, is declining, due to the high rate of unemployment. Lochgilphead, on the other hand, has benefitted economically from the centralisation of the District Council offices there, with the consequent increase in administrative work and the resulting influx of white collar workers who enjoy living in the country and are prepared to make the daily journey from Ford. As in the case of Ford, the changes in local government which put housing into the hands of the District Council, based in Lochgilphead, have led to the position where local people do not necessarily have priority in the allocation of local council houses, and these may be, and are being, let to people who have no particular interest in Southend, but who are in desperate need of rehousing. (For the occupancy of council houses see Appendix 8.) So far, these

people have been gradually absorbed into the community, but if it was considered that outsiders were preventing local young people from settling down in the district, some tension would be likely to ensue. The problem does not arise in the same way with the retired incomers, since, for the most part, they have built their own houses.

Mr MacVicar, himself a County Councillor, had fought hard to have council houses built to house the farm workers, (now such workers are practically non-existent, although a few retired farm workers still occupy council houses) and more have been built since he wrote his account in 1952:

During the period between the two World Wars house building was practically at a standstill, and the private speculator had little or no inducement to erect houses to let. The housing deficiency could only be met by state action, and the county council has therefore in recent years erected several houses, but the number is insufficient and the shortage of small houses to let persists. The contrast between small and large houses is remarkable: of the former there are too few; of the latter even the present few seem to be too many. When The New Statistical

Account was written, the four large mansion houses in the parish each had its resident owner.

Of these houses, Macharioch has not been occupied since the death of the dowager Duchess of Argyll in 1925; Keil House, long in use as a boarding school for boys, was burnt down in 1924 and is now merely a ruin; Lephenstrath mansion house is unoccupied, though the estate was bought a few years ago by a native of the parish, Mr D S MacKerral, who spent a prosperous period abroad in Rhodesia; and Carskiey House, a magnificent modern building, stands empty, although the estate has changed ownership twice in recent years. It is to the loss of the community that the landed proprietors are not in permanent residence.^{13.}

Presumably, Mr MacVicar looked to the landowners to provide employment and to finance local projects, but it will be argued that the absence of landlords is one of the factors which have made for the independence and lack of class consciousness in the community. At present there are 36 council houses in the village plus 10 at Mill Park. There seems to be no marked prejudice against living in these houses; present, and recent, occupants include a retired farmer, farmers'

widows, and widows of middle class or professional people, as well as skilled workers, self employed agricultural contractors, unskilled workers and one or two unemployed workers. (see Appendix 8) Several local tenants have recently bought their council houses.

Asked if he considered that Southend was really one community, the recently retired minister of the parish answered carefully:

I think, basically it is one community - yes, everybody - basically that is the starting point.

Within it, it is possible to point to a farming community, the village community and the people who have come into the area. You have these three groups but I wouldn't say they were divisive - the community as a whole is accepting.

While you can distinguish these three groups, they are still within the community. I think native born Southend people wouldn't be aware of these groups - I think they are very accepting of incomers. (They see themselves as) a total community and I don't think they would talk of differing groups.(15)

I think this is true, the groups overlap and mix freely. They are based on shared experience rather

than on conflicting interests, unlike the divisions between farmer and farm worker described in Newby's The Deferential Worker.^{14.} Farmers have a shared lifestyle, village dwellers share a close neighbourliness, while newcomers, on the whole, are retired middle class people who value the kind of life Southend has to offer and are not trying to change it. Thus, since in any case many villagers have farming connections, there is no perceptible feeling that one group is pulling against the other.

Of the mansion houses mentioned, Macharioch was turned into holiday flats, but was then taken over by a local family who divided it into two separate dwellings, while a third house was created from the converted stables. Two holiday flats and one attic flat, let permanently, remain. Carskies is owned by a family who spend most of their time in South Africa; it is managed by a local man and employs two or three workers. Lephenstrath is owned and farmed by a relative by marriage of D S MacKerral (now deceased) who lives in the farmhouse, not the mansion house, and is regarded as one farmer among others, certainly not as a big landowner. Thus there is no major landowner exerting an influence in the district.

EMPLOYMENT

Mr MacVicar devotes several paragraphs under this heading to the type of farming undertaken in the district, but, as this was discussed earlier, here it is perhaps sufficient to say that the mixed dairy farms provide a reasonable living for a working farmer and his family. Where there is an employee, he works alongside, or in place of the farmer (in the case of illness or premature death). There are no gentleman farmers in the parish. This, and the fact that there are so few farm workers, probably accounts for the fact that nowadays there is no great class distinction, and farmers and farm workers attend the same social gatherings without any apparent discomfort. Similarly, no loss of status is involved when farmers' widows (or unmarried daughters, who, having devoted their lives to caring for their parents, find themselves at a loose end after their parents' death) take up domestic work. They seem happy to find that their domestic skills are of use, and indeed it is a feature of life in Southend that domestic skills are very highly rated.

Now, even more than in 1952, farming and tourism are virtually the only occupations in the parish. Mr

MacVicar writes:

Fishing was at one time of great importance, but today the fisherman engaged in fishing as a trade devotes himself to catching lobsters for disposal in Glasgow and London. The salmon fishing in Southend is leased by a local farmer from the proprietors.

Tourism and house-letting provide a valuable source of income to many in the district. The two hotels, with some 25 bedrooms each and equipped in a modern fashion, are very busy in the summer.....The parish is a favourite holiday resort, and from the beginning of June to the end of September both hotels and private houses are full of guests. Some of the old trades have gone. Two tailors, two joiners or cartwrights, two shoemakers, two blacksmiths, two jobbing masons and two carters were formerly in business on their own; today there is neither tailor nor joiner nor mason, and only one shoemaker, one blacksmith and one carter. A meal mill driven by water power is kept busy during winter and spring, treating oats for human consumption and 'bruising' corn for use as cattle and poultry food;.....When repairs are required to houses or

farm steadings, or when new buildings are needed,
tradesmen must be brought from Campbeltown.^{15.}

Nowadays such fishing as there is, is done on a part-time hobby basis; of the the hotels, the Argyll Arms was burnt down and partly rebuilt, purely as a public house; Keil Hotel passed through several hands and then stood empty for some time; it has now been partially re-opened, but still needs major repairs. There is a large caravan site, holding around 80 caravans, at Dunaverty beach and two smaller ones, with rarely more than ten caravans, at Machariorch and Polliwilline, while many farmers' wives, and some householders in the village, augment their income by taking summer visitors; but the season is short and provides supplementary rather than basic income. The local shop and hotels benefit from this influx, as do the various fundraising events, and a fair number of the visitors attend the church services - otherwise there is little impact on local life.

None of the trades enumerated by Mr MacVicar is still practised, but there is now a petrol station cum local taxi service, which has a regular contract to ferry local children to and from school, and the carter has been replaced by a general haulier. (It is interesting that just such a replacement is the

subject of Joe Corrie's Tullycairn,¹⁶ one of the plays performed by Dunaverty Players in their early days.) One man has gone into business as an agricultural drainer and contractor, using expensive heavy machinery, but most others, who are not farming, follow various occupations in Campbeltown. (see Appendix 9) The mill still exists, but it is no longer operated by water power, though it is still used on occasion for drying grain.

EDUCATION

On education Mr MacVicar reports:

The school at Southend has a headmaster, a woman assistant and about 40 pupils, while the Glenbreckrie school has 9 pupils under the charge of a woman teacher. For their secondary studies some 20 pupils are conveyed daily to and from Campbeltown Grammar School.¹⁷

The school at Glenbreckrie closed in 1973 and the teacher and pupils were transferred to Southend, which for a short time ran as a three teacher school before the numbers dropped and one teacher was transferred to Campbeltown. For a while the numbers continued to drop and there were fears that the school would be closed. However a sudden increase in the number of births over the last six or seven years has brought the number back to around forty, with a healthy

pre-school play group providing security for the immediate future. Older children still attend Campbeltown Grammar School; no further education classes are provided in the village - for these, or the extra-mural classes provided by Glasgow University, it is necessary to travel to Campbeltown.

RELIGION

In a surprisingly brief account of the life of the church, Mr MacVicar records:

In 1798 a section of the Southend congregation seceded from the Church of Scotland owing to a dispute with their minister; they built a church of their own and attached themselves to the Relief Church (later the United Presbyterian Church). There were two separate churches from that date until 1946, when the congregations united under the Church of Scotland minister, the Rev Angus J MacVicar, who has held the Southend parish church for the long period of 45 years. A Sunday School, a Bible Class, an enthusiastic choir of some 26 members and a Woman's Guild with a membership of 65, are all connected with the congregation....^{18.}

Most people in Southend attend church, at least intermittently, and it seems to be a matter of custom

that young people should join the church soon after they leave school, but they are not necessarily seen in church more often thereafter than they were before. When this was mentioned to a local woman, her comment was:

'Well, they can hardly ask the minister to marry them, if they haven't joined the church.'

It would appear that the ceremony in which young people acquire church membership should, in this case, be seen as a rite of passage through which they are accepted into the adult community, rather than the public declaration of religious commitment which is intended by the church. Men, and, increasingly, young men, who are rarely seen at worship may be asked to serve on the Congregational Board, which looks after the practical affairs of the church, (though this is not true of the Elders, who are regular attenders.)

It appears that for local people membership of the parish and the church are almost synonymous; certainly anyone moving in to the parish is made welcome at the church, regardless of previous affiliation. Thus the present congregation includes people who are still Anglicans, Methodists, Quakers, and in one case Roman Catholic. Surprisingly, perhaps, incomers with no

desire to have a connection with the church are accepted without question, and would be made welcome at any social function the church was organising. One woman in this category does the church flowers on special occasions, and, as a token of thanks, is regularly invited to (and attends) the Woman's Guild Christmas Party. Similarly children from the village school, who may be Roman Catholic, or whose parents have no church connection, are invited to the Sunday School Christmas Party and receive presents from Father Christmas alongside regular attenders at the Sunday School. This reinforces the impression that while the church is the heart of the parish - it is membership of the parish that counts, and that this is acquired by residence.

All the members of Dunaverty Players who live in Southend are fairly regular attenders, and find meeting after morning service a convenient time to make arrangements for rehearsals, or to deal with minor items of business. This relaxed attitude to religion is difficult to convey, but one farmer's wife explained:

You can't run a farm without God, you'd soon find that out, and we all know we should love our neighbours - and we try to do that - but there's

no need to keep on about it.(18)

She was objecting, not to worship, as she is a regular church attender, - but to argumentative letters in Life and Work, the Church of Scotland's magazine, and what she saw as unnecessary meetings and discussions which, she thought, obscured what was perfectly obvious in a plethora of long words. Most farming children and some village children attend Sunday School and as this takes place at the same time as morning service, and as most children have to be transported by car, this in itself tends to ensure the presence of at least one parent. Young people joining the church attend a series of classes before taking this step, but the Bible Class is defunct. The Woman's Guild continues to flourish, with a membership of forty plus, but the choir is smaller and holds practices only when it is necessary to prepare for some special occasion.

It is clear that the village has not yet been affected by the secularisation virtually universal in the Western world. Berger shows that this secularisation is the inevitable result of industrial capitalism.

Today, it would seem, it is industrial society in itself that is secularising, with divergent ideological legitimations serving merely as

modifications of the global secularisation
process...^{19.}

but, in Berger's view, it is the rationalisation which is essential to this process that is the key factor,

The decisive variable for secularisation does not seem to be the institutionalization of particular property relations....but rather the process of rationalisation that is the prerequisite for any industrial society of the modern type.²⁰

Although the degree to which the domination of a purely technical reason (which involves the domination of means over ends) is a necessary aspect of an industrialised society would be queried by a Marxist sociologist, this does not invalidate his further argument that, because of the inseparability of industrialisation and secularisation

'different strata of modern society have been affected by secularisation differentially in terms of their closeness to, or distance from, these (capitalistic or economic) processes.'^{21.}

Berman has drawn attention in his analysis of modernity to Marx's belief that Capitalism tends inevitably to destroy religion so that 'all that is holy is profaned'^{22.} It would seem, therefore, that the persistence of churchgoing in Southend can be

accounted for, at least in part, by its position on the extreme periphery of industrialised Scotland. Pluralism, or the acceptance on equal terms of the variety of religious belief, has led to a certain scepticism that has been a factor in the decline of religion in modern society. The fact that the one church in the parish serves all denominations mitigates the effects of pluralism, so that churchgoing in Southend does not seem to display the trait of 'individualisation', the freedom of the individual to make his own religious choices, which Berger sees as characteristic of contemporary 'privatised religion',²³ but to have sprung from a plausibility structure that covers virtually the whole community. Hence, in this parish, whatever the situation may be elsewhere, it can still be said that its religion is,

'derived from the external socially shared,
taken for granted world'²⁴

and has not,

'lost its character as an overarching symbol for
the society at large.'²⁵

While this is not a self-consciously religious community, and while it is resistant to any religious activity beyond the Sunday morning service and the rituals accompanying the crisis points in life,

(birth, maturity, marriage, death) - these ceremonies are taken extremely seriously. Great stress is laid during the Service of Baptism on the responsibility of the whole community for the well-being of the child; and marriages are very much community affairs - inasmuch as generous gifts are given by all the relations, friends and neighbours of the young couple, so that they set out in married life in a home virtually furnished by the community. Death, too, is a shared experience. The bereaved family will be visited by friends and neighbours with small gifts of food and offers of help, and at least one member of each family known to the deceased will attend the funeral service. This means that the young men who are absent from the regular Sunday services may well have attended a funeral service during the week and are not strangers to the church. All the members of the community may be affected by the insistence at these ceremonies on the existence of a spiritual dimension and on the importance of caring (understood in terms of good-neighbourliness). This has had its effect on 'the world-taken-for-granted'²⁶ of the inhabitants and these factors will be seen to be relevant to the discussion of the plays performed by Dunaverty Players in a later chapter.

One effect of the secularisation described by

Berger has been an increasing tendency to attempt to conceal the reality of death, a tendency which has surely reached its extreme form in the United States of America where

...there has been a tendency to organise funerals in such a way as to camouflage the stark facts of deathIt is very clearly expressed in the terminology that is used. The corpse is referred to as 'the loved one'; death, as having 'passed away'; the coffin as 'a casket'; the undertaker as a 'funeral director' or 'mortician.' The practices of the funeral, from the decor of.... 'funeral homes' to the cosmetic procedures applied to the corpses, all serve to mitigate the harsh facts of death²⁷'.

This seems to be unnecessary when the bereaved are supported by the community; all are familiar with the rituals accompanying burial; and all share a belief in 'something beyond' that is less a matter of theology than an instinctive faith, based perhaps on the rotation in nature of death and rebirth - all of which seems to lead to an acceptance of death as a natural

stage in life. Perhaps a lifetime spent with animals, which have a shorter lifespan than humans, makes it easier to see a continuity. For example, in the course of his career, a farmer will have a succession of working dogs, to which he will become attached, but as each dies it is replaced and the work of the farm goes on. This process allows the countryman to develop a longer perspective, covering several lifespans, and this is strengthened by the knowledge that generations of the same family have farmed the same land, and are all buried in Keil Churchyard. When my own parents died and were buried in Keil, it seemed perfectly natural for the undertaker to suggest that we should buy the adjoining lair for/ourselves, '....so that you can all be together.' We took this good advice. This natural acceptance of death, as a fact of life, does not prevent grief, but would seem to moderate extreme reactions to it. In an untaped discussion of these matters, the Rev Mr Nelson described incidents occurring in a city parish, where the bereaved widow or daughter became hysterical and attempted to throw herself on the coffin or into the grave, and added, 'You just wouldn't get that in Southend; people know what to expect at funerals and realise what is expected of them.'

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES AND TRANSPORT

In the 1952 account, social activities and transport are given separate headings. However, it will be argued here that changes in transport have had a considerable effect on social activities and that these two aspects of life in Southend cannot readily be separated. Mr MacVicar begins, however, with an account of the changes in transport which had already occurred in 1952.

The main roads in the parish are good, while the side roads are serviceable, though capable of improvement. In the old days the only means of transport was by riding ponies or by horse drawn vehicles and carts. Today no riding pony or gig is seen upon the roads, while the only carts are seen upon the farms, going from one field to another.....Some 40 years ago the farmers of the parish went to church on Sundays and to market on Mondays in their own horse-drawn 'traps'; today almost every farmer possesses a car, by which he travels quickly and comfortably on his outings, whether for business or pleasure. The less fortunate members of the community

have buses at their disposal. The service is good - thrice daily in winter and six times daily in Summer between Southend and Campbeltown.²⁸

There is still one good road into Campbeltown, the two main loops (see Map 2) have good surfaces but are single track with passing places; the other roads are passable - just. As the number of families owning cars has increased, the bus service has decreased, so that it has been reduced to three buses per week.

Thus the ownership of a car has become practically indispensable and only a few elderly people manage without their own transport. Even when the family owns a car, a young housewife whose husband needs the family car to get to work, is virtually a prisoner in the village, cut off from day-time activities available in Campbeltown. This factor is referred to in Littlejohn's Westrigg,²⁹ where it is seen as important in preventing farm workers from accepting work in the area; the men would have been happy to settle, it was the women who resisted the enforced isolation. Even for those who owned a car before 1952, things have changed:

'...cars have made a big difference, and although there were cars in my young days and

we always had a car since I was a tiny wee girl - the car was the farmer's property. He went to Campbeltown on Monday with the car, and perhaps his wife or one of his daughters went along to do the shopping - on Monday. But she didn't run in in the middle of the week to get her hair done or something. That sort of thing was absolutely unheard of. We golfed, - we bathed every afternoon and golfed every night - but you jumped on your bike to go to the golf course - you didn't get the car - nobody did. The drama wasn't long under way when these changes came in - but again, the Acharua ones cycled to the drama.'(11)

Mr MacVicar lists the social activities taking place in the parish in 1952. Those affecting the older members of the community seem to have changed very little. The women still come together at meetings of the SWRI (referred to locally as 'the rural') and the Woman's Guild, and many of the men meet in the social club or in the hotel bars, but the centre of activity, for both men and women, is the golf club. Membership of the golf club is inexpensive and is open to all, but the dominance of this activity can mean that those few, who, for one reason or another, do not play, can

feel somewhat isolated. The Gaelic choir has been replaced by the drama club; badminton has died out, but carpet bowls and snooker have become popular with both sexes. These are played in the old church hall, now referred to as 'the social club', the men and women having the use of the hall on alternate nights. A similar separation of the sexes occurs within the golf club, where the women have a separate section and are not represented on the main committee.

The main change has taken place in the recreation of the young people, which, now that most young people have access to a car, at least in the evenings, is increasingly centred on Campbeltown. It is now rare for a dance or a 'disco' to be held in the village and the few concerts or ceilidhs are patronised mainly by adults (though young people are invariably invited to perform at these.) The centre of youthful social life is undoubtedly the Young Farmers' Club, which draws members from a large area, meets in the town, and provides a wide variety of activities, including drama, for young people with a farming background. It also attracts young women, not necessarily of farming stock, who have an interest in young farmers (without the capitals). It has been suggested that one explanation of the endogamy, noted previously,

could be that the families of farm workers, who were the original occupants of the council houses in Southend, would not have felt comfortable in the Young Farmers' Club, and, since old habits die hard, a tradition might evolve that youngsters from the council houses did not join. If so, that tradition is now dead, as, at present, several young people from the village are active in Young Farmers. (People living in council houses in the town, having no direct connection with the farms, would have had no such inhibition.) All this suggests that what was originally a class endogamy, exists presently as an occupational endogamy and may eventually die out altogether. This would confirm an impression that the present lack of class consciousness in Southend is of relatively recent origin, originating at the time when it became possible to work the farms without the employment of outside labour.

The Young Farmers' Club certainly acts as an unofficial marriage bureau, but here again, attitudes are changing. Until recently, young people left the organisation when they married, but this is no longer the case.

You're a full member until you're 26, then you're an associate member. We stopped when we got married -

but now they seem to - they even take office when they're married.(22)

The speaker, a man in his fifties, was quite indignant. Later it will be seen that this is quite a significant change, but here it should be noted simply that the Young Farmers' Club did not come into being until motorized transport became more readily available. (It is interesting that in those families who own two cars, the second car has, in almost every case, been obtained for a son or daughter who needs it to get to work in the town - it is rare for the wife to own her own car. However, most women under sixty are drivers and have the use of the family car, though many older women do not drive).

While the Young Farmers might be seen to be competing directly with Dunaverty Players for young, local members - the migration of the young to the town also affects the club in less direct ways. For many years, the village hall has been the accepted meeting place for village activities. It is run by a volunteer committee, and depends on the income from regular lettings, plus an annual fundraising event, for its upkeep. As fewer organisations use the hall, so the rents must increase; this results in the smaller organisations looking for alternative venues.

Finally, in 1987, the position was reached where only Dunaverty Players and the Pre-school Playgroup were using the hall on a regular weekly, or twice weekly, basis, and only the SWRI had a regular monthly booking. Yet the hall is vital to the continuance of the regular fundraising events which, as we shall see, are a feature of life in Southend during the summer months. It is doubtful if the hall could continue without the regular bookings of Dunaverty Players: it is certain that Dunaverty Players could not continue without the use of the hall, since it provides both rehearsal and storage space, but the regular increases in rent put pressure on the club. For example, until recently only a token membership fee was expected (in conformity with the principle that the club should be open to all) - now the club is being forced to consider a more realistic subscription. Thus, the recent attempt by the new minister to establish a Youth Club, meeting weekly in the village hall, is of direct, but ambivalent, interest to the drama club, since the possible financial benefit might be balanced, eventually, by some competition for the available storage space.

Older members of the community point out that the existence of the Pre-school Playgroup, in itself,

demonstrates a significant change in the life of the parish. When families were bigger and each farm had married workers living in cottages near to the farm, there was no felt need for the parents to take steps to ensure that their children had the company of others, since there were always children living nearby. One interviewee commented that she thought that the younger women had a harder time of it than her mother had had, as nowadays young women were continually ferrying their children to classes and clubs, and even the most sophisticated domestic machinery could not replace the live-in domestic servant when it came to baby-sitting. Brownies and Cubs meet in the village, but dancing, swimming and other classes are held in Campbeltown, and, as there is no public transport, even older children are forced to rely on their mothers. One effect of this early experience is to encourage the young people to look to Campbeltown as the centre for leisure activity, and anyone without access to a car would be at a considerable disadvantage. However, people share transport generously and organising transport is a taken-for-granted aspect of any local activity. Nevertheless, it is likely that lack of a car would be sufficient, in itself, to deter a prospective incomer,

and this must have some effect on the social mix in the community.

Within Southend, however, a number of annual functions are held with unfailing regularity, and these are widely supported. Burns' Night and the Golf Club and SWRI dinners are held in one of the hotels. Dunaverty Players' Summer Show, the Country Dancers' Ceilidh and the Church Concert are held in the village hall, as are the series of coffee mornings and sales of work, for a variety of good causes, which occur throughout the short holiday season. These follow each other, at weekly intervals, in unvarying order. Given the smallness of the population, inevitably, the able bodied women of the parish are involved in all of these, and each weekly event requires another batch of baking - home baking being popular with the visitors in the caravans and a sure money spinner. This being so, a regular routine has been developed, with the same women undertaking the same responsibilities, whether as stall holder or tea maker, year after year, so that the time spent on organisation is cut to an absolute minimum. Such a system, of course, could operate only with a relatively unchanging population. Perhaps the most popular event, for those over retiring age, is the annual Christmas dinner, which is prepared by the younger women of the parish for their

elders, and served in the village hall. This dinner is attended by everyone who is eligible, regardless of his or her background. The catering is superb and the atmosphere owes nothing to charity, rather, as in some instances is literally the case, it resembles a party laid on by grown up children for their parents.

Apart from golf, other outdoor activities include a flourishing football club; a few young men play rugby in the town; and a handful of girls have ponies - but the annual Highland Games, weather permitting, is a field day for the whole community. Here again, a fixed routine has developed to facilitate the organisation, but in this case it is the men who are chiefly involved.

POSITION OF WOMEN - MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

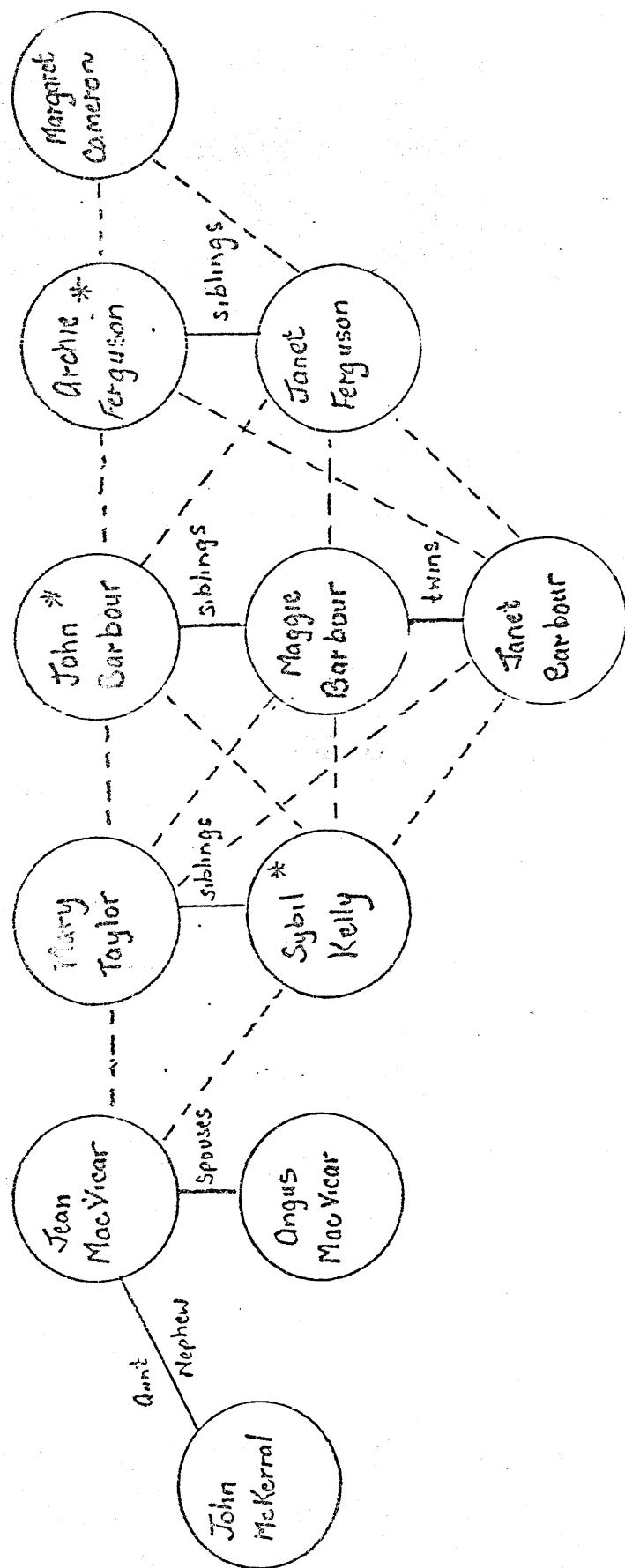
The separation of men and women in their organised social activities is an accepted part of life in the parish. While such behaviour is inevitably considered sexist by outsiders, it is not so considered by the locals themselves. More than their urban counterparts, women in Southend, particularly the farmers' wives, enjoy parity of esteem with their husbands. Both are necessary to the successful running of the farm, though their spheres of influence are clearly defined. Traditionally, the house and

dairy are the woman's province, and the machinery, fields, and livestock are her husband's responsibility. One young farmer's wife made it clear to me that she would consider any attempt by her husband to help in the kitchen as a violation of her territory. As has been noted, domestic skills are very highly valued, and the women compete with each other in SWRI competitions or in the baking and produce sections of the agricultural shows, as the men compete in their sections of the show, or in the sheepdog trials or the ploughing matches. Often the wife is legally a partner in the farm (as a working partner in the farm a wife is entitled to earned income allowance for tax purposes) and this means that she is not dependent on her husband for a hand-out for housekeeping as many young urban mothers are. Thus, with her domestic skills respected and financial independence, she may find that the pressure to seek work outside the home is substantially lessened. However, many of the farms are isolated; none has near neighbours in the urban sense, so that having spent the day together, married couples may be glad enough to meet with others of their own sex in the evening. This is a complete reversal of the situation in suburban areas, where a woman may have the company of

other women during the day and look forward to spending the evening with her husband. Undoubtedly, this separation of the sexes does serve to protect the marriage bond, and apart from the moral aspect, which cannot be overlooked when dealing with a predominantly church-going community, there are compelling practical reasons why this is essential. Faced with a divorce and the halving of his property, and the existence of a partnership agreement would make this necessary even without recent legislation to protect the wife's interest, a farmer has three options:

1. Sell the land and divide the proceeds - this would be unthinkable to a farmer whose family had farmed the land for generations, and whose whole aim in life is to pass on the farm in better condition than it was when he inherited it.
2. Divide the farm, physically, into two - few, if any, of the farms are big enough to be viable as smaller holdings.
3. Buy out his wife's share - although, on paper, the farms are very valuable, all the farmer's wealth is in the land - he is probably running an overdraft to meet his operating costs. He would need another large overdraft to buy out his wife's share and the income from the farm would

Relationships between founder members of Dunaverty Players



Nb There is only one husband and wife - though those marked * were married.
All were born locally except A MacVicar who was brought to the parish as a very small child.

-----Cousins.

not be enough to service it and keep the farm going.

When one realises the extent to which farming is a way of life, rather than a mere occupation (most farmers could live as well if they sold the farm and invested the proceeds) one can understand just how great a disaster divorce might be. Interviewed on radio, on the occasion of his 65th wedding anniversary, an old farmer was asked if he had ever considered divorce. He replied firmly,

Never! Murder frequently, but divorce - Never!

He was joking, but for some farmers or their wives the joke could have a certain wry substance. A further cause for restraint in this area might be the interrelatedness of the community. This can be illustrated by examining the links between the original members of Dunaverty Players. (see Diagram 2)

There are faint indications that this strong defensive system may be about to be breached. As we have seen, young people no longer leave the Young Farmers' Club when they marry, and since this organisation does act very much as a matrimonial agency, membership might well be seen to be inappropriate once this objective had been reached, certainly some older members of the community have

doubts about the wisdom of continued membership.

We wouldn't have done it - but the young ones go their own way.

Divorce is still unknown among the local community but there have been four broken marriages in Dunaverty Players. These were all incomers and, in every case, it was obvious that the marriage was under stress when the partners arrived; two of the couples spent only a very short time in the parish, and all left when their marriages broke up. In any event, though club members were saddened, these private tragedies were seen as being peripheral to the clubs' activities.

In 1984 the first woman was elected to the church's Congregational Board and it seemed likely that the way had been opened for the first woman elder. However, when she resigned, in 1987, she was replaced by a man - in spite of the firm advice given by two successive Quinquennial Visitations (an inspection of the local church by representatives of the presbytery) that efforts should be made to increase the participation of women in the running of the church. Local women, however, appear to take the view that they already do their fair share of the work, through the Woman's Guild and the annual Sale of

Work, and they have no intention of taking over the one area where the men have to pull their weight. Moreover, they suspect, probably correctly, that if the men did not have specific duties to perform in the church, they would be less likely to attend at all.

The all-male golf club committee seemed to be the most obvious form of male chauvinism, but one man who had served on that committee argued,

'Don't you believe it - their wives all tell them what to say before they leave home.'

While this is the standard excuse in a paternalistic society, there is probably more than a grain of truth in it. In many conversations on this subject I have found no resentment among the women, rather, as in the case of the church, a determination that the men should do their share of the work. They seem to have no difficulty in making their views known and ensuring that they are acted upon. It would appear, therefore, that the clear division of roles on the farm is carried over into social life; and I have been unable to detect among the women any strong desire to change the present system.

THE FUTURE

One possible criticism of this happily self contained community might be its disregard of the outside world.

There is a strong feeling that people in Glasgow and Edinburgh, much less London, have no understanding of the consequences of isolation, and they are, therefore, written off as irrelevant. Those young people who are attracted by city lights are free to go, in fact a proportion must leave in order to seek employment, those who remain have their roots in the soil and seem happy enough with things as they are. This evacuation of those individuals who might be temperamentally unsuited to rural life helps to ensure that the population which remains is relatively homogenous. This does tend to produce a rather inward looking community, generous and supportive to each other, but rather less supportive of, for example, charities whose focus is on the wider world, in contrast to the exceptionally generous support given to those charities and activities which are perceived as having a local relevance (not necessarily local benefit, since, for example, the lifeboat service is very well supported). There is a tendency to close ranks against what is seen as interference from

outside, whether this comes from 121, George Street (headquarters of the Church of Scotland), from Kilmorey Castle (headquarters of the District Council) or any other remote official body. Nevertheless, given the power of these organisations to enforce their wishes, it seemed possible, until very recently, that Southend's days as an intact community could be numbered. Their minister was about to retire and the headmaster had taken up an appointment in England, and there was no guarantee that either of them would be replaced. The loss of their own minister would have been so resented that I believe many would have given up church attendance altogether, certainly the church would have lost the unifying influence it now enjoys. The seven years spent in a village school of 40 - 50 pupils creates a family-like intimacy which continues into adulthood. This is lost when children are integrated at primary age into the larger town schools, but there is no gainsaying the financial expediency of such a move. However, surprisingly, Southend seems to have been spared for the time being.

A new, young minister was appointed in 1987 and the school escaped the recent major programme of school closures in Strathclyde region, a new headmaster being appointed at the beginning of 1988. Few communities

of 450 or so, however widely scattered, enjoy the services of their own doctor who knows each family individually. Now that a purpose built Health Centre exists in Campbeltown it seems likely that sooner or later someone will point out the advantages of having the Southend doctor based at this clinic, and the personal relationship that now exists between doctor and patient could be lost. Again, this has not happened yet, the present doctor is in his early fifties and has declared his intention of remaining in the parish for the rest of his medical career.

As has already been noted, control of the local authority housing stock is in the hands of people with no particular link with Southend; and it is interesting to speculate on what will happen to their bungalows when the present retired incomers die off. At one time it seemed inevitable that these houses would pass into the hands of commuters from Campbeltown, with a probable far reaching effect on the community. Campbeltown, however, is now so economically depressed that there has been little demand for the few local houses that have come on to the market in the last few years; so that, in this sense, too, Southend has escaped major change, for the

time being, at least.

It is possible that some of these attractive dwellings will be inherited by the next generation and kept as holiday homes, with a view to future retirement, or be sold to others as retirement homes. Some may be bought by the farmers on whose land they stand, for their own, or family use. Certainly the prospect of an inrush of commuters seems much less likely now.

SOUTHEND AS A KAILYARD PARISH

The Rev Angus J MacVicar summed up his account of life in Southend as follows:

Most of the changes in the life of the community during the past century have been for the best. The social and economic life of the parish has been transformed, the general standard of living is high, and hardly anyone can be considered poor as this word was understood in bygone days. The sense of communal life is strong, and friendliness prevails everywhere. Yet the picture is not wholly rosy, for the decline in population is regrettable and perhaps can be checked only by a comprehensive scheme for small holdings or family farms. It would be a thousand pities if the parishioners of Southend, a mixture of

vigourous, healthy and industrious Highland and Lowland stocks, should undergo further decrease.³⁰

In 1988 it is impossible to predict whether or not the present standard of relative affluence will continue. Widespread changes consequent on membership of the EEC are affecting local farmers and it is not possible to estimate what the ultimate effect of these changes will be, certainly there is much more anxiety about the future of farming than there was even ten years ago. There is now a small number of unemployed people living in the village, and farmers' children are taking part in various youth unemployment schemes.

For the reasons given previously it seems unlikely that the population will decline further and the sense of community remains strong.

It is this aspect of life in Southend that I would wish to emphasise by reiterating the, often atypical, factors that have given rise to it. Southend is remarkably free from class distinction. Unlike many other West Highland parishes it has no 'laird', the farmers own their own farms, the incomers have built their own bungalows, and the occupants of the council houses pay their rents in Campbeltown, not to a local landlord. In addition, there are very few

farm workers, and those members of the community who are not self employed work for an employer who lives outside the village, so that the village escapes the tensions both of landlord/tenant and employer/employee relationships.

Because of its isolation geographically, and the 150 mile road to the nearest urban sprawl (Glasgow), it has escaped the attentions of both day trippers and those seeking holiday homes. While there has been, since 1970, a trickle of retired incomers, they have not been in sufficient numbers to pose a threat to the village; they are not competing for either jobs or homes, nor do they wish to change the ethos of the district. This, together with the perception of many of the farmers, that they are themselves incomers, (even though their family may have lived in the district for 200 years) has led to the openness to strangers that has been the subject of so much favourable comment.

In many ways Southend resembles the ideal village of the 'kailyard' school of writers. Ian Campbell points out in The Kailyard: A New Assessment that the location of the kailyard was invariably rural,

at the end of the branch line....the market town being as far as it knows, beyond that the rails

run into the grey mist, unheeded.^{31.}

Substitute 'road' for 'rail', since the nearest railway station is at Arrochar - 110 miles away, and this seems to be a fair description of Southend. Campbell refers also to the prominence given to 'the lad o' pairts' who leaves the district to distinguish himself at the university and, subsequently, to make an outstanding career for himself in one of the professions. Most local families can boast of at least one member, who may be a woman, who has done just this. He refers to the importance held in the kailyard village by the minister, the schoolmaster, and the doctor - the schoolmaster may have lost some of his previous status but the minister and the doctor are still held in high esteem, and as we have seen, all three are considered necessary to the life of Southend. Campbell also draws attention to the role of the church - Southend is a churchgoing community. However the parish does diverge from the stereotype in its freedom from dependence on a 'laird' and the consequent class distinctions. Commenting on the attractions of the kailyard, Campbell writes:

The kailyard looks back to a just vanished, comfortable certainty; to read it from the cities, from overseas, is to be aware of

something remembered at first hand, probably lived through, still fully credible, possibly discoverable in remote parts of Scotland. The attractions to all sorts of reader are obvious. The Scot in the cities sees an alternative to a newly created industrial anonymity. The Scot overseas is vividly reminded of a Scotland closer to his memories than the actual present would be. The non-Scottish reader is presented with a credible picture of great attractiveness, and - while seeing no immediate need to contradict it, having little external evidence on which to judge it - increasingly accepts it as the norm.³²

It is for this audience that Angus MacVicar is writing in his autobiographical series which blends reminiscence, local anecdote, and homespun philosophy under such overtly Scottish titles as

Salt in my Porridge,³⁸ Heather in my Ears,³⁴
Silver in my Sporan,³⁵ and the rest.

It should be made clear that while MacVicar is writing for a market, to make a living, he is not cynically exploiting his readers. He believes profoundly in what he writes - to quote Campbell again:

The Kailyarders invited pride in a Scottish

Church, social fabric, educational values and historical sense which no Scot in the 80's would wish to reject, grossly as it may be parodied. To reject the kailyard is to reject much that is central to define Scottishness.^{36.}

Whether the kailyard values are a central element of Scottish culture is debateable, and opposing views of the kailyard are considered in the chapter dealing with the plays produced by Dunaverty Players. However, it will also be seen there that this same pride is reflected in the plays written and chosen by Angus MacVicar, and that, in addition, by dealing with issues that can be resolved without recourse to outside help, the plays themselves serve to support the concept of the self contained, self sufficient community.

CONCLUSION

While Southend retains many of the attributes of a traditional lifestyle, it should be noted that this lifestyle is dependent on the world of industry (Simmel's 'Metropolis' - see below) for the farm machinery, vehicles and domestic equipment that make it possible. The benefits of modern technological production are widely enjoyed, from double glazing and central heating to deep freezers and video recorders,

but the producers of these comforts remain invisible in the world beyond the parish.

An explanation of the difference in lifestyle between the metropolis and the rural village, or small town, is given in Simmel's The Metropolis and Mental Life,³⁷ written at the turn of the century but perhaps even more relevant in contemporary Britain. Simmel shows that life in the metropolis is dictated by the money economy and the need for increasing competition in a capitalist society, although he omits the point, that Marx has made, that the competition between commodities is linked inexorably with the hidden set of social relations dividing Capital from Labour. These factors in contemporary city life lead to the same process of rationalisation that Berger later saw as the essential component of secularisation; a process which, according to Simmel, tends to develop the intellect at the expense of the emotions and to reduce everything to money values, so that the individual worker is regarded as a mere number. In other words, the inevitable outcome of this process is that a stage is reached where, eventually, the individual worker is regarded as a commodity. Marx pointed this out in terms of the intensifying contradictions it would lead to; but,

here, it is important to note the moral implication. There can be no sense of the 'telos', the value of the individual human being, if that human being has been reduced to a commodity. This point will be returned to in the final chapter. To continue Simmel's argument: the feeling that he is a mere cog in the machine increases man's need to assert himself as an individual, and so individual freedom and independence are given a high value - hence the attraction to metropolitan man of preachers of extreme individuality. Simmel instances Nietzsche, but it would not be difficult to take examples from the present British Government and its supporters. Conversely, rural man is well known in his locality as a person, and has no need to assert his individuality in this way, as it is recognised in his daily encounters with neighbours, customers and colleagues. Business transactions in a rural community are on a man-to-man basis, and the customer is never reduced to a mere number - nor, for that matter, is the member of staff dealing with the customer. The resulting polite exchanges, however, slow things down, and country ways seem less efficient to a city businessman who necessarily deals with far greater numbers of customers in the course of a day. Also, since the

pressure to conform can be shown to be inversely proportional to the size of the community, village life can seem unduly constricting to the city-dweller.

The 'indifference' of city life guarantees freedom, but the necessary brevity of business encounters, in the interest of efficiency, can result in feelings of extreme loneliness. (It is not impossible to be lonely in the country - but this loneliness is the loneliness of the misfit; it is not the result of indifference.) Paradoxically, it is the impossibility of relating to the vast numbers of people he meets daily in the life of the city that leads the city-dweller to protect himself from overstimulation by developing the degree of reserve that is characteristic of the citizen of the metropolis. Similarly, a certain blasé attitude can arise from the sheer multiplicity of choice available in the city. In the next chapter, it will be shown how this attitude can affect the behaviour of urban audiences, making them more difficult for amateurs to play to than the more sympathetic rural audiences.

Much of the behaviour of the people of Southend can be seen to be the obverse side of the coin. In an isolated area, understimulation, rather than overstimulation, is the problem, and encounters

between individuals are valued and prolonged. Rural man, as we have seen, has no need to assert his individuality and may, therefore, be lacking in the assertive drive necessary to succeed in a competitive society. Thus, it is possible that the attraction of artificially created competition to the people of Southend lies in the compensation it provides for the lack of such a competitive stimulus in their everyday working lives.

This arranged competition manifests itself through competitions related to practical skills, as in the ploughing matches, sheep dog trials, shearing competitions and culminating in the annual Agricultural Show. The men are highly competitive on these occasions - in marked contrast to the traditional co-operation which is characteristic of their day-to-day farming lives. Modern machinery has made co-operation less the sheer necessity it once was; but to help one's neighbour when he faces difficulty, great or small, is regarded as normal, decent behaviour. It also provides another welcome opportunity for interaction. Competition is also part of the women's world. As we have seen, the SWRI plays an important part in the life of rural women, and each meeting includes as part of the programme a

competition in some domestic skill, from baking and handicrafts to bulb-growing and flower arranging; and competition between branches of the Institute in the Federation Rallies is keen. The Young Farmers' Club is also a competitive organisation. Competitive sport is prominent, from golf and football to the Pony Club and the Highland Games, which, of course, includes piping and dancing, as well as field events; and the Gaelic Mods, like the Welsh Eisteddfods, provide competition in music and poetry. It is not surprising that competitive drama became so rapidly established in Southend, as it is in keeping with a way of life in which it has been found necessary deliberately to introduce competition at a social level to compensate for the lack of it in normal working life. All these competitions, however, are seen locally as being instrumental in 'raising standards' and their value in providing stimulation is less widely recognised. It should be made clear, nevertheless, that there is a marked difference between harmless competition as a general social form - and the devastating consequence it may have in a 'market' society, where a business conducted in a 'traditional' way would almost certainly fail to stand up to the pressure of urban competitiveness and would, eventually, go under.

Failure in rural competition, while temporarily damaging to the ego, does no lasting damage, moreover it is not influenced by the possession of economic power as is the case in the city.

Things might have been very different. Several years ago there were rumours that oil had been discovered off the shores of Kintyre. One farm between Stewarton and Drumlemble was sold to a speculator (the farmer moved to Southend and joined Dunaverty Players) and the owner of Lephenstrath was offered what was reported locally to be 'a fantastic price' for the house and the farm. He refused to sell. The scene seemed to be set for a heavy-handed take-over by big business when (for reasons, believed locally to be connected with the RAF/USAF base at Machrihanish) planning permission was not granted and the whole project was suddenly dropped. It is ironic that the community may have been saved by the very presence that makes it a 'first-strike' target.

Recently the Glasgow Herald³⁸ has featured articles commenting on the current increase in the movement of people from the over-populated London area to the Highlands of Scotland. These incomers almost invariably praise the quality of life that they find in their new environment,

'Up here there's so little aggro and frustration.

People are not so hyper as they are in the south....I know a lot of people in all kinds of businesses who want to make the move to Scotland.

There's a lot of mugs paying real mugs' money for properties in the south. The situation has just got ridiculous. It's catching up here as well but the main thing so far as I am concerned is the quality of life.³⁹

A woman who had sold her home at an inflated price and bought a Highland mansion house is quoted as saying,

'There are two things that I feel I should say. I feel awfully sad that the Scottish people do not attend to their houses better. Perhaps they can't afford to....The second thing is that everyone up here has been wonderful. We knew nobody at all, but we have received nothing but help from everyone we have come across. Farming neighbours, the builders, everybody has been quite superb. That is something which everybody who comes up here from the south-east remarks on.⁴⁰

In spite of the emphasis put on the quality of life, all too often the reasons given for making this move show that the incomers have brought their metropolitan

values with them. High on the list of reasons for making the change is the cheap housing - more space for less money. The effect of this on the original population, who are unable to afford the prices offered by those who have sold houses in the overpriced South East and are forced to move out, has been described recently by Grant McKee in an article subtitled The Demise of Rural Britain⁴¹. Another reason frequently given for making the move north is the opportunity that exists to set up a small business, taking advantage of opportunities for development that the local population have been 'too unimaginative' to exploit. Alan Devereux, the English chairman of The Scottish Tourist Board is quoted in The Glasgow Herald⁴² (1st September 1988),

There's a tendency in the Highlands and Islands for the better people to go South....they see it as a means of escaping their homelands. They look upon it as bettering themselves. People living in London say that they can now sell their home for a king's ransom. They go to the Highlands and Islands, like what they see and use their capital to set up in business.... It doesn't seem to be in the Scottish character in any kind of significant way to want to start

their own businesses.'

That the local population prefer life as it is and have different values, is not understood, or is regarded as irrelevant, but, aside from this, unlike their new Southern neighbours, they have experienced no sudden increase in their capital. Moreover, many of these businesses market the tartan/haggis/Loch Ness Monster view of Scotland which has nothing whatever to do with the realities of Highland village life. Others are craft based, but the crafts have been brought in by the incomers, they are not indigenous but are directed at the tourist market. There is a lively debate over the extent to which the future of the Highlands depends on tourism and the degree to which it is harmful to the Scots themselves to allow the 'tartan' caricature to continue to be exported. In the past the Highland shopkeepers have sold such souvenirs tongue-in-cheek 'to keep the tourists happy' - but on a small scale. Now, as efficient business methods are introduced to flood the market with tartan gimmickry, the Scots are becoming more aware of the issues involved. This manifestation of 'tartanry' can be shown to be the end result of the dissemination of the literary version which originated with Sir Walter Scott and which will be discussed in

Chapter 5. Southend, however, is still in the early stages of this process as, so far, this movement of the population has not reached the Campbeltown area. It is too remote and is not well known; being off the usual tourist track, and being at the end of a long, narrow peninsula, it suffers many of the restrictions of island life, without the compensating 'glamour'. For the time being, at least, Southend has been spared the pressures of 'modernity' and remains as a refuge for those who, while earning their living in the more stimulating metropolis, enjoy an occasional break from the pace and pressures of city life. This prospect of life lived at a slower pace, away from the 'rat-race', is part of the continuing attraction of the rural village (and is essential also to the attractiveness of its portrayal in the fictional kailyard) - since even those who have no intention of leaving an interesting and challenging career at the heart of things occasionally dream of a different life lived on the periphery. However, in the final chapter it will be argued that the attractive characteristics of the organic community are dependent upon rural values, and unless this is recognised, the incomers will, unwittingly, destroy the lifestyle that attracted them to the countryside in the first place.

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CHAPTER 4 - Dunaverty Players.

This section aims to give an outline history of the club, drawing attention to those periods which, with hindsight, can be seen to have been crucial in its development; to show how its formal organisation has evolved and how it is related to actual decision making power; to consider issues arising from an analysis of the club as an amateur 'Art World' in the late 1980's; and, finally, to discuss the relationship between conflict and competition as it relates to competitive drama.

HISTORY - FORMATION

In the early days the drama club was essentially a low-key village activity. Although it is widely believed that Angus MacVicar has been the leader of Dunaverty Players from the beginning, he was not the founder. The original impetus came from the women - indeed, the original name was The Southend SWRI Players. It would be difficult to overestimate the role played in the life of the parish by the local branch of the Scottish Womens' Rural Institute. Almost without exception, the women of the parish join the organisation, and most attend the monthly meetings fairly regularly. It, therefore, acts as a forum and any woman wanting to obtain support for a new venture would naturally raise the matter there. This happened when Jenny Greenlees decided to try out her idea of a play-reading group, in which venture she was supported

by her friend Florrie Niven. Both these women had had careers elsewhere but had returned to Southend to nurse ailing parents. That they were held in high esteem can be seen in the following extracts from interviews with founder members of Dunaverty Players:

'Jenny was very good because she'd done drama at the university I think - You see she was very clever and talented.'(8)

'Florrie was one of those indispensable people - she has never been replaced. There was never anybody could take over from Florrie.'(3)

The SWRI minutes of the period are sparse, but it is clear that apart from facilitating the formation of the group, the SWRI, as such, was not actively involved. (The minutes of Southend SWRI relating to the drama group are given in full as Appendix 10) The accounts of the early days differed in detail but all are agreed that the original idea was Jenny Greenlees' and that she handed over production to Angus MacVicar within the first two years. It seems likely that the idea grew far beyond her original idea of a quiet play-reading group and, in view of her domestic responsibilities and her own failing health, she would be glad enough to hand over to someone with more time and energy. Moreover, MacVicar at that time was

writing plays for BBC radio, and was regarded as having a special expertise. There was, perhaps an exaggerated respect for qualifications (Jenny 'had done drama at the University') and a belief that specific training was needed in order to initiate drama came over in many of the interviews. In the event the idea of a play-reading group seems not to have survived, and from the beginning the club performed sketches and one-act plays for the entertainment of the SWRI. There are references to these performances in the SWRI minutes of May and September 1952, and again in 1959, but the club rapidly outgrew these humble beginnings, moving on to performances for the general public in the village hall and to the SCDA competitions in Campbeltown.

Membership of SCDA made no difference to the day to day running of the club, since the association restricts its activity to the running of the festivals and the provision of advice, but it did mean that the club was now able to make use of the SCDA library and the services of the association's adviser. Angus MacVicar lays great stress on the part played by these advisers in the early days of the club's existence; he insists that they taught the club members all they knew about practical drama and that, contrary to

District festivals in Campbelltown 1954 -1988

Dunaverty Players Results.

	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
1st place	DF	X																																	
2nd place																																			
3rd place																																			
Not placed																																			
Accessories	1	2	2	2	2	0	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	
Year.	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88

X----- produced by A MacVicar
 ---0-
 -1-1-[]
 A Maiden
 J McKerral

— produced by M Ratray
* R Togneri

DF = Divisional Final SF = Scottish Final BF = British Final

popular belief, his experience as a writer of plays for the BBC was of little benefit.

GROWTH

During these years, 1952 - 1962, the club seems to have gone from strength to strength, frequently taking first place at the Campbeltown Festival, and taking part in the Divisional Finals held in the Glasgow area. (see Diagram 3.) They were also successful in the Argyll County Festival and in the Anstruther-Gray SWRI competition. However, eventually, the SWRI objected to the number of men helping the Southend SWRI team and the rules were changed to prevent this happening. This was the reason for the change of name to Dunaverty Players². During this period the club produced several full-length plays including TM Watson's Bachelors are Bold and Johnnie Jouk the Gibbet as well as Joe Corrie's Tullycairn.

One of the highlights of the club's history must have been the visit to Islay in 1956.

'The trip we made to Islay - that was out of this world..... we were doing three plays - no four - all written by Angus MacVicar - and we were all in them.....and we actually paid for the plane and the hotel and had twenty five pounds profit' (13)

The club had booked the plane for the astonishing sum of £75 and the local agent had arranged for the scenery and properties to travel piecemeal, free, as and when space became available. This would seem a perfectly natural thing to do, typical of rural support for a local team, but it is unlikely the Glasgow owners of the plane would have viewed it in quite the same light. (see also Appendix II.)

Dunaverty's first production, in 1952, From Five To Five Thirty, by Philip Johnson, was not entered in the festival, but the following year their first entry (Under Suspicion written by Angus MacVicar) took first place, and after this initial success they were committed to festival drama and have entered the Campbeltown festival every year since, with the exception of 1959. I have received two slightly different accounts of the reason why the 1959 festival was missed. According to one version, it appears that the continuing success of Dunaverty Players had aroused some hostility among the other clubs and the club had decided to concentrate on other work for a year, to allow things to settle down. The alternative version makes no mention of the hostility, but concentrates on the decision to produce a three-act play and some of the problems that arose out

of this. Referring to the local committee of SCDA, my informant explained

'..... they only had six entries that year, but they had booked the cinema for three nights.....

Somehow or other Angus and John MacKerral had decided to put on Bachelors are Bold on the Wednesday in Campbeltown.(13)

This was to fill up the third night, as six plays would need only two nights - but when word got around that the play could be seen in Campbeltown people stopped buying tickets for the Southend performance,

Before that they were (planning to come) in busloads - they were booking from Carradale and Clachan and booking their teas in the hotels - Keil or the Argyll. (13)

Alf Grumoli, who was acting as business manager, protested strongly - a meeting of the club was called and the idea of performing the play in Campbeltown was abandoned.

Evident in the account of this incident is the extraordinary enthusiasm engendered by the introduction of amateur drama, with people travelling in coach-loads from the other villages to see the show and making an outing of it. This is in marked contrast to the blasé attitude attributed by Simmel to

the population of the metropolis.

There is perhaps no psychic phenomenon which has been so unconditionally reserved to the metropolis as has the blasé attitude. The blasé attitude results first from the rapidly changing and closely compressed contrasting stimulations of the nervesAn incapacity thus emerges to react to new situations with the appropriate energy. This constitutes the blasé attitude which, in fact, every metropolitan child shows when compared with children of quieter and less changeable milieus.³

This might suggest a lack of equivalent entertainment in the area. However, so far as Dunaverty Players was concerned, it also makes it clear that the club members were quite capable of overruling Angus MacVicar if they felt strongly enough about it - so that his rule, though dictatorial, was by consent. Interestingly, my first informant, though present at the time, had completely forgotten this incident and, so far as I have been able to discover, it is remembered only by those most immediately concerned. Dunaverty Players make a point of erasing past difficulties - this seems to be a mechanism that has ensured the survival of the club. As soon as any

difficulty has been overcome, as if by common consent, the matter is left there and there is no further recrimination. The informal approach evident in this episode was characteristic of the early days when the club was finding its feet, enthusiasm was high, and the members were all part of the same tightly knit community; but the history of the club is, in a sense, an account of its unintentional and uneven development from this position to that of a more structured organisation drawing on a wider area for its membership.

At this time Angus MacVicar was the sole producer and up to 1966 he produced two and sometimes three plays each year for the Campbeltown festival, as well as occasional three act plays. The club met twice weekly and both plays were rehearsed each night so that everyone attended both rehearsals. Togetherness was all important and MacVicar consciously did everything he could to keep the club as a single unit.

It wasn't a play or a team that won the festival and went through to the Divisional Finals, it was the club. There was no sense of the two teams competing against each other, rather that the club had two chances of success. They met in the cafe owned by Alf and Morag Grumoli, both of whom were keen members

of the club. Conditions were extremely comfortable, informality was encouraged and the rehearsals were social occasions.

'There was this huge fire... after the rehearsal they all sat round and had a cup of tea.' (18)

Other informants have made much of the huge fire, which seems to have been a great attraction. On the other hand, there were reservations; some felt they were tempted to sit around the fire and waste time. However these reservations were made in interviews held in the eighties when attitudes had changed and the club was a rather different entity.

DECLINE

In spite of, or possibly because of this cosy togetherness, which might have seemed exclusive to those outside the group, these years (1963 - 70) held, I believe, the seeds of decline. In the mid-1960's, the Grumolis gave up the cafe and rehearsals were moved to the village hall, which in the winter was extremely cold, so that members were disinclined to linger when the rehearsal was over. The club concentrated on festival drama to the exclusion of other work and an analysis of the festival programmes shows that no new actors appeared for Dunaverty Players between 1962 and 1967, when

Alastair and Mabel Maiden moved into the district and joined the club. After that there were no more continuing new members until Iain Rattray, another incomer, joined the club in 1970 - although several people appeared on one occasion only.

Angus MacVicar attempts to explain these single appearances in the following extract from his interview:

MR 'Did you ever choose a play with the clear intention of bringing in new people? Or did you choose a play to suit your existing cast and find you still needed people and had to bring them in to fit the smaller parts?'

AM 'That happened once or twice - we chose a play that used up all the remainder of the cast but we still had one of two places for somebody else. So we cast around and asked somebody, 'Would you like to join the drama and play this part? and quite often this happened.'

MR 'Would that account for the fact that there are a lot of people on my list who appeared only one year - would they agree to play one year without further commitment?'

AM 'Well, that happened, but the extraordinary thing was - once they got bitten by the bug

they were very keen to come back.'(1)

However, on the evidence of the festival programmes, they did not come back at that time; and in spite of undiminished enthusiasm, and of the evidence of continuing success in the competitions, the number of years in which one play only was entered is evidence that the club was not thriving, since no other work was being done. The last full-length play was Corrie's Kye Amang the Corn produced in 1965. Dr MacVicar has explained that, by then, there were more cars on the road, and more women were driving, so that events in Campbeltown had become more accessible; and, in addition, the advent of television made people less inclined to leave their homes on a cold night. He found, in consequence, that people were not prepared to give up two evenings a week to drama; and as we have seen, people who left were not being replaced. According to his own account membership of the club appears to have been, in fact if not in intention, by invitation, and the club were not taking active steps to increase their numbers. Talking to players who were members of the club in the sixties, one gets the impression of a friendly, cheerful, but self-sufficient and inward looking group.

In 1967 they had only one play but it took them

to the Scottish final. The following year they again had only one play which was unsuccessful. They entered two in 1969, of which one, Enclosed Premises, by Philip Johnson, won the local festival. They won again in 1970 with their sole entry The Man Who Wouldn't Go to Heaven, by F Sladen Smith. This production provides another example of the club's capacity for erasing uncomfortable memories. At the Divisional Final two members of the cast took too much to drink and ruined the performance. In spite of the fact that this incident provides the explanation for MacVicar's insistence that the club should stay together before the performance, it came to light only as a result of direct questioning in pursuance of this research.

The decline in the club became evident the following year when the club lost three leading players at one time. Alf and Morag Grumoli, who had been enthusiastic members from the start, (Morag Grumoli is still spoken of as the best actress in the district in her time) retired from the village shop and moved to Campbeltown. Morag's health was not good and the prospect of travelling from Campbeltown in the winter was too much. John Barbour, a leading player, gave up for several years, and MacVicar's right hand

man, stage manager Archie Ferguson, had developed multiple sclerosis and was finding the work increasingly difficult. It is not, therefore, surprising that, among all the members who remember the period around 1970, I found an agreement that there was at that time an air of depression about the club, a feeling that the club's best days were behind it and that, without the Grumolis and John Barbour, things would never be the same again. Unfortunately, about this time, 'Angus's type of play', which, as we shall see, reflected kailyard ideas and values, appears to have become unacceptable to the adjudicators, and for many years MacVicar himself had no success at the festivals. Nevertheless the players are convinced that it was his enthusiasm that kept them going through this difficult period.

Norval Charteris describes a similar decline in the Highland Parish Church Dramatic Club, which was one of the leading clubs in the early days of the Campbeltown festival; but in that case the decline was irreversible. Mr Charteris believed that the club began to run down when it stopped doing full length plays in order to concentrate on the one-act plays for the festival. These needed a smaller cast, and as people left, no effort was made to replace them, until

it was too late. Again we find the assumption that the initiative in recruiting must come from the club. Hitherto Highland Parish had been able to draw on a thriving Youth Group, but by that time this, too, had been disbanded. Mr Charteris was insistent that coming together just to do plays for the festival was insufficient; he pointed out that the same thing had happened to St Kieran's Dramatic Club.

'They ran out of players too. They only produced for the festival and through the years their numbers went down and they would just replace a player for the festival, and the time came There's not much of a club spirit when you're getting together for only a few months of the year putting a festival play on and then everything's finished - there's no interest in drama really. It's a short-lived thing that.' (27)

There was a difference here between the town clubs that Norval Charteris describes and the situation in Dunaverty Players, inasmuch as he saw a need for an interest in drama to create a 'club spirit', and assumed that a season that lasted for only the few short months leading up to the festival would allow the togetherness that had been built up to fall away

again. In Southend, drama was only one activity among others in which the same people were involved; when they stopped meeting for drama they started meeting for golf and for the various fund raising events described in the previous chapter. This may be one reason why Dunaverty survived when other clubs in similar circumstances did not. In addition, Dunaverty had built up a very strong club spirit in the early days, and this had been reinforced by the trips outside the area to Divisional Finals, which were a consequence of the club's success in the local competitions - less successful clubs did not share these opportunities. These trips were obviously hilarious and high-spirited affairs, though it was difficult to obtain an objective account as the stories had been inflated by much repetition. The club appear to have acquired a reputation for hard drinking, which was not entirely justified. It may be that the high spirits and enthusiasm of a rural club away from home were misread by the more blase members of the urban clubs, but there is no doubt that the sharing of reminiscences connected with these outings is part of the common experience that holds the club together. Then there was the personality of Angus MacVicar himself, and the intense loyalty the members

felt, and still feel towards him.

'Angus is the boss - we always went along with Angus - there was never any quibbling about that.' (3)

'He's so enthusiastic about the whole thing - you always accepted what he decided.' (8)

'There's a President and a committee, but he is the benevolent dictator - he's the patriarch of the club, the father, definitely. (10)

'Angus was the drama - the organiser - the queen bee.' (11)

In spite of all this it was agreed among all the members who remember the period around 1970, that at that time the air of depression previously described was a reality that had to be reckoned with.

REGROWTH

By coincidence, 1970 was the year newcomers started to settle in Southend. Alastair Maiden, who was the local doctor, does not quite fit in to this category - (the doctor was usually an incomer but there was a ready made 'slot' in the community for him to fill) - it was a bonus that he and his wife, Mabel, were enthusiastic about drama, and brought in new ideas. Iain Rattray was the first of the new breed of

incomers, retired people building new homes or converting old buildings in the district, as described in the previous chapter. He, also, had previous experience of drama and was delighted to be involved again. He proved to have a gift for talent spotting and a persuasive tongue, and has been described by Angus MacVicar as Dunaverty's recruiting officer. The question, 'Why join Dunaverty?' when put to several young members from Campbeltown, elicited the following replies:

'I think the reason was that Iain got hold of me soon after I joined the firm and brought me down.'(6)

'Mainly because I was dragged screaming by Mr Rattray from the office.' (14)

'(If it hadn't been Iain) I think it would have taken somebody else to drag me into it....I wouldn't, actively, have gone out looking to join a drama club.'(25)

Gradually numbers began to increase, but, as always in Kintyre, young people would serve for a year or two and then move out of the district to further their careers. Providing recruiting continues, this can be coped with, as new youngsters come in to replace those who have moved on. Iain Rattray's contribution was

valuable, yet, while he was recruiting young people from Campbeltown, there was no equivalent influx of teenagers from Southend. The most probable reason for this is the popularity among rural youngsters of The Young Farmers' Club, as often the meetings of the two organisations clashed. Moreover, The Young Farmers' had their own drama section, which put on lighthearted entertainments to raise funds, and competed in their own internal competition at a time that conflicted with the SCDA festivals.

Older people, however, were being recruited. As each newly retired couple moved into the district, they were approached, usually by Angus MacVicar himself, and though most had never considered drama before, they found they enjoyed working backstage and becoming part of an integrated group; and some, to their own surprise, discovered they had a talent for acting. Thus, gradually, the membership of the club was being widened and as time went on the proportion of purely local members decreased. Surprisingly this change was welcomed by the locals themselves. Both the incomers and the Campbeltown members testify to the friendliness of the Southend people which was referred to previously.

Incomers:

'My first impression was that it was very friendly and that people were honestly being friendly towards me.... they really do make an incredible effort to integrate people.'(24)

'Well, I was made very, very welcome to begin with and I liked that very much. I found them very friendly.'(10)

From Campbeltown:

'Part of the enjoyment for me, certainly, is the atmosphere in Dunaverty, which I don't think would be repeated in the clubs in the town - I think there's a special atmosphere about the hall and the people that gather...'(14)

'My first impressions were very favourable - I was made very welcome....'(25)

From other clubs:

'You see, where Southend scores is that we are a community - we really are a definite community down here.(18)

'They are welcoming(this is fine as far as people coming to live in Southend are concerned)....but I don't think we should head up to Campbeltown and bring down a lot of people.'(22)

This last comment was made by a member who had moved in from another part of Kintyre and contrasts with the open attitude of the Southend people themselves:

'It depends on their interests - certainly if they were interested in drama they'd be made welcome. I think if you look at other organisations in the district - they are the same. I think they need all the members they can get...'(5)

'It all boils down to - Southend is a very friendly place...we need new people very much'
(3)

There is a suggestion in these last remarks that the concern regarding the decline in population felt by the Rev Angus J MacVicar was shared by other local residents, as below a certain minimum the numbers become insufficient to maintain existing organisations.

Dr Maiden was frustrated by the type of play being chosen, and while MacVicar would not change, he encouraged the doctor to produce and gave him a free hand. Yet, while the advent of Alastair Maiden as second producer brought new life to the club and the ultimate success of winning the Scottish Finals in

1975 - it also brought new strains and challenges.

Angus MacVicar's method of production is quite unique.

'Everybody must be the same - I know some are more equal than others - but, when it comes to the bit, there's a thing I've always tried to impress upon newcomers coming in. 'Now, you see me here - I'm a producer, and I'll bellow at you and roar at the thing - but after the drama is over we're just two people together.'(1)

He does bellow and roar, though he has grown mellow with age, but in his time he has been known to throw his cap on the floor and jump on it in sheer frustration. In one interview, a player described how a younger player had been reduced to tears - though strangely enough, his dramatic and dictatorial methods endeared him to his players, by whom he was known affectionately as 'The Grim Reaper' (a quotation from TM Watson's Gibbie Proposes, one of the early productions). Rehearsals were always exciting and full of fun. The club had complete confidence in him and their success rate shows that they had good reason for this.

'We were there to do what Angus said, and to take whatever part he allocated. Nobody questioned it, and I suppose on the whole we were a bunch of

ignoramuses....we didn't know anything about drama - nobody had any pretensions to be actresses or anything and so we had to learn it - everyone - right from the beginning.'(11)

When one member of a group assumes the role of 'patriarch', the result can be to reduce the rest to playing the role of 'children'. The 'pay off' (in the sense that Eric Berne uses the term in Games People Play^{hp}) can be a sense of equality among the 'children' and a temporary respite from the responsibilities of everyday living. In this case, it manifested itself in the lighthearted nonsense that accompanied the club outings and the shared enjoyment of MacVicar's more outrageous thunderings. All enjoyed 'the game' and were happy to play their allotted parts in it, since as MacVicar said in the previous extract,

'after the drama is over, we are just two people together.'

The game did not continue beyond clearly understood boundaries.

Nevertheless it was not a game that Alastair Maiden could comfortably play. He found it difficult to lay aside the responsibilities, and to an extent the dignity, of the medical profession - and it may be that the role of second producer was the only possible

one for him. Angus MacVicar could work with half the village gossiping in the hall around him. Most of the time he was up on the stage, literally pushing his actors around to where he wanted them and totally unaware of anything else - whereas, as a producer, Alastair Maiden found any distraction absolutely insupportable.

'Dr Maiden wasn't all that keen on onlookers - he didn't mean to be short, but he was so completely tied up that any diversion seemed to irritate him.' (3)

Thus, with the difficulty already noted, of getting people to turn out on two nights, it was inevitable that the two producers would rehearse on different nights, and, while everyone felt free to turn up while MacVicar was rehearsing, those not directly involved felt they were unwelcome at Dr Maiden's rehearsals; and there began to be a feeling that a 'club within a club' was developing.

'Alastair was committed, too, but he was more committed to his team than to the club, that was the difference.' (1)

On the other hand others saw the advent of Maiden as the saving of the club.

'....and if he hadn't come in, it might have

changed things - but Maiden came in, and (he) proved to be very, very good as a producer....he went away (from MacVicar's type of play) and he proved himself.' (15)

But the same speaker admits,

'....That's when I saw a division coming into the Southend club - I mean, we were all one club - there were two plays or three plays - and then, all of a sudden, it seemed as though there were two drama groups in Southend.(15)

Perhaps, at this point, it would be advisable to consider such evidence as is available, in order to discover just how well justified was the suspicion that Dunaverty Players were functioning as two separate entities at this time. The only objective evidence is the collection of programmes covering the period. From these it is possible to discover which players worked with each producer over the period when Alastair Maiden was producing.

For the purposes of comparison the players have been divided into four groups. Group '1' consists of players who were in the club prior to 1970 plus three incoming players who were frequently given parts by Angus MacVicar.(see below) Group '2' were incomers to Southend; group '3', local new recruits; and group

Table 6.

Parts Allocated to Players 1972 -1978.

Key. 1 - players in club before 1970+ Lamonts - C McPhee.
 2 - incomers living in Southend
 3 - new players from Southend
 4 - new players from Campbeltown
 ✓ - player appearing for 1st time. () - total number of performances, * = still in club in 1988.

A.Maiden	A. MacVicar
Group 2 Janet Barbour (2)* Maggie Barbour (1)* Allan Lamont (1)* John McKerral (2) Fiona McMurphy (1) Alex Ronald (1)	Janet Barbour (2) Maggie Barbour (2) Allan Lamont (4) John McKerral (3) John Barbour (1)* Alastair Cameron (1) Barbara Lamont (6)* Agnes McIntyre (1) Colin McPhee (2)* Mary Taylor (1)* Ronald Togneri (2)*
Group 2 ✓ Linda Bawn (1) ✓ Andrew Dunn (2) Mabel Maiden (5) Jennifer McKerral (2) Iain Rattray (3)* ✓ Mary Rattray (3)*	✓ Hamish Buchanan (1) ✓ Jenny Dunn (1) Mabel Maiden (1) Jennifer McKerral (2) Iain Rattray (3) Mary Rattray (1)
Group 3 ✓ Calum Semple (1)* ✓ James McCorkindale (1) ✓ Rosemary Ronald (2) ✓ Mairi McMillan (1)	Calum Semple (1) James McCorkindale (1) ✓ Mark Scott (1)
Group 4 Mary Bowen (1) ✓ Elspeth Craig (1) ✓ Jim Johnston (2) ✓ Donald Kelly (2) ✓ John Kerr (1)* ✓ Irene Mitchell (1) Jenny Strain (1)	✓ Mary Bowen (4) ✓ Maureen Johnston (1) ✓ Catherine Fleming (1) ✓ Kenneth McConnachie (1) ✓ Marian Nelson (19)
14 new players	11 new players

'4', new recruits from Campbeltown. It is evident that there was no rigid divide since most continuing players played with both producers. In spite of that, the analysis does show that Angus MacVicar had a marked bias towards group 1 (11 players in 24 parts, as against Dr Maiden's 6 players in 8 parts), and that incomers were more likely to be given a part by Alastair Maiden (6 players in 16 parts against MacVicar's 6 players in 10 parts. Both producers were giving parts to new recruits and, in contrast to the previous ten years, the club was growing rapidly. The concern, at the time, was more with the exclusive nature of Dr Maiden's rehearsals than with the casting, as it was generally accepted that people were chosen to suit the plays - and while Angus MacVicar had a natural loyalty to his original players, his casting owed more to the fact that he had reverted to doing Scots plays whenever possible and the people in group 1 were those who could best manage Scottish accents. (The three incomers were included in group 1 for that reason, they could all manage broad Scots without difficulty) The remaining incomers, in turn, were perhaps more suited to Maiden's English choices. (see Table 6)

It has to be remembered that Dr Maiden joined the

club at a time when it was in the doldrums, numbers were falling, and Angus MacVicar's type of production was no longer proving acceptable (he was not placed in the competitions from 1971 - 1977). Alastair Maiden, on the other hand, was remarkably successful, and in 1975 his production of Rise and Shine by Elma Cadogan, with only four players, came first in the Scottish Finals and competed in the British Finals, which were held in Lewisham on that occasion. It is difficult to describe the atmosphere in the club at that time. Following Angus MacVicar's lead, the whole club were anxious to give Dr Maiden every possible support, and yet there was a tinge of regret that this should happen to him and not to MacVicar; and though everyone tried to hide their feelings Dr Maiden cannot have been unaware of this.

' Nobody grudged Alastair Maiden his success - but we all felt - 'Wouldn't it have been lovely if it had been Angus's club - Angus's play.' But I think everyone, and Angus himself would never show the least resentment - he never has - he's very, very good in that and he'd encourage the other club - the other play.' (11)

It is obvious from the way the speaker keeps correcting herself that, unconsciously perhaps, she

saw Dr Maiden as running a separate club, and that this was not totally a result of his exclusive rehearsals. It must have been very difficult for the original members to accept the idea of a second producer in Dunaverty. While at one level the whole club was in a state of euphoria, and the excitement grew as the team came first, successively in the District, Divisional and Scottish Finals, there were undercurrents, which surfaced at an Extraordinary General Meeting of the club, held to make arrangements for the journey.

A copy of the minutes of the meeting is included here (Appendix 12), but what is not said is that essentially the whole problem centred around one member of the team who had different perspectives from the rest. This young woman was an American who had come into the club when she married one of the founder members some years earlier. She had no understanding of, or sympathy with, the club's idea of togetherness, and, after the success of Rise and Shine in which she played the lead she, perhaps not unnaturally, saw herself as a star and entitled to special consideration. In particular, she had no intention of travelling in a crowd on a bus all the way to London. She saw no need for those not taking part in the

production to be involved at all, and resented the role Angus MacVicar was playing in the planning of the excursion, since it was not his production⁶. Clearly, the fundamental principles on which the club had rested were being challenged - ie the importance of the club as opposed to the team, the equality of all who participated, and the unquestioned leadership of Angus MacVicar - and the club would have none of it. The arrangements made by the committee were approved, but the American and her husband travelled by rail⁷. It should be noted, however, that the Maidens took it for granted that the whole club would be going, and both were active in making the arrangements and raising funds.

From then on there was no doubt that the decline in the club had been reversed. Membership and enthusiasm both increased and when Dr Maiden and his wife emigrated to Australia in 1978, John MacKerral took over as second producer and, as he was a founder member whose outlook was assumed to be similar to his uncle's, the club seemed to be coming together again. Asked if he thought the introduction of a second producer had been a good thing, MacVicar replied,

'I think it's been a very good thing - it's been a very excellent thing, I think, because it has

helped the club. If anything went wrong with one producer, the other would take over - and, also, it is as important, I think, to bring up new producers and new stage managers, as it is new actors - because they are all important in their way and it's a bad thing to have someone who is the producer. I think that's not a good thing as it can verge on dictatorship.' (2)

Certainly the idea that there should be two producers each producing a play for the festivals was now taken for granted. As previously stated, when Alastair Maiden emigrated he was replaced by John MacKerral; and when he resigned in 1981 I took over as second producer. Angus MacVicar continued as senior producer until 1987 when he invited Ronald Togneri to take over his production of Agnes Adam's The Strawberry. There were three productions in 1988 with Angus MacVicar, Ronald Togneri and myself all producing; but it appears that that was Angus MacVicar's final festival production. At the end of the 1988 season I handed over to Geoffrey Horton.

As time went on, customs were developed which were intended to minimise any possible competition between the two producers and, until very recently, these worked fairly well. Each producer took it in

turn to have first choice and produce the 'A' team. The first producer's object was to do well in the competition, so he looked for a play that he thought might do this and he was given all the players to choose from.⁸ It was then up to the second producer to find a play to accommodate as many as possible of the remaining players. This producer was expected to consider the good of the club, bringing in inexperienced players, letting people try something different, or finding parts for those who were not cast the previous year. In fact, the 'A' team did not invariably do better than the 'B' team at any time, and as numbers have grown and the overall level of ability has increased, competition between the two teams has begun to cause some anxiety and various suggestions are being mooted to overcome this.

Players in Dunaverty are perfectly happy to leave the choice of play to the producers. Typical replies to the question, 'Do you think it right that the producer should be able to choose and cast the play?' were:

'Yes, I definitely doa player doesn't see in a play what the producer sees in a play.' (18)

'I think that is fair enough - you have to choose the plays to suit the cast, and you can only do

that in a semi-dictatorial way. You can't do that democratically - you'd never get the play cast.' (25)

' ... you wouldn't get anywhere with a selection team because you would have infighting all over the place - its better to have a benign dictatorship.....' (14)

From these replies, it might appear that the nostalgia for the days of Angus MacVicar's dictatorship, which undoubtedly exists among some members of the club (alongside a certain distrust of committees) may owe as much to the nature of the activity as to the personality of MacVicar himself.

In the last ten years the club has again included other work in its programme. A Derek Wood pantomime Mother Goose's Golden Christmas was produced, not without some initial reservations, but the success of this venture has resulted in further pantomimes being produced in 1982, 1985 and 1987. The last two of these, Cinderwelly and Jock and the Beanstock, were written by Barbara Lamont, a club member, and were intentionally local in character. A full length play, Your Obedient Servant by Diana Morgan was produced in 1986 - for the first time since the sixties, and this broke with precedent by being rehearsed during the

summer, previously regarded as the off-season.

This increase in activity has come about partly as a response to a demand from the members who are looking for more to do in addition to the festival plays, and partly from the need to raise funds. There is a public demand for the pantomimes but the three-act play, while it made a small profit, could not be said to provide evidence of increasing public demand for drama.

As will later become apparent, an increasing proportion of the membership by this time came from Campbeltown and were 'drama' oriented rather than sharing the 'group' orientation of the original players, so that at present (1988) there is a strong feeling that change is in the air, though it is not yet apparent which direction the club will take in the nineties.

THE COMMITTEE

As the club has grown and the membership has widened, there has been a parallel movement from informality towards a more formal type of organisation. As we have seen, in the early days the club was run informally by Angus MacVicar, with Alf Grumoli acting as business manager. So long as the club were doing occasional three act plays, they were

in funds and able to give quite generously to local charities, but when they restricted their output to one act plays for the festivals their only income came from the Summer Show, in which the two festival plays, usually with one other item, were performed for the entertainment of the summer visitors. If the club did well in the competitions, and were faced with the expense of going to the Divisional Finals, this was inadequate, and it became the custom to hold a coffee morning - again for the summer visitors⁹. The members found this coffee morning somewhat of an imposition, since at that time of year every local organisation was running fund raising activities, and members were involved in all of these¹⁰.

On one such occasion in the early 1970's, it was decided that there should be a committee composed mainly of non-playing members and supporters who would run the coffee morning, leaving the producers and players to get on with running the Summer Show, and this is the origin of the arrangement which prevented producers from serving on the committee. No minutes were kept by the original committee and the first formal record of the club's activities is the minute of the 1969 Annual General Meeting. Mrs Maiden became secretary of the club at this meeting, Angus

MacVicar took the chair at the outset, but handed over to John McKerral, who was appointed Chairman. This was the first time such a position had been thought necessary. How far MacVicar was consciously beginning a process of devolving power and how far this new formality was due to the influence of the Maidens, is not now clear. The first committee meeting minuted was held on 10th June 1974 and dealt with minor matters only. No other committee meetings are minuted until 1975.

Following the initial success of Rise and Shine details of the trip to Castle Douglas for the Divisional Final were worked out at a meeting of the whole club. However, in the later stages, when fund raising became urgent and Iain Rattray, as treasurer, was applying to outside bodies for support for the first time, it was found necessary to have a constitution (as the Highlands and Islands Development Board insisted on seeing a copy of the club's constitution before it would consider support for the club) and in this case an ad hoc committee consisting of Angus MacVicar, Dr Maiden, as producer, the office bearers and the stage manager, agreed that this should be done. This committee was never formally appointed, it was simply an informal gathering of those most

concerned with making the arrangements, but the constitution was ratified at a meeting of the whole club held in June 1975. This constitution was drawn up purely to satisfy the HIDB (who, in the event, did not give any help) and was regarded at the time as so much unnecessary red tape. (Appendix 13) It is evident that during this period, though the club was paying lip-service to a more formal procedure, they were quite ready to disregard it, if a more common sense arrangement seemed advisable. However, when Mabel Maiden left, her position as secretary was taken over by Allan Lamont, who had been a headmaster in Aberdeen before retiring to Southend, and had a lifetime's experience of high-powered committee work behind him. He obviously hoped to use this experience for the benefit of the club, and he immediately made himself familiar with the constitution and endeavoured to introduce a degree of formality into the business arrangements of the club. One effect of this was that what had previously been flexible custom, now became inflexible rule. There was some slight turbulence at the time of the first pantomime, originating in alternative views of the role of the committee, but this soon settled down, and, thereafter, it was agreed that all matters of import would be discussed by a

meeting of the whole club, and the committee would deal with routine matters only. Nevertheless, a more formal system is now in place, meetings of the club follow accepted procedure, and by this procedure, in 1988, it was finally decided that producers should be ex-officio members of the committee. Angus MacVicar's unique position in the club was recognised in 1987 by making him an Honorary President - a position he declared he would use 'to keep you in order'.

POWER IN THE CLUB

The benevolent dictatorship of Angus MacVicar has evolved over the years into the position where he undoubtedly holds the power of veto, but is content to exercise it less and less and to allow control to pass to others to an increasing extent. However there is no simple, straightforward answer to the question of where, in 1988, power does lie in the club. It would appear that power in Dunaverty Players is of two kinds: 'given' power and 'achieved' power. Power is 'given' to the 'A' team producer to choose a play and cast it, this privilege has never been queried and so the exercise of this power (as such) demands no effort on the part of the producer. The producer of the 'B' team has the same power with regard to choice of play and players, in so far as they are not needed by the

first producer for that year. In theory, both producers have total control over the details of their productions. So far as the running of the club is concerned, power is achieved by the effort expended by an individual, rather than by the mere holding of a particular position. For example, the chairman of the club may see his position as being that of a figurehead, or as a club leader - similarly the secretary may be little more than official letter writer or an organising secretary in the full sense of the word. None of these interpretations, when adopted by the holder of the office, has been challenged, but it would appear that a greater degree of effort is involved if the more powerful interpretation is adopted. Where differences have arisen, the power to get one's way invariably goes to the side with the greater degree of commitment, whether for or against the proposal; the other side, being less prepared to expend effort, backs down¹¹. Only when two people are equally committed to opposing points of view is there open conflict. This happened when John McKerral and three members of his team left the club following a disagreement with the committee - on that occasion neither side was prepared to back down. This, however was an exceptional incident - in the day to day

running of the club, because of the variety of tasks undertaken by club members, people find different things important to them and head-on collisions rarely occur. As people get older they become less inclined to make the effort, and, because of this reduced commitment, the initiative passes naturally to the next generation. This helps to illuminate the present position of Angus MacVicar in the club. At the outset, his drive and enthusiasm were far greater than those of anyone else, nor was there anyone to oppose his vision. Now, at 80, he is getting tired and leaving new initiatives to others, but he can still produce enormous force when he feels the occasion demands it. Though he is Honorary President of the club, the power lies in the man, not in the position - another holder of the office would not have equivalent influence.

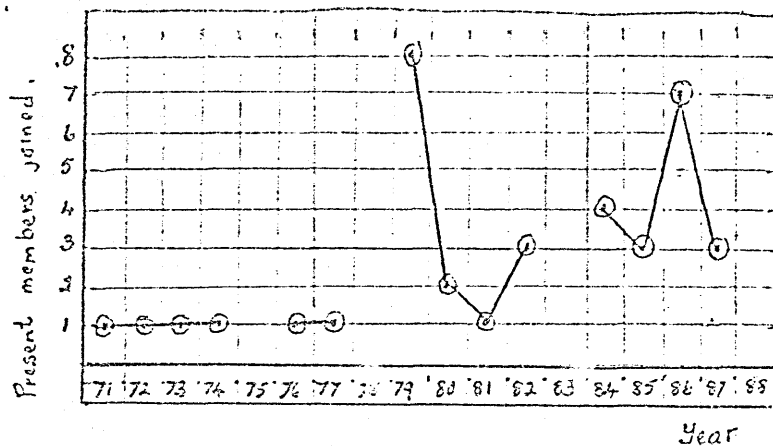
The argument that power is dependent on the degree of commitment is supported by William Gamson's finding that 'some of the most rancorous (communities) are among the most vital'^{12.} - since my argument assumes that these rancorous people would be deeply committed to their viewpoint in contrast to the 'dull and stagnant' ones he found elsewhere. Applied to Dunaverty Players, this might account for the amiable

early years when the commitment of the members was to the maintenance of the group and they were happy to leave all the details of the production to their producer. The new younger players have a strong commitment to a successful production, and they have not been brought up in the village tradition of the avoidance of open conflict, so that one might expect more lively argument in future.

DUNAVERTY PLAYERS TODAY.

Total membership:

In June 1986 membership of Dunaverty players stood at 48, the highest it had ever been. As was mentioned earlier, the club did little recruiting in the 1960s as can be seen from the list of members which forms Appendix 14. This shows that 12 present members joined before 1963 while the rest have been recruited since 1970. The graph following shows the number of continuing members gained each year since then.



Permanent Members Gained 1970 - 1988

(The new year begins after the AGM in May.)

The preceding graph does not show the 30 people who have joined and left the club since 1970. Of these, 18 left the district, 4 were lost after a quarrel, 2 died, and one gave up owing to age and ill-health. In addition, two young women left to bring up young

families, and three young people found the club not to their liking. One young man transferred to a Campbeltown club connected with his place of work. The graph would suggest that recently the club has been growing rapidly, but it has to be remembered that there is no guarantee that younger new members will remain in the club for more than a year or so before moving on.

Men/women:

Of the total membership of 48, only 17 were men, so that the women outnumbered the men by two to one, a common enough situation in amateur drama groups, but one that does not seem to be appreciated by playwrights. The most casual perusal of French's catalogue makes it clear that the vast majority of plays provide more male than female parts. This means that good plays are often turned down because they fail to provide enough interesting female parts. Even so, the women of the club have had to accept that from time to time they would not be cast in the festival plays and would have to make themselves useful backstage. They accepted this with good grace.

'You can't expect a major part every year - it's nice if you do, but if you don't - well, everyone's got to take a turn backstage.' (10)

'I haven't been in much for many years - when there's a part for me I've been delighted....If people weren't in the play there was always something to do.'(3)

The last speaker attributed this acceptance to MacVicar,

'Well, I think you can give Angus the credit for that. He has always maintained that it was a club thing and that the smallest part was as important as the biggest. You were still part of the club if you weren't acting.' (3)

Age Range:

There is a wide age range within the club. At present 5 members are in their teens, 8 are in their twenties, 4 in the thirties and 4 in their forties. Thus, almost half the club is under fifty, but one does get the impression that the club is rather heavily weighted at the older end, with 12 members in their fifties, 7 in their sixties, 7 in their seventies and one gallant supporter in her eighties. This perceived imbalance was commented upon several times, but fairly recent recruiting among younger people does seem to be mitigating the effect that the admission of people newly retired to the district had on the age range of the club. Of these members of the

club aged over sixty (15 in all), 8 could be classed as founder members, the remainder joined the club as retired people.

The age range was frequently commented on in the interviews:

'There can't be anything wrong with a group that involves all ages from seven to seventy - I mean, you don't think of a generation gap or anything like that....it just throws out of the window all that nonsense about the age groups not getting on together....also the young ones learn so much - not just about acting or stage craft or anything like that - they learn so much from living and working, from the example - provided the example's good - of their elders.' (21)

Though well-meaning, the speaker is quite unaware that such attitudes are detected, and resented as being patronising, by some of the young people.

'There's something that discourages younger members - something to do with the club being a tight-knit unit of older members who occasionally stick their arms out to bring in younger people when required.' (6)

Having made this and other criticisms the speaker adds,

'I would think there was a danger of the club falling apart if Angus and the people who have been the mainstays for so long (all left at once). To keep the continuity you need some key figures - the turnover of young people is obviously going to be a lot greater.'(6)

The older members were unanimous in their pleasure at the age range in the group,

'I think we just like being part of a club where age is no barrier at all.'(19)

This is worthy of note, as this inclusion of all ages contrasts with an increasing tendency to isolate elderly people in 'old people's' organisations. This is one aspect of modern life of which Alasdair MacIntyre is particularly critical, as will become evident in the final discussion.

I asked one young man in his thirties if he agreed that the club was top heavy with older people, and his response was surprising,

'Not really, no. I think this year we've probably seen the benefit of older people - there seemed to be more people to help with the stage and creating the set and so forth, which, I think is something they are going to have to do because,

1. They have the time, and
2. The younger people who are capable of doing that are doing it during the day and don't want to do it at night.' (25)

When asked if he thought we should be making more effort to enrol younger people, he replied,

'I think you're going to get criticism from young people anyway, because they're a moaning bunch - but its difficult- they're not there in numbers, so that those who are there can feel a bit out of it - but they could do an Iain Rattray and encourage their friends to come in - then I'm sure they'd be welcome.'(25)

What was surprising here, was that, while older folk were agonising over whether they were doing enough for the teenagers, one nearer to their own age thought it was up to them to change things if they weren't happy.

Occupations:

Comment was also made on the variety of occupations happily contained within the club. Most people saw the club as being unusually free from class bias, though it is, in fact, even more middle class than a first reading of the list of occupations (Appendix 14) would suggest. For example, the occupational descriptions of hotel cook and hospital

ward maid conceal the fact that these two members are farmers' daughters who have not married, and who have taken up these occupations in their fifties after caring for their parents until they died. This has in no way diminished the esteem in which they are held locally. Similarly, the storeman took up his position after selling his farm, the hairdresser is a farmer's daughter, and two or three of the housewives have professional qualifications.

'I was really impressed that the cast was so integrated.....everybody was out of role - you'd got the doctor and the farmer and everyone else all mixing so very well together.' (24)

'.....looking at the people in Dunaverty over the years, there's such a cross section of the community - anybody and everybody's been in it.' (9)

'It's got to be a communal thing - and it's working.....nobody's more important than anybody else.' (21)

'It's really representative of Southend.' (25)

Probably the member who pointed out that the composition of the club fairly represented the population of Southend was not too wide of the mark. There are not large numbers of working class people in

the parish. In any case, one member thought a certain middle class bias was inevitable.

'There's bound to be because you're looking for fairly intelligent people and this must attract you to the middle class - and in the middle class, of course, I include the farming community. So, yes - of course there is a bias.'(23)

While, as it stands, the premise underlying this comment is open to question, the intended view, that scripted drama (as opposed to the unscripted work of 'Community Theatre') requires a degree of literacy and fluency, is valid. However, there is no doubt that anyone from Southend, regardless of class, would be made welcome. What is less certain is that working class people in the village realise this - but the idea that the club must remain open to all comers is accepted as unalterable.

'I think it would be a great shame if we started limiting it to who we wanted in.' (10)

'I think it's good for the club to have a mixer maxter of people.(19)

Oh, I think we should go on with our all-comers policy.' (12)

In spite of the obvious difficulties involved in

keeping such a disparate group together, it has worked surprisingly well - probably because all felt themselves to be needed. In a peculiar way, drama, which reflects the whole of life, needs people from all stages of life and perhaps all conditions of life.

This is particularly true of amateur drama, where the level of acting ability is not usually outstanding and producers depend a great deal on typecasting to achieve their effects.^{13.}

Until very recently the question has been, primarily, how to persuade people, especially young people, to join the club - the thought that a time might come when consideration had to be given to restriction of numbers was not likely to occur to members who had struggled through the years when numbers were short. However, recently, Angus MacVicar confided that he was afraid that things were getting out of hand,

'What are we going to do with all these people looking for parts? I'd two more yesterday - we'll find an answer - we always do.' (29 6 86)

Roles played by club members:

Actors:

When we look at the roles played by members within the club we find:

3 members regularly produce festival plays and, in addition, 1 actor has produced a pantomime and 1 actor has produced children's plays.

Of the 32 people at present available as actors, 3 could be rated as 'A' (ie outstanding players who could tackle any part) but the backbone of the club are the 'B' players. These are good, sound, experienced people who have a reasonable range but some limitations. At present there are eleven of these in the club. Graded 'C', were a group of eight players, valuable and loyal club members who could be very good in the right part, but who had limitations. Two of the younger players in this group may well become 'B's with more experience. There is a group of five inexperienced players who are decidedly promising (D) and a few too young or too inexperienced to be properly assessed, (E).

While this classification may seem arbitrary, it has been confirmed by other participants and I think that, with one or two possible exceptions, it

would be widely accepted by the club. People in Dunaverty Players are quite level-headed when it comes to assessing their own, and other people's acting ability, since all are regarded as equally valuable as club members.

Appendix 14 also gives some indication of the range of accents in the club. These have been classified as,

1. 'local'- fairly broad and not capable of much variety
- 2, 'educated Scots' - unmistakeably Scots, but capable of being moderated.
3. 'English' - to the extent that a convincing Scottish accent cannot be assumed.

Obviously this has to be borne in mind when a play is being chosen and cast. Members of the first two groups can play broad Scots without difficulty, while the second two groups could tackle a fairly wide range but find upper class English difficult. (With the exception of the 'A' players.)

Back-stage crew:

Fifteen members of the club (group F) do not normally expect to act at all. These include Angus MacVicar (who has, in fact, played small parts in plays that I have produced), a stage manager, two wardrobe mistresses, one prompter, (other prompters

are players who haven't been cast), one small props expert and two retired couples who act as stage crew. Make-up is done by one producer, and by the two actors referred to above who have also produced. Sound effects are gradually being taken over by a young actor, who is also invaluable as stage crew. Advice on sound is given by Parkin Raine, who might properly be regarded as an associate member of the club. He lives and works in the North of England (in the sound department of Cleveland Radio) but regularly travels to Southend for the drama festivals.

The question of stage design will be discussed more fully later, but before the recent changes, sets tended to be jointly improvised rather than designed, with everyone involved contributing suggestions and one or two of the regular back-stage crew finding or creating small props or undertaking reupholstery as required. However, even at a time when he was less involved with the club than he is now, Ronald Togneri was always available to give advice and to undertake the more skilled pieces of painting, and Geoffrey Horton has painted sets as well as playing leading roles in the past, when no one else was able to do it - but there was a greater sense of corporate participation at that time. Lighting is, theoretically, in the hands of the producers, as the

club has no lighting expert at present. The stage lighting in Dunaverty Hall is primitive, and the short time allowed for stage rehearsal at the festivals does not allow time for experiment. The producer simply tells the lighting expert provided by the festival committee what is required. This is fairly straightforward in the Victoria Hall, Campbeltown, but an inexperienced producer can be daunted by the range of equipment available in the theatres which provide the venues for the later rounds.

This leaves Jean MacVicar^{14.} whose value to the club, officially as teamaker, unofficially as her husband's greatest support and critic, cannot be calculated - and four or five older members whose role is largely supportive.

The greatest need is for people who can build sets, and though the stage crew is stronger at the moment than it has been for many years, all members are expected to help with moving scenery and loading vans. Age is no excuse, infirmity might be, but few members will admit to infirmity. In this context it should be noted that Dunaverty try to have the complete set, and certainly the actual furniture and properties, on stage for rehearsals as soon as possible - so that putting away is a regular chore for everyone, though the stage is normally set by the

stage-crew before the actors arrive for rehearsal. Finding a driver for the hired van used to take the set to competitions has proved difficult on occasion. The problem is invariably solved, but it is one that causes the secretary, who organises all journeys, considerable extra work.

DUNAVERTY PLAYERS AS AN ART-WORLD

Howard S Becker's attitude to the sociology of art seems to be particularly relevant to the study of amateur drama. He approaches the study of any art form through the forms of social organisation involved in the production of the work of art; for example, according to Becker, in the consideration of a painting one must include those who made the artist's materials, those who provide the facilities that allow him to paint, and those who display and sell the finished work. Without any of these it would not be impossible for the artist to work, but the finished product would be different. This approach is radically different from that of the dominant tradition in the sociology of art

'which takes the artist and the art work, rather than the network of co-operation, as central to the analysis of art as a social phenomenon.'¹⁵

It is this 'network of co-operation' which is self-evidently essential to the work of community

drama.

In the event, the conception of Dunaverty Players as an 'art world', and a study of the roles played by members of the club within that world, has led to some significant findings. As was recorded in the previous account of the the club, one, and later two, members of the club were permanently cast in the role of producer. Other club members undertook back stage roles: stage-manager, prompter, wardrobe mistress etc, on a more or less permanent basis. The rest aspired to act, but it was understood that if no suitable part was available for any particular player, something would be found for him/her to do back-stage. The need for a suitable occupation to be found for everyone was borne in mind when the plays were chosen, and it was most unusual for any player to undertake more than one task, in any capacity, unless there was simply no-one else available to do it. Once the play had been cast and the various tasks had been allocated, the team worked together as equals with the joint aim of doing as well as possible in the competition. (This open recognition of the worth of all concerned was not typical of the art-worlds described by Becker, where customarily only the contribution of those recognised as 'artists', of whatever medium, was valued.)

There is no doubt that once the team was formed it was competitive; but in the formation of the team pre-modern community values were dominant; it was regarded as crucially important that everyone should be involved in one or other of the productions, in some capacity. There was no competition for parts and any kind of star system was wholly discouraged. However, very recently, ie in the last two years or so, there appears to have been a movement towards a more modern type of competitiveness. With modernity it becomes logical to put winning the competition first; and, given that the club now has a few members who are talented in more than one field - it makes sense that the club should make the best possible use of these talents, even if it means one player fulfilling several important roles among those available. Thus in my production of Great Catherine the same player, Cathie Kerr, played the part of Catherine the Great, designed and created much of the set and had a hand in the design and colour co-ordination of the costumes; while in Ronald Togneri's production of The Guilty Generation Ronald himself produced, designed and created much of the set and played the part of one of the sons in the play. These two players are both professional art teachers

and above average actors, and from the modern view it is important that the most able people should do the work, so that it is done as well as possible. Under this system the club can compete on near-equal terms with the best of the city clubs, (who were never 'disadvantaged' by community values) - both the productions described won through to the Scottish Finals of the SCDA competition - and Ronald Togneri's production of Riders to the Sea, which he both produced and designed, swept the board at the County Drama Festival in Ardrishaig in 1988, winning four trophies in all.

This, however, puts pressure on other rural clubs to adopt similar values in order to compete on an equal footing. Moreover it seems at least possible that the ultimate effect on Dunaverty Players could be detrimental, as less gifted club members, feeling that their talents are no longer needed, gradually withdraw. Many are reaching an age where this is to be expected in any case; the question is, will younger, local people be easily attracted into a club with such high standards, or will the flow of drama enthusiasts from Campbeltown increase? It has to be remembered that an improved performance in the festivals does not, in itself, produce any increase in

income, other than a possible marginal increase in the audience for the Summer Show, and that higher standards bring a concomitant increase in outlay for extra rehearsal time and improved sets and costumes. In order to maintain the requisite income the club needs a large membership and the support of the Southend community. This would not necessarily be given to a club which was not seen as being representative of the parish.

This situation has developed unintentionally, but unless the problem is faced up to and additional non-competitive work is undertaken on a regular basis, to find something for everyone to do - it seems possible that the ultimate outcome could be a return to the position immediately preceding 1970, when the club was maintained by a handful of keen and talented players (with near-disastrous results when some of these players withdrew). The position is not urgent, the biennial pantomime is extremely useful in this regard and dealt with the problem in 1987/88 and should do so again in 1989/90. This year (1988/89) Geoffrey Horton, who has taken over from me as producer, has chosen as his festival entry, David Campton's Us and Them which allows for an unlimited number of small parts. Dr Horton is now the President

of the club and this choice would suggest that the committee is alive to the problem.

Becker includes the audience in his conception of an art world, since consciousness of what is expected by the audience for whom the work is intended can affect the choices made by the creators of the art work. In the case of Dunaverty Players the question of the audience is less straightforward than might be imagined.^{16.} In the first round of the competition, ie the District Festival, held in Campbeltown, the audience will consist largely of supporters and members of local clubs, and supporters of the festival, who are there to enjoy the plays, but who are also interested in the competitive aspect of the competition, and have become knowledgeable through following the comments of adjudicators over a number of years. These people share the same background and values as the majority of the members of the local clubs, so that choices made with this audience in mind might differ from those made if the club knew that it would be competing in the following rounds.^{17.} In the Divisional Final the audience will be composed almost entirely of knowledgeable supporters of the competing teams, the majority coming from the greater Glasgow area. This is a much more critical audience to play

to, and one with the more sophisticated, or blase, taste that Simmel described in his account of 'the metropolis'.¹⁸ Very few are there simply to enjoy an evening's entertainment; they are there to support their own team and to criticise the rest (to a degree that is not true of the rural festivals) and no rural team can expect the indulgent warmth that they receive from their local audience. This can be a devastating experience for a rural club competing at divisional level for the first time, though Dunaverty Players by now are accustomed to the experience. Here the contrast in values between a rural community and those of the metropolis becomes manifest, with the urban audience looking for abstract standards of excellence, while the rural audience knows the players and is appreciative of the effort involved, even if the result is less than perfect. Dunaverty Players might be expected to have been influenced by the expectations of urban audiences more than the other Kintyre clubs, since they have more experience of Divisional Finals. However, while there is no doubt that the experience has had its effect through the raising of the standard of acting and production - the analysis of the plays (undertaken in a later chapter) would seem to suggest that the club has remained true

to its own values.

The foregoing discussion illustrates the extent to which the club is part of the larger art world of the SCDA, which is responsible for organising the competition at all levels. This larger art world includes as well as those involved in the actual productions, a considerable number of support personnel: administrators, technical staff responsible for the staging during the competitions, adjudicators, front of house staff, audiences, hostesses and caterers. In addition, while not necessarily in evidence at the competitions, but of great value to the clubs, librarians and advisers are attached to each division.

Becker's classification of art worlds¹⁹ into those of the 'integrated professionals',²⁰ 'mavericks',²¹ 'naive artists',²² 'folk artists',²³ and 'craft workers',²⁴ however, is less helpful than his general concept of an art world - as Dunaverty Players does not fit neatly into any of these categories.

Integrated professionals have the technical abilities, social skills, and the conceptual apparatus necessary to make it easy to make art....they stay within the bounds of what potential audiences and the state consider

²⁵
respectable.....'

'Integrated professionals operate within a shared tradition of problems and solutions (Kubler, 1962)..... what they do is the bulk of what goes on in the name of art in any society.'²⁶

By definition, an amateur club cannot consist of integrated professionals but it is clear that it is the work of the integrated professionals which is admired and emulated. Moreover the club fits into its own art world of SCDA as smoothly as the integrated professional fits into the wider world of professional drama. It might truly be said that the club is 'integrated' but not 'professional'. Several newcomers to the club commented on the 'professionalism' of the club and it was the comparative mastery of technical expertise acquired by the club over the years that was being admired. The club has also developed at least some of the professional vocabulary applicable to the mechanics of play production, but members are much less familiar with academic or theoretical concepts. To this extent they might be said to resemble 'craftsmen' in their mastery of technical skills, and obviously any production will rely on the work of craftsmen backstage. However, producers and actors must also learn their craft, before moving on to the individual

creative interpretation that can truly be defined as art; and probably only a few talented individuals in the whole of SCDA could aspire to the title of 'artist' in this sense. Scenic design undertaken by qualified art teachers, however, could probably be described as the work of 'integrated professionals'.

Clearly Dunaverty Players could not be described as 'mavericks' who 'propose innovations the art world refuses to accept'⁹⁷ as they have no desire whatever to introduce the type of work that would be rejected as deliberately outlandish by their peers. Nor are they 'naive' since they have a strong connection through SCDA with the world of drama and are aware of the expectations of that world.

However, a rural club might be expected to have an affinity with 'folk art'; but the 'folk art' described by Becker consists of the making of fundamentally useful objects, such as patchwork quilts, with such a degree of creativity that the finished article might be said to qualify as art. Festival drama is consciously an art form, albeit an amateur one, insofar as it serves no practical purpose. However, since Becker concedes that children's games and ballroom dancing fit into this grouping the question requires further consideration. Following Becker's own definition,

'(Folk art is)..work done totally outside professional art worlds, work done by ordinary people in the course of ordinary lives, work seldom thought of by those who use it as an art at all (though outsiders may find artistic value in it)Folk art in this sense

is done by people who do what they do because it is one of the things members of their community, or at least most members of a particular age and sex, ordinarily do.²⁸'

This would not be a good definition of the work of Dunaverty Players, inasmuch as the work they produce has more claim to be artistic than useful, and, while it is an activity which involves many members of the community, it could not be said to be virtually universal in the same sense as is ballroom dancing, which, in rural areas, is a social skill possessed by almost everyone. It would seem therefore, that the club comes closest, in aspiration at least, to the world of the 'integrated professional', but in achievement they are closer to that of the 'craftsman'. Alternatively one might argue that 'the concern with how things are done', as opposed to 'the ideas and emotions the works embody and express',

placed their work within the category of 'academicism'^{29.} which Becker sees as providing a bridge between pure craftwork and creative art.

The difficulties of placing community drama in terms of Becker's categories suggest that an alternative category is needed to cover the work of the amateur in any recognised field.

CONFLICT AND COMPETITIVE DRAMA

Georg Simmel³⁰ insists that conflict is a form of sociation - insofar as it is a method of coping with dissociating factors such as envy and hatred. Moreover, he argues that all groups have convergent and divergent currents and that this is what gives life to the association. This being so, conflict may be seen as a mechanism which makes it possible for people who disagree to stay together. The alternative is for one side to leave - this diffuses the conflict but breaks the sociation. This happened on one notable occasion in the history of Dunaverty Players, referred to earlier, when a small group of players left after a disagreement with the committee. Surprisingly, though formal links with the club were cut, informal friendships continued. This avoidance

of open conflict seems to be a rural characteristic not well understood by incomers from urban areas.

Dunaverty Players have always tried to minimise disharmony within the club, and Simmel argues that a tightly knit group is more conscious of any latent hostility,

...where attitudes are friendly or loving this is an excellent protective measure of the group, comparative to the warning function of pain within the organism. For it is precisely the keen awareness of dissonance against the prevailing general harmony which at once warns the parties to remove the grounds of conflict.³¹

This certainly seems to have been the case on the few occasions where situations bordering on hostility have threatened to disturb the harmony of the club. On such occasions distress is felt, particularly by local members, and every possible step is taken to prevent the situation becoming one of open conflict. It may be that members with an urban background are less likely to see a quarrel within the club as a threat to the peace of the community and are more inclined to see it as a necessary clearing of the air. A complaint frequently made by incomers to rural districts is that, while locals are ready to air their

views informally outside a meeting, no-one can be found who is willing to voice a firm opinion within the meeting. One example of the changes that have taken place in Dunaverty Players, with the widening of the membership, is the increasing willingness of members to state their views at business meetings. Simmel also demonstrates that conflict is liable to be particularly intense when it is felt that the group itself is threatened,^{32.} and it would seem that the heightened feelings at the time of the London trip were due to a sense that the values that held the club together were being challenged.

Competition differs from conflict insofar as 'the struggle consists only in the fact that each competitor aims at the same goal, without using his strength against the adversary'.^{33.}

Competition within a group, however, would be regarded as having a cohesive effect on a group that exists for the purposes of competition, as in the case of a golf club; since the purpose of the organisation is to facilitate competition between the players. However, in the case of drama in Kintyre, the cohesive effect of competition would be on the branch of SCDA organising the festival; since competition between members of the same drama group is discouraged. The

cohesive effect within the club comes from the sharing of a common aim. If there was conflict between the clubs, the unifying effect of shared antagonism would be added to that of the common goal; but this is not a factor to be taken into account in the case of the drama festivals as, on the whole, the teams are on friendly terms with the others known to them.

Problems, however, can, and do, arise when a club has two teams which compete against each other in the festival. Inevitably the immediate loyalty is to the team which is actively working together towards the common aim. The loyalty to the club, and hence to the other team, is at one step removed and cannot be so strong. Dunaverty Players have always been aware of the dangers to the unity of the club inherent in the situation and have taken various steps in mitigation. For example, it is considered dangerous if the same group of players play together in successive years, though this can happen through the exigencies of casting. Parallel with this awareness, and logically inconsistent with it, a process of denial also operates,

'In Dunaverty we are a club, we're never two teams really.' (18)

Members attempt to behave as though rivalry between

the teams did not exist; the 'other team' is praised and supported and practical help is given wherever possible. Nevertheless, throughout the rehearsal period the two teams operate as separate groups, each well aware that the other is a strong competitor in the festival and that, even if they were to be placed first and second in the competition, a local ruling means that only one team from a club may proceed to the next round. Inevitably this creates ambivalent feelings, but they are not acknowledged.

Attitudes to competitive drama vary greatly. Most incomers admit to being appalled at the idea when they first heard of it, but, while a few still hanker for full length plays, the majority eventually come round to the idea that festival drama is the only practicable form of drama for Kintyre.

'In theory I don't like it - but in practice it makes for a higher standard of performance.... you learn from the adjudicators.' (12)

'I think in Kintyre it's necessary, if one club was to put on a three act play in the Victoria Hall, they wouldn't get the support.' (6)

'I don't like it - I never have and I never will - adjudication takes some of the enjoyment out of it.' (23)

But this last speaker thinks producers should be judged on their record and adds,

'If you enter a competition - you should want to win it.'(23)

Some of the young men were openly competitive:

'So long as I'm representing myself, I don't care - but, in team games I get a tremendous desire to win. I don't think the drama would survive without the actual battle in February.'(14)

'I don't like to be beaten in anything I enter - I would hate to be in anything that hadn't a chance at the outset.' (29)

It may be significant that these were two young professionals - the local factory worker was much more relaxed about it.

'I don't look upon it as competing, I just look on it as going to entertain folk.'(7)

and the storekeeper took the same line as most of the women.

'It's nice to win, but everybody can't win - it depends on whether you think you've
done well.'(22)

These contrasting attitudes contain interesting pointers, but the sample is too small to form a conclusion. My own impression is that the women are

reluctant to admit to a competitive urge. It is the done thing to pretend that it doesn't matter; but on the night, no-one is indifferent to the result, though some are less affected, whatever the outcome, than others.

One inevitable effect of the competitive system has been a tendency to put the stress on drama as a collection of practical skills, all of which gain marks in the competition, at the expense of drama as a means of communication or expression. This stress on questions of technique, on knowing how - as opposed to asking what? and why? - mirrors the position in contemporary society where interest in technological innovation is not matched by a similar concern for a mastery of the moral issues arising from these new developments.

Becker, of course, contends that all art is competitive, even the decision to hang certain paintings, rather than others, in a gallery involves competition. Professional theatres compete for audiences - the competition involved in festival drama is simply more overt; and, in any case, it was argued earlier that competition in social life serves a useful purpose in a rural community. The atmosphere at the Kintyre festival is, in fact, remarkably free

from hostility. Because it is the first round, entry is not limited and the same teams enjoy meeting each other year after year.

Usually only the winner of the local festival goes on to the next round, but occasionally if the total number of entries is high enough, the first two go on. The club see going to Divisional finals as tremendously important,

'It's the best thing, if we can manage it, if we can get the whole club to go.'(2)

At the simplest level it provides another occasion for the performance of a play which has involved a great deal of preparation. It also provides an opportunity to meet other clubs and to see the best work being done in the division, but, most of all, it is valued for the cohesive effect it has on the club. It could also be argued that, to a certain extent, it has a cohesive effect on the community who support the local club. This was a marked feature of the festivals in the thirties, when each individual club had a following akin to that of football clubs today. This is no longer true of city clubs and members of these clubs have commented enviously on the support given to Dunaverty Players at the Divisional Finals.

Like everything else, going to the divisionals

has changed over the years. In the early days, the whole club, complete with scenery and props, travelled in a bus. At that time, however, most of the members were self-employed and could arrange their work to suit themselves. In recent years the cost of hiring a bus has soared, and, with members in a greater variety of occupations, arranging a time-table to suit everyone has become more complicated; and for this reason many members would prefer to travel in their own cars at a time to suit themselves. All else being equal, however, travelling together by bus is still preferred; though nowadays no pressure is put on those who prefer to make their own arrangements. No one doubts the value of living together for a few days as a club, and it is seen as being particularly valuable as a means of integrating newcomers. One member was grateful for the welcome given to her teenage daughter, and another commented on the treatment given to his wife, who is an incomer and not a member of the club.

She thoroughly enjoyed her couple of days in Greenock - she didn't feel left out in the cold - she didn't feel 'odd man out'.(22)

On that occasion the team met with disaster, and it was interesting to see how members from both teams,

the one competing and the other merely supporting, came together in the face of this. One member, probably accurately, said that they were united in hatred of the adjudicator. In Simmel's terms the antagonism which binds a group together was directed at the adjudicator and the situation was one of conflict, so that this acted additionally to the cohesive effect of competition.

CONCLUSION

Dunaverty Players has been one of the most successful of the Kintyre clubs, whether success is measured in terms of longevity, numbers, or success in the competitions.

Their longevity can be attributed to:

1. The unquestioned leadership of Angus MacVicar, and the wise use of a subordinate leadership mechanism to find a suitable niche for other strong personalities in the club.
2. The conscious efforts made to preserve the unity of the club and to mitigate the possible adverse effects of competition between the A and B teams.

A further step in this direction was taken in 1987 when it was decided to drop the initials A and B, in favour of the initial of the producer, M, R and T, to avoid any suggestion that one team

was inferior. This, however, suggests that the original idea of differing aims for the two teams has been forgotten, and that they are now frankly competing with each other. It would seem that this is the case, and many members are uneasy about the present situation (1988). One suggestion being mooted is that the producers should take it in turn to compete in the three act festival. This would provide an outlet for those members who are keen to extend their commitment to drama, reduce competition within the club, and maintain support for the local festival, without overwhelming it. Dunaverty Players have won through to the Scottish Finals under different producers in the last two years, but their strength can be discouraging to less well supported teams.

3.The insistence on the equality of all members; main decisions taken at a meeting of the whole club and the rejection of a 'star' system. This latter becomes more difficult to maintain when one or two members are outstandingly talented, but the club is aware of this and are determined not to allow such a system to creep in.

4.The 'forgetting' mechanism, which prevents quarrels

from continuing to rankle.

5. Openness, which is characteristic of the district and the club, has enabled the club to grow - (except for a short period in the sixties^{84.}).

6. The use of Dunaverty Hall and a large hut behind the hall, for rehearsal and the storage of equipment. (Lack of suitable accommodation has been a factor in the demise of several town clubs.)

7. The effect of trips to Divisional and Scottish Finals. All the clubs benefit from the effect of competition, but because Dunaverty have gone on to the later rounds more often than other local clubs, this effect has been intensified by the experience of travelling together and living together, however briefly, away from home.

8. Other work. Norval Charteris commented on the inadequacy of teams that came together only for the festival. Dunaverty has been most successful when it has done other work, three act plays in the early days, pantomimes more recently. But even when it seemed to be entirely thirled to the competition, in the sixties and seventies, unlike some other clubs it invariably travelled to the County Festival at Ardrishaig (a more light-hearted affair than the SCDA festivals,

which served as a club outing and provided a second chance for plays which had been unsuccessful at Campbeltown). In addition, the club came together again to put on the same plays in the summer show, so that contact was not completely lost at the end of the season.

As has been seen, the club is now growing rapidly, and has attracted talented players from a Campbeltown club which closed down. If this process were to continue it would be greatly to the detriment of the festival as a whole. Overall, this chapter has shown a club, which at the outset exemplified a traditional rural society, being affected, usually unintentionally and often in quite subtle ways, by the influence of sympathetic incomers to the club - all of whom, in fact, valued the local culture.

Chapter 4 || Notes and references.

Details of all plays referred to in the text are given in Appendix 15.

1. Becker, Howard S. Art Worlds, University of California Press, 1982.

2. The name is taken from Dunaverty Rock, an outstanding feature on the shoreline near to the village.

3. Thompson, K. and Tunstall J, (ed). Sociological Perspectives, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1984. p86.

4. Berne, Eric, Games People Play, Andre Deutch, London, 1966.

5. Where this was not the case it was usually because the player had left the club or had joined || or re||joined || too late to have worked with Dr Mäiden before he left for Australia.

6. Under SCDA rules, expenses are refunded only for members of the cast and two others; the idea that the whole club, rather than just the team, travels to the later rounds, seems to be peculiar to Dunaverty.

7. It will be seen from the minutes that Iain Rattray also travelled by rail || he was going to London direct from his daughter's graduation. This was accepted as being unavoidable, and caused no problem.

8. There were no auditions, since it was assumed that the producer knew all the players well enough to be able to assess their abilities.

9. Winning a competition held no financial advantage for the club, they competed purely for the honour of winning and the opportunity to proceed to the next round. Local, Divisional and National SCDA committees provided some help with travelling expenses for the cast and two back||stage helpers, but this was never enough for Dunaverty since the whole club travelled with the team.

10. It is a measure of changing attitudes that when, in 1987, the treasurer reported that funds were short, members voted unanimously in favour of a five pound levy rather than face the prospect of running a coffee morning.

11. On this occasion some members of John McKerral's team became overexcited and argued aggressively with the adjudicator. This was seen by Angus MacVicar as a 'breach of discipline' and the committee sent a letter of apology to the adjudicator in John McKerral's absence, which, since he was the producer, led to recriminations. The incident demonstrates the intensity of the involvement of the participants, which is perhaps surprising in view of the lighthearted nature of the entertainment. Community drama is taken very seriously in Southend.

12. Bell, Colin and Newby, Howard, Community Studies, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1971. p245.

13. Members seem happy to be typecast if only one player suggested that he enjoyed 'escaping' into a different role.

14. The club was deeply shaken by the unexpected deaths of Jean MacVicar and Allan Lamont during the summer of 1988.

15. Opus cit, pxi.

16. The issue is further compounded by the presence in the audience of the adjudicator. His influence on the choice of play is considered in Chapter 5.

17. Even the best club can never be certain of this, as usually only the outright winner goes forward to the next round.

18. Opus cit. p82.

19. Opus cit. p226 et seq.

20. Ibid, p229.

21. Ibid, p233.

22. Ibid, p258.

23. Ibid, p246.

24. Ibid, p272 et seq.

25. Ibid, p229.

26. Ibid, p230.

27. Ibid, p232.

28. Ibid, p246/7.

29. Ibid, p289.

30. Simmel, Georg, Conflict, trans. Kurt H Wolff, in Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations, The free Press of Glencoe, CollierMacMillan, London, paperback ed. 1964. p13/14

31. Ibid, p43.

32. Ibid, p49.

33. Ibid. p58.

34. With at that time (ie before 1970) a static population, the club had a limited pool of potential members to draw on.

CHAPTER 5. The Productions.

The main body of this chapter is concerned with the discussion of the plays produced by Dunaverty Players over a period of thirty five years and the issues arising from any particular group of plays are dealt with in context. However, matters which are relevant to the plays as a whole - viz: the choice of play; the theoretical discussion of the ways in which drama operates as a means of communication; and the importance to a rural club of typecasting - are dealt with at the outset.

CHOICE OF PLAY

As we have seen, the original members of Dunaverty Players saw drama, primarily, as a winter activity on a par with other winter activities, in which they were also involved. The emphasis in the club, throughout its history, has been on drama as something to do, rather than as a means of communication, and members have been happy to leave the choice of play to their producer.

The club places no constraints on the producer's free choice of play, but, nevertheless, there are a number of practical constraints which reduce the range

of what is possible. Primarily, the producer is looking for a play that he can cast, given the range of age/sex/ability/accent in the players who are available; but he must also have people who are able to build the set the play requires, and others to make the costumes - without these he is limited to contemporary drama and plays which allow him to make use of the sets the club already has. A so-called 'simple' set may involve quite skilled carpentry in the construction of rostra and basic boxes, whereas a 'realistic' interior may present no difficulties, if the club already owns flats, doors and windows inherited from previous productions. Similarly, while most women can make clothes from contemporary patterns, only a few seem able to devise period costumes from secondhand materials. At present, the club is extremely fortunate in having very skilled backstage workers, so that this year (1988) it was possible to stage a quite lavish production of Shaw's Great Catherine; but throughout the seventies this would have been quite impossible, as Dunaverty Players rarely had both skilled dressmakers and skilled carpenters at the same time. The set, of course, must be transportable, as the play moves from venue to venue at different stages of the competition.

No overt pressures are placed on the producer with regard to the content of the play, and, as we shall see, different producers have brought differing perspectives to the choice of material. Probably there would be a reaction if the producer chose a play which the club felt offended against 'good taste' or one that was overtly party political. However, since the producers have been chosen from the members of the club, their values have not differed significantly from the club as a whole, so that no difficulties have arisen, so far, in this respect. Until very recently, there was a general consensus in Kintyre that each club would endeavour to find a play which had not previously been seen at the Campbeltown festival. As time went on, this ruled out an increasing number of suitable plays,² so that, in recent years, there have been occasional repeats, but there is still a tacit understanding that a number of years should pass before a play is given a second airing by another group.

Apart from these practical considerations, there is a more subtle restraint on the producer. As we have seen, producers are also amateurs, and have learnt what they know of production from their previous experience as a member of the club, and from

the comments of the adjudicators, not only on the performances of their own club, but throughout the festivals, at all levels. This means, inevitably, that they are more at home with the type of play they have seen done before, since they have learnt from the adjudicators how these should be done. In this way, many become expert at producing the traditional 'well made' play, and the tendency to stick to this form of drama is reinforced by the proscenium arch stages on which the festivals are held. Living so far from a large centre of population, few producers have experience of experimental drama, and while they may have read new plays or seen experimental work on television, it would take considerable courage to attempt something completely new, in a competitive situation, without any previous direct experience in this field.

The availability of suitable material, or the lack of it, is the final constraint placed on those who choose plays for the festivals. For the most part, plays are found in the lists of Samuel French Ltd. Occasionally plays are found in collections of a single playwright (eg Chekhov, Shaw, O'Casey); are recommended by a friend; or are seen at a Scottish or Divisional final. Rarely, plays are written for a

particular club and then become more generally available. Occasionally, a single act from a full length play is chosen. The criterion, here, is that the act should stand on its own; ie it should be comprehensible without prior knowledge of the whole play, and should come to some sort of conclusion, albeit a temporary one.³

I know of no producer who is completely happy with the situation - all regard the choosing of a play as something of a recurring nightmare. Recently, some clubs, outwith Kintyre, have solved the problem by producing truncated versions of longer plays, with some success. As might have been predicted, this has caused considerable argument as to the validity of the solution, but so far no official ruling has been made.

In cases where, as with a recent production of a shortened version of The Slab Boys, the author's permission had been obtained, there seems to be no possible objection. A suspicion that permission had not always been sought, however, was strengthened when my own application for permission to produce a condensed version of Anouilh's Antigone was refused by the owners of the copyright. It seems unlikely, therefore, that this will prove to be the answer, in the long term, to the problem of finding satisfactory

new material to work with.

One consequence of the competitive situation, has^s been the tendency to put a great deal of stress on how the play is produced and performed, and much less stress on what is being communicated in terms of ideas and attitudes. Nevertheless, inevitably, messages are being communicated, and it is the purpose of the remainder of this chapter to consider what these messages have been.

LEVELS OF COMMUNICATION

Keir Elam⁴ has demonstrated that drama is a highly complex form of communication, working at several levels simultaneously, and has drawn attention to the difference between the theatrical text, which includes every facet of the performance, and the dramatic text, which is the written text from which the performance may be built. Amateur drama is concerned, primarily, with the theatrical text. In festival drama, in particular, the concern is with the text as it will be presented to the adjudicator, and all are well aware of 'the multiplication of⁵ communicational factors' that is involved. This is clearly demonstrated by the importance given to the stage crew, whose contribution to the final performance is seen as being equal to that of the

actors.

If this multiplicity makes the analysis of a professional performance difficult, the problem is compounded in amateur drama, where signs that are not intentional may be given, and signs that are intended may be missed, because of the inexperience of the producer, actor or technician. When we look at a typical amateur production, we find that by the time a play is produced on stage, its 'message'^{6.} has been through a quite extraordinary amount of negotiation and adjustment. Negotiation of 'the multiple messages'⁷ involved is initiated as soon as the actors have been chosen and have read the script. The producer will attempt to explain his perception, but the actors will bring their own interpretation of their parts into the negotiation. Whether or not the producer tries to insist on the primacy of his interpretation, the performance will be affected by the ability and willingness, or otherwise, of the actor to realise the producer's vision, and thus the original 'message' may undergo considerable modification.

Further influences will have been brought to bear by the choice of setting, costume, lighting and make up - all of which will have been the subject of negotiation

between the producer and the relevant 'expert' (where one is available), who, in amateur drama, may be very inexpert, or may be capable but struggling with inadequate resources. Thus the final result will be a compromise between the producer's vision and what the backstage crew is able to provide. (All this assumes that the producer has the skills necessary to convey his vision, and this is not always the case - I have had problems myself in this respect.) By the time the members of the audience have brought their own perceptions to the performance, the 'meanings' they take home may well be far from the original dramatic text and from the 'message' the play held for its original creator.

A further complication arises when we consider Elam's proposition that 'The audience starts with the assumption that every detail (occurring on the stage) is an intentional sign'⁸. Audiences vary enormously in their ability to decode a performance, and, as we have seen, there is no guarantee that all signs appearing on stage are intentional. In addition, when the actors are well known to the audience, certain signs may be discounted, eg John McKerral, one of the original players, was slightly lame. The local audience knew this, and would discount it, unless it

was deliberately underlined, as it was, for example, in MacVicar's Storm Tide, which will be discussed in some detail later. However, the lameness would need to be accounted for if the play was performed to a strange audience, as it would be if it won through to the later rounds of the competition.

Examples of the points made in the foregoing argument can be demonstrated through my own production of The Trial of Harry Mann by Michael Dines. The play is set in a mental hospital (unknown to the audience until the end) where the patients have set up a court, complete with judge, jury and prosecuting counsel, to try a newcomer, Harry Mann, for the accumulated sins of mankind from the Inquisition to Nagasaki. I had the 'B' team on this occasion, and the task of finding parts for two untried young men and a large number of 'old stagers'.

In the dramatic text, Harry Mann resists his persecutors by continual questioning, and elects to conduct his own defence. I imagine the character was originally conceived as being intelligent and fluent. However, because one of my young players was a somewhat inarticulate factory worker, recently left school, and the other a very confident young lawyer, I decided to give the former the name part, and make

Harry Mann naive and bewildered by the situation, and thus bring out a sense of youth being attacked by age, which, frankly, was not in the dramatic text. The young lawyer could then play the prosecutor, which he did with considerable panache, though he was unable to achieve the double effect of playing a patient playing the prosecutor, which was demanded by the script. The judge and jury produced a large number of parts for elderly and experienced players, who gave maximum support to the newcomers - and my aim of achieving a fine balance between comedy and seriousness seemed to be close to realisation at the dress rehearsal.

On the night, however, the play was last of four on the programme, following three serious plays which the audience had found rather 'heavy'. Mary Taylor had built up, over the years, a reputation for playing comedy parts using a broad Scottish accent, which was not her natural way of speaking. Thus when, at the very beginning of the performance, she entered berating Harry Mann, and using this accent, which she felt the part required, - the audience, who had had enough heavy drama for one night, decided with relief that this was going to be a comedy, and laughed at every possible opportunity. Obviously, they misread the sign which was intended by the use of the Scottish

accent in this case. Unfortunately, the 'old stagers' rose to this like circus horses responding to a signature tune, and played increasingly for laughs. Although the two young players played their parts as they had rehearsed them, they could not hold the play against the combined efforts of the experienced players and the audience. Everyone thought it was wonderful - except the adjudicator and the producer.

To reduce the demand on the stage crew, I had chosen a simple set, which consisted of a single wide flat behind a rostrum, both painted light grey, which stood out well against the black curtains of the Victoria Hall. The judge was seated on the rostrum, behind a grey school table, and the whole was enlivened by the use of red stacking chairs for the judge and jury. We had decided to follow the same colour scheme in the costumes, so the judge and jury were dressed in shades of grey with touches of red (ties, scarves, handbags etc), and the judge wore a red St Andrews gown. To symbolise the innocence of the young Harry Mann, he wore white flannels with a white shirt, while the prosecutor wore a dark suit with his own black lawyer's gown. We hoped this juxtaposition of black and white would suggest the adversarial aspect of chessmen. The fact that both

were equally tall, good-looking young men, (Harry Mann being fair skinned and red headed, and the Prosecutor saturnine) we thought would increase this effect.

In the event, this colour scheme was greatly admired by other producers, but was simply not noticed by the adjudicator, whose only comment was that the jury were 'suitably drab' - an obvious example of differing responses to the same intended sign.

TYPECASTING

In the early years of the club's existence, Angus MacVicar wrote a series of plays especially for the club.^{9.} In many ways, but not all, these plays ran counter to the relationship between writer and producer outlined above. In this case, the author was also the producer and was creating a play for a specific group of inexperienced actors, (who were all well known to him as individuals living in a given community). Because producer and playwright were one, the players accepted the producer's interpretation without question, and this may be the reason for the extraordinary dominance of the producer in the club at that time, and since - though his experience of working with the BBC gave him enhanced authority, and his personal charisma cannot be discounted.

He began by turning the actors into characters

Table 7.

Typecasting in Angus MacVicar's Plays.

	UNDER SUSPICION	STORM TIDE	MINISTERS MONDAY	FINAL PROOF	MERCY FLIGHT	STRANGER AT CHRISTMAS
1.	fisher- man	minister	minister	editor	professor	professor
2.	police- man	lifeboat secretary	farmer	head- printer	air-strip manager	Russian agent
3.	house- wife	house- wife	ministers wife	char- woman		professors wife
4.	detect- ive	reporter	shop- keeper	garage proprietor		travelling salesman
5.	daughter	Lady- Agnes			professors wife	secretary
6.		Highland woman		Highland shopkeeper	Highland woman	Highland hotel-keeper

1.= J. McKerral 2.= J. Barbour 3.= M. Grumoli
 3.= A. Grumoli 5.= N. Taylor 6.= A. McIntyre

and then wove a story around and about these characters.

To quote the author:

'They were being applauded off the stage, just for being themselves.'

It is tempting to think of this as a case of 'iconic identity'¹⁰ (in Keir Elam's sense of things or people literally representing themselves on stage) but this is not strictly appropriate. The detailed description of 'Mrs Galbraith' in MacVicar's Under Suspicion fits Morag Grumoli, who played the part, perfectly - but the actress, in real life, was a happily married shopkeeper, not a fisherman's widow. The players were simply required to behave as they would, as themselves, naturally behave, if they were put into the situation created by the author. No change in voice or age was required since use was made of the player's natural attributes. There was no gap between the perception of the producer and the writer, nor was there a problem in matching the physical characteristics of the characters with those of the players, as the characters were created so that these characteristics matched those of the players exactly. This becomes evident when we consider the chart showing the parts played by the leading players in these productions (Table 7). It should, perhaps, be

made clear that the areas of identification between performer and role were primarily physical and at a relatively superficial level of 'personality', ie MacVicar made no attempt to recreate the psychological characteristics of his players in his characters; he simply used their physical and verbal attributes.

John Barbour and John McKerral were the leading male players at this time. Both were tall, well built, handsome men in their early thirties, and both had strong voices; but, whereas John McKerral had been to university, and had a certain natural smoothness of delivery and considerable fluency, John Barbour had remained on the family farm and retained a local accent, and probably, initially, had less confidence on stage than his friend. In addition, as we have seen, John McKerral's limp had to be taken into account. Thus, in the first production, Under Suspicion, we see John McKerral being given the leading role of the young fisherman, who had to be given 'big ideas' to account for a degree of polish that is not typical of fishermen in this area, while John Barbour, (a special constable in real life) played his small part as a rural policeman with such outstanding success that he was given a much larger part in the following production, Storm Tide.

If we consider the parts played by these two men

in the following five plays, we can see how the parts were tailored to their particular strengths. John McKerral was invariably given 'educated' parts, twice playing a minister, twice a university professor, and once the editor of the local paper; whereas John Barbour was given parts which made the most of his commanding stage presence and natural acting ability without demanding a change of accent, viz, a lifeboat secretary, a young farmer, a head printer and a BEA agent on a Hebridean island. (His role as a Russian agent would no doubt be played in broken English). This matching of part to player continued throughout. There is an interesting parallel here with Pirandello's Six Characters in Search of an Author. However, it is one that cannot be pressed too far, since Pirandello's characters had their own story to tell, in which they would have maintained their apparent off stage relationships, father, mother, daughter etc (these relationships, of course, were fictitious and had no connection with the real lives of the actors playing the parts.) MacVicar took people he knew, and turned them into actors playing parts that were not dissimilar to the roles they played in real life, but on stage they acquired new relationships (eg Morag Grumoli became Mary Taylor's mother), in narratives he created for the purpose.

Nevertheless, there was a complex relationship between the real world which the players shared with the audience (Elam's World₀)¹¹ and the world of MacVicar's plays (Elam's World_D) which should emerge as we proceed.

Typecasting raises interesting questions. Obviously, in this case, parts were written to fit the characters as the writer saw them, and not necessarily as they saw themselves. The players brought their experience of World₀ to World_D, but it is not possible to tell whether the typecasting in World_D influenced attitudes in World₀. It seems at least possible that a view eg of John McKerral as an educated type, or of Morag Grumoli as a strong, domesticated woman, was reinforced by the parts that they played on stage.

THE KAILYARD

In the case of Angus MacVicar's earlier plays World_D was specially constructed to resemble World₀ as closely as possible and, as we have seen, World₀, in this case the parish of Southend, bore many resemblances to the world of the kailyard. So that, to that extent at least, these plays could be described as kailyard plays. How far the criticism of kailyard plays, that they were outdated and nostalgic, applied in this case, and to what extent the plays grappled with contemporary problems of rural life,

must now be considered.

However, before this is done, it will be necessary to look a little more closely at Campbell's view of the kailyard novels as presenting 'a credible view of great attractiveness'^{12.} Against this must be placed Cairns Craig's description of the kailyard as being peopled by characters who are 'backward, parochial, narrow minded, and utterly incapable of becoming conscious of the values by which they are found comic.'^{13.} Craig gives evidence to support this view from the original kailyard writings of J M Barrie, but that the subsequent derivative work was less harsh, is suggested by Christopher Harvie's description of twentieth century kailyard as 'a literature whose content was determined by market analysis.'^{14.} He agrees with Campbell about its target, which he saw as being

'the emigrant community and a general middle class readership which wanted to be reassured that, in an age of increasing social alienation and class polarisation, community identity was still possible'.^{15.}

One can agree about the market at which this writing

was directed, without necessarily accepting Harvie's excessively manipulative model of the target audience. Angus MacVicar was not the only writer to have a vision of an ideal rural society; indeed such a vision can be shown to be international, appearing in both Europe and America from Rousseau to 'The Cabbage Patch Kids'. The difference in MacVicar's case was that he claimed to be living in an existing example of the organic rural community.

ANGUS MACVICAR'S PLAYS

Final Proof is the clearest statement of what Angus MacVicar considers to be the positive virtues of small town life. Kinloch is the old name for Campbeltown, and, at an early stage in his career, the author spent some time working for the 'Campbeltown Courier', which is clearly the model for the 'Kinloch Gazette'. In the play, the editor is offered a remunerative and influential post as editor of a Glasgow newspaper, but turns it down in favour of the small town life he has learnt to value. (In real life MacVicar, himself, has resisted all temptations to move away from Southend, though it would undoubtedly have been to his financial advantage to make such a move.) The case for staying is presented on two levels, direct argument and demonstration. The direct argument comes from the editor's friend, a

stockbroker, who, by virtue of his profession, would be assumed to have a knowledge of city life, and, therefore, to be in a position to offer disinterested advice.¹⁶ The demonstration of the value of small town life forms the substance of the play.

The stockbroker argues in favour of staying, on the grounds that the editor is happy where he is and that he enjoys being part of a community where everyone knows everyone else and people help one another. Moreover, as owner of his own paper, he is completely free to decide the paper's policy. He enjoys this freedom and the opportunity it gives him to help other people; and he now has free time to spend with his family and to take part in local activities, to play golf, to enjoy the company he finds in the club, and to attend to his duties as an elder in the kirk. Life lived in idyllic seaside surroundings has allowed him to develop 'roots', and this must be of benefit to his family. Presumably, Drummond, the editor, could still have remained an elder of the kirk, and have become a member of a golf club, in Glasgow, but the implication here is that there is a particular value in the small scale organisation which involves all levels of the community - for Angus MacVicar 'small is beautiful'.

In the play only the editor, his son and the stockbroker are golfers. To the outsider, this might suggest a class distinction that would not occur to the writer, or his local audience, but in Kintyre golf is very much cheaper than it is in Glasgow and is enjoyed by all sections of the community. A 'sign' is being given here which will be read differently by differing audiences - another example of the way in which an audience can bring its own 'meaning' to a production.

The direct argument against staying is put by the garage proprietor. Although he is not presented as a villain, the strength of his argument is weakened by the fact that he has come to dun the editor for money owed to him. His arguments are purely mercenary, and, therefore, morally unattractive. He points out that with more money Drummond could afford to buy a better education for his children - implying a better position in life in consequence - and that his new position would offer increased opportunity to meet 'the right people'. No mention is made, for example, of the cultural advantages of city life, nor of the greater opportunity to influence events that he might have enjoyed as the editor of a major newspaper. Thus, at the direct level, the argument is loaded.

At the indirect level, it is completely one sided - only the positive aspects of small town life are demonstrated. Among these, parity of esteem is clearly considered to be a sine qua non of small town life: the 'char' (Jessie), the printer, and the editor are shown as being on friendly terms and the stockbroker treats Jessie with respect. Only the garage proprietor sees her as a 'hanger on', and, as we have seen, his evidence is discounted. A general attitude of helpfulness is demonstrated by the readiness with which the editor is prepared to put himself out to accommodate the two drapers; and Jessie, the editor and the stockbroker are all involved in the solution of Katie's temporary financial problem. The sense of being needed experienced by the helper, too, is seen as being advantageous. Drummond's service to the community forms the hub of the play, and both Jessie and Rab feel they are necessary to the smooth running of the paper. The multiple role relationships which are evident throughout the play, are seen as a positive value. The editor's son plays in a football team trained by the printer, and the men are shown as meeting on the golf course, in church and at the club, in addition to their business relationships. The

drapers, as well as being Drummond's customers, are Jessie's neighbours and probably both Jessie and the editor would attend their niece's wedding. Finally the financial interdependence of life in a small community is demonstrated when we discover that Cullen can't pay Davidson until Drummond pays him. This is typical of small town finance - a single payment can loosen a 'log jam' involving a whole series of minor indebtedness. Overall, only the advantages of life in a small, remote town are portrayed - and while isolation may reinforce interdependency (which is here seen as a positive value - but which may not be universally so regarded), it has disadvantages which are not shown here, although some of these become evident in Storm Tide.

The presentation of Jessie and Rab, and of Grizel in Minister's Monday, raises questions about the degree of class/sexual equality in the area. On the face of it, these are examples of the stereotyped comic servants who have appeared in drama since earliest times. However, I believe that Angus MacVicar was using Jessie, in particular, to make a point about the relative equality of individuals in a small town situation; a perception that is widely held locally. The truth of the matter seems to be that in

Campbeltown and district people refuse to acknowledge social differences, although, as in the case of the endogamy demonstrated in the chapter on Southend, these differences do exist. The behaviour demonstrated in this play is accurately observed and both the writer and his characters would deny the existence of any class or sexual discrimination in local life. At the same time there is a marked, but quite unconscious, sexist bias present in the treatment of the businesswomen in the play. The draper sisters, though apparently running a successful business, are figures of fun, while the other female shopkeeper has to rely on the male 'old boy' network to solve her problem. A comparison of the incomes of the characters would show a complete lack of equality, which is disguised under the apparent parity of esteem.

Interesting, from a dramatic viewpoint, is the way in which the alternative meanings of the part were brought out by the portrayal of Jessie in the two performances of the play. The part was written for Morag Grumoli, and was played by her in the original production. She was a strong player, with an inherent dignity and a commanding stage presence, whose portrayal of the part would inevitably reinforce the

idea that she was the equal of anyone on stage, and since the part was written with her qualities in mind and Angus MacVicar believes strongly in local equality, I believe this effect was intended. When the play was revived in 1973, the part was played by Barbara Lamont, a petite actress with a talent for comedy, so that, in this production, the comic stereotype aspect of the part was brought to the fore.

Morag Grumoli was an outstanding actress and parts were written for her in the plays - yet only domestic roles were considered. In Under Suspicion, she played a widowed mother; in Storm Tide, the wife of the coxswain; in Minister's Monday', she was the minister's wife; and in Final Proof, the charwoman. All of these were portrayed as strong, competent women with minds of their own, but who, with the exception of Mrs Kerrigan, in Storm Tide, were content to play a supportive role to their husbands and families. Mrs Kerrigan was the exception that proves the rule. In the play, she resents her husband's loyalty to the lifeboat, which, she feels, he puts before his loyalty to her and to his family. This failure to give her husband her unqualified support in his hazardous mission, is seen as endangering the whole operation - the point could not be made more clearly, that a

woman's role is in support of her husband. This support is not undervalued: for example in

Under Suspicion, we learn how Mrs Galbraith came to the rescue of her husband when he faced financial ruin, and Mrs Glen in Minister's Monday is shown as being a tower of strength in the manse. Nevertheless the impression remains that women are splendid in their proper place - supporting men. This is spelt out specifically in Mercy Flight, when Mrs Lambert, speaking of her husband says,

'He needs me for the courage I can give him, for the support I can give in moments of distress.'

Of the remaining eighteen female characters, seven are described purely by their relationship to a man, (wife, daughter, sister, niece). The locals who are in employment, are either in domestic service (3), or are single or widowed shopkeepers (4). The one other successful businesswoman is the hotel owner in

Stranger at Christmas, who has turned her own home into an hotel - an obvious extension of domesticity. The wealthy parishioner in Minister's Monday had inherited her wealth. Two of the non-local women were gainfully employed (as opposed to owning their own businesses like the local women), as a secretary and fashion model respectively - both, it will be noted,

normally thought of as female occupations. However, these women, too, were single - the sweeping changes of the sixties were still in the future.

None of the male characters is depicted as being employed in heavy industry, so that, apart from one fisherman and one farmer, the local men are shown as being employed in service industries. This would be true of the Highlands and Islands as a whole, but not of Campbeltown, where had he chosen to do so, the writer could have found industrial themes. Examples might have been: the running down of the colliery at Machrihanish, the revival of the shipyard, or the setting up of the creamery or the clothing factory. However, the playwright seems to have restricted himself to areas of life that he knew well, either through his own experience or that of his family and friends. It should be remembered that, at that time, MacVicar was struggling to make a living as a full-time author, and these plays were written solely for the benefit of the club and were not expected to produce an income. He could not, therefore, afford the time to do extensive research, though Storm Tide, arguably the best of these plays, was researched for detailed information about the lifeboat service. Nevertheless, he has admitted to me that he dislikes

research, and most enjoys writing from his imagination; and the plays do bear a marked resemblance in style to the boys' 'space adventure' stories which were one of his main sources of income at that time. One finds there is a certain unnecessary inflation of some of his characters; McIntosh (the minister in Storm Tide) had been the Scottish champion athlete; Jock (in Stranger at Christmas), Scottish boxing champion; while Hertzog (Storm Tide) was 'the world's greatest obstetrician'; and Drummond (Final Proof), 'Glasgow's best journalist'. It is interesting, in view of the deficiencies of Mercy Flight, that MacVicar himself complained that the first moon landing killed his space stories stone dead. They had originated in a fertile imagination, but this was no longer enough; technical knowledge, sadly lacking in Mercy Flight, was now required.

The second world war ended in 1945, and the first of these plays was written in 1954, while memories of the war were still fresh. The earlier plays,

Storm Tide and Minister's Monday, reflect this, but by the time the later plays were written, fear of the next, nuclear, war was beginning to surface. The theme of the war is an important one in Storm Tide.

Mrs Kerrigan has lost two sons in the war, and her bitterness is increased by the knowledge that the yacht her husband is risking his life to save, is owned by a German. Both the minister and the lifeboat secretary have been wounded in the war, but are not bitter. (The minister's leg wound, conveniently, provided an explanation for John MacKerral's limp.) In the event, the German yacht owner proves to be an obstetric surgeon, desperately needed to save the life of Mrs Kerrigan's daughter, who is marooned on the island by the storm. The one act play format does not allow for an extended discussion of the issue, but the author seems to be arguing, pragmatically, that there were faults on both sides and that if further wars are to be avoided, mutual forgiveness is necessary. The point that each side needs the other is underlined by the saving of the German yacht by the Scottish lifeboat, and the presumed saving of the coxswain's daughter by the German surgeon.

The issue in Minister's Monday revolves around the purchase of a commemorative window for the church by the local shopkeeper, who wants to honour comrades who fell in the war. The play was written at a time when the form such memorials should take was a recent live issue, as the elaborate monuments to the first

world war, which was to have ended all wars, were there to make an ironic comment on any such expenditure. Yet people still felt the need to express their grief in some tangible way.

By the late fifties and early sixties, it was becoming evident that the Highlands and Islands were seen by the government as a suitably remote location for nuclear products, and that the area was strategically important in the NATO defences. Specific knowledge was not widespread; it was more a case of a generalised suspicion that 'they' were going to plant these dangerous things on 'us'. Mercy Flight demonstrates both that suspicion, and the ignorance of what a nuclear accident would involve. Kirsty's comment,

'When we had a meeting on the island, you told us everything was safe.'

predates a similar meeting held in Campbeltown, to reassure residents, when a large area of the town was designated as unsafe for further building, because of its proximity to the NATO pier. Post-Chernobyl, the mistakes in Mercy Flight seem ludicrous: a nuclear incident from which everyone walks away, is perhaps just possible; but radiation sickness that can be cured if only suitable treatment can be given early

enough, a research station manned, apparently, by two men, and a total lack of security (so that even the woman who comes to collect the laundry is able to get close to the critical experiment), is simply not credible. The large scale enterprise necessary for nuclear research was completely beyond the experience of a remote village community where everyone knows everyone else, and each man's trade is understood by his neighbours; unlike the situation in large enterprises, where even a man's family may not know in detail how he earns his living. The relation of this play to the genre of the boys' adventure story was noted previously, and it is certainly a factor in the simplistic treatment of this incident; but it is also possible that the author's apparent ignorance of nuclear matters was typical of the state of local knowledge at that time. Against this, however, is Morag Grumoli's comment that she had refused a part in this play because she regarded it as nonsense, and the fact that it is quite the most unpopular play of the series, even with the author himself, suggests that it was realised that this was an inadequate treatment of the nuclear issue. In addition, it may simply have been an issue that people preferred to forget. Generally, the treatment of the 'affair' between the

professor and his secretary was regarded as being too simplistic, just not believable, and it was this that was disliked. There were no moral objections to the inclusion of this dimension. Mary Taylor, who played the secretary, thoroughly enjoyed her first 'meaty' part.

The emergence of the Russians as 'the enemy' in thrillers, in place of the Germans, began shortly after the war, so that Angus MacVicar was simply following a popular trend when he introduced the Russian security agent as the villain in Stranger at Christmas. In fact, Russian 'klondykers', factory ships that buy up the catches of local fishermen, are still a familiar sight on the West coast, and Russian submarines patrolling what is, after all, a strategic area, were not unheard of. The Russian fugitive is treated with sympathy (if he's running away from the Russians, he must be on our side); the sailor's inability to speak a word of English is treated as evidence of stupidity, (though no-one is expected to speak a word of Russian); and the threatening security agent is easily outwitted by the hotel owner. While this play was intended as a comedy, the underlying assumptions are ominous. Joey Jacob, through his parallel with Belsen, clearly equates the Russians

with the Nazis. It seems that an enemy is essential in the genre of the thriller, but there are obvious dangers when the fictional enemy is identified with a particular country.

It is evident in these last two plays that the barricades of the kailyard are being broken down, yet, typically, the threat in the plays comes from forces that are clearly alien: Russian troops, nuclear scientists, even the owner of the yacht in Storm Tide is German. It could be argued, however, that the author is avoiding the issue and that the real challenge to the values and mores of local life comes from less obviously hostile forces. The awareness of the outside world generated by television is perhaps the most obvious of these, but one must also take into account improvements in transport, which have not only increased traffic between Campbeltown and the surrounding villages, but have also facilitated contact between Kintyre and Glasgow and beyond. Changes in local government have removed important decision making from Campbeltown, once a Royal Burgh with its own provost and council, to the District Council Headquarters in Lochgilphead, and local farmers are increasingly affected by decisions taken even further afield in Brussels (the outstanding

example being the notorious 'milk quota'). Not all of these sweeping changes could have been foreseen in the fifties, when these plays were being written, but even then the boundaries of the kailyard were more under threat from the enforced exodus of young people in search of further education or employment than they were from the action of enemy aliens. The tradition of the 'lad o' pairts' makes a virtue of sheer necessity.

As was noted earlier, Southend is a churchgoing community, and these plays reflect a world where churchgoing is the norm, as is evident in minor details, which often have no direct bearing on the plot, but simply provide local colour. For example, in Under Suspicion the neighbour is a retired Sunday School teacher who taught the young fisherman in Sunday School. The fisherman's father was an elder, his mother a member of the Woman's Guild. The editor, too, in Final Proof was a church elder, and enjoyed the meetings of the kirk session. The island in Mercy Flight is a Roman Catholic island, of which there are several in the Hebrides, but, in the main, the assumption is that the majority of people will belong to the Church of Scotland. In Stranger at Christmas, religion appears only in the legend of St

Columba, but it is a major issue in Storm Tide. Part of the general assumption in the latter play is that the minister has a right and a duty to assist anyone in trouble, but in this case his help is rejected. Mrs Kerrigan had obviously held a simplistic 'magical' view of religion, which had not survived the death of her sons, and bitterness had filled the vacuum. In opposition to Mrs Kerrigan's view, the faith of the minister's wife seems to consist of a reliance on God's presence in all circumstances, in the certainty of finding strength and comfort. The minister believes that God's purposes are invariably good, though they may be difficult to understand, and, therefore, regards submission to God's will as an article of faith. As is often the case, the practical religion of the minister and his wife is more attractive than their professed beliefs, and their genuine kindness is demonstrated by the cardigan placed around Mrs Kerrigan's shoulders and the gift of a cigarette, together with their gentleness in return for Mrs Kerrigan's antagonism. They find it easy to forgive the Germans, in spite of their own suffering in the war. The minister prays for comfort for Mrs

Kerrigan and a change of heart, but insists that it is up to her to pray for her husband. Presumably, the stage direction, 'with dawning comprehension, she covers her face with her hands', implies that she has given in to this pressure. Be that as it may, immediately, word comes through that her husband is safe. In what follows, (the safe return of the lifeboat, and the arrival of Professor Hertzog in time to save the daughter's life), the minister, who has no doubt that a miracle has occurred, seems almost to be acting as God's agent. Hertzog is his friend and he is thus in a position to recognise and point out all the implications of this most fortuitous rescue.

Minister's Monday deals with the day to day problems of a country minister's life and aims at depicting the minister as a normal human being, and not as the frequent stage caricature, and in this I think it is successful. This minister, however, is not facing the serious problems of alcoholism, marital breakdown, criminal behaviour, loss of faith, painful and prolonged illness and bereavement, which are the daily lot of the parish minister. Instead, and I consider he has done the ministry a disservice here,

the play revolves around relatively petty arguments about the morality of using money obtained by gambling, to pay for a commemorative window for the church. We are reminded that the church is opposed even to the use of raffle tickets, but the minister is shown as taking the liberal view, even though by so doing, he risks some loss of income to the church. The play, however, was intended as comedy, and the writer had written a radio series,

The Glens of Glendale, involving the same characters, which may have given a more balanced picture overall.

The moral values depicted in these six plays are based on the stern presbyterian virtues of discipline, duty, loyalty, and fidelity, but, on the whole, these are shown as being the basis of true happiness, rather than as being oppressive, and they are balanced by kindness and caring. Certainly, the view of discipline in Mercy Flight is disturbing - evil is compared to the working of radiation,

'It's like the evil in our minds - discipline is thrust aside, and evil surges up to overwhelm us.'

The idea of discipline as the only safeguard against selfish anarchy, is one that Angus MacVicar preaches regularly at meetings of Dunaverty Players.

However, this apparent severity must be matched against the disciplining of the minister's son in Minister's Monday. The boy has broken a vase with a cricket ball, but when his father sets out to deal with him, he is easily sidetracked into demonstrating how the stroke should have been played, with the consequent destruction of a second vase. It is the minister's wife who gently takes the matter in hand, and settles the boy down to his homework. The coxswain's duty in Storm Tide is, of course, a main theme, but it is abundantly clear that he has chosen his duty, no pressure has been brought to bear. Interestingly, duty does not seem to have been a major factor in Drummond's decision to stay, in

Final Proof, nor does it loom large in the other plays, although in Stranger at Christmas, Miss MacRurie sees hospitality as a duty which requires her to protect her guests and her servants, but which must also apply to the unexpected stranger. Loyalty and fidelity, which are seen as being differing facets of the same virtue, are, however, important values in all the plays.

Mrs Galbraith states her position clearly in Under Suspicion,

'....if Davie's yer man he's good enough fer me,

and I'll not let either o' ye down.'

She proves her loyalty when Davie is accused of theft, as she had previously shown her trust when her husband was in financial difficulty. Teenie stood by Jock in Stranger at Christmas, but as we have seen, Mrs Kerrigan's lack of loyalty is a major theme in

Storm Tide, as is the conflict of loyalties experienced by her husband. The happy marriage in Minister's Monday is obviously based on mutual trust, whereas the illicit relationship between Professor Lambert and his secretary, in Mercy Flight, is shown as being unable to stand the strain. Faced with blindness, and imminent death, Lambert gives Alice no support at all, but turns to his wife, whose loyalty has never faltered. (Neither has Alice's, but her love is seen as being immoral, so it is Mrs Lambert who is rewarded.)

A good marriage is seen as being the ideal state of affairs, and good relations between parents and children are accepted as being the norm. There is an excellent relationship between mother and daughter in Under Suspicion, one that will readily be extended to include a son-in-law. Storm Tide, as we have seen, shows the reverse of the coin, but relations between parents and daughter seem to have been good. Mrs

Kerrigan's love for her daughter is undoubted, while the daughter understood her father well enough to insist that he took out the life boat. Relations between parents and children were relaxed in Minister's Monday, Drummond's marriage in Final Proof had been a happy one, and his relations with his children are excellent. The young Elspeth has an easy relationship with her uncle in Mercy Flight.

Oddly, both professors seem to have had slightly strained relationships with their wives. This could be an aspect of the local/incomer problem to be discussed later, incomers being regarded as less moral by the locals. There may also be a suggestion, here, that outstanding intellect needs to be balanced by practical decencies. It would appear that good relationships are to be seen as a product of the organic community.

On the evidence of these texts, however, Angus MacVicar is not entirely starry-eyed about marriage - it must rest on a sound financial basis. Davie assures Mrs Galbraith in Under Suspicion,

'I could afford to keep her weel enough and the bank's paid off an'all....'

and the minister in Minister's Monday is not so unworldly that he doesn't realise that,

'Dalbeg's a good farm with plenty of money behind it.'

- a perception that is reinforced when his prospective son-in-law assures him,

'I've got money of my own and Dalbeg belongs to me now.'

Women may be there to provide emotional support, but it is clear that it is a man's duty to make sound financial provision; a position very close to that found in the novels of Jane Austen.

One aspect of family life in the Highlands of Scotland is the demand of hospitality, and this is an issue in the final play, Stranger at Christmas. Children in Southend, and in the Highlands generally, are brought up on the story of Saint Columba, who, on leaving Ireland, landed first at Southend, leaving his footprint on a rock overlooking Ireland, before proceeding up the West coast to Iona. The custom of leaving an empty place has parallels in other cultures, but in the Highlands it is believed to have originated with Columba, whose saying is quoted in the play,

'Give to the Stranger all thine house. Put food in the eating place, drink in the drinking place. For the lark sings her song, 'Often, often, often

comes the Truth in the guise of the Stranger.'¹⁷

Here, the ingrained hospitality of the local tradition, embodied in the person of the hotel proprietrix, is contrasted with the reluctance of the guests to become involved with the Russian fugitive. There might appear to be a contradiction between the tradition of hospitality to the stranger which exists in the Highlands and the hostility to incomers evidenced in Stephenson's Ford¹⁸ by his description of the use of the term 'white settlers' to describe a certain type of incomer with 'colonialist attitudes'. The 'stranger', of course, is assumed to be only a temporary visitor, whereas the 'incomer' can be perceived as a threat to the local way of life. As was stated earlier, this was not the case in Southend, and thus this hostility is not found in the plays, except in Mercy Flight, though there is a suggestion of it in Storm Tide, when Mrs Kerrigan accuses the minister's wife of being an incomer who doesn't understand the hardships of island life. In Mercy Flight, it is heightened by the nuclear issue. Old Kirsty is the protagonist for the islanders, and, as her husband left her when he went to the mainland in the first war, she has reason to consider the outside world immoral, and she is visibly afraid of being

taken there by ambulance plane. She sees the scientists as a corrupting influence, whereas Alice, putting the opposing viewpoint, points to the local illegitimacy rate and the local profiteering at the expense of the incomers.

An aspect of this encounter, and of the characterisation of Annie Mary, in Storm Tide, is that both Highland women speak in a pseudo-poetical sing-song intended to represent the Highland way of speaking. The parts were written for the late Agnes McIntyre, who was a capable rural headmistress, not given to whimsy, though she had a rich Hebridean accent. Both characters are depicted as being slightly simple, which might suggest that the people of Kintyre (many of whose families originated in Ayrshire) share the lowland view of the Highland 'teuchter', (a derogatory term implying stupidity, possibly arising from the Gaelic speaker's inadequate grasp of English) but, more probably, it is another example of use being made of a common stereotype.

When we consider the plays overall, we can recognise a certain predictability of form. In each case, a crisis¹⁹ gives rise to tension and anxiety and provokes a moral debate guided by a raisonneur figure²⁰ whose values eventually triumph. This deliberate

structuring of tension, building up to a crisis which is subsequently resolved, is characteristic of the 'well made' play. This form of drama tends to reinforce the status quo by the implicit suggestion that all problems can be resolved within the bounds of life as it is (since the 'well made' play is, typically, naturalistic) and if this is the case there is no need for revolutionary change. Criticism of this type of play has tended to be based on the assumption that the status quo is in need of change. However, Angus MacVicar starts from the opposite premise, that the status quo, as it exists in Southend, is desirable, and benefits the whole community. In a lifetime of writing articles, and talks for the BBC, and in his more recent series of biographical writings,^{2/} he has defended what he sees as being good, with as much vigour as any reformer applies to his fight for change. From this point of view, the traditional 'well made' play, used in defence of the good life (as opposed to its use in support of an oppressive regime), might be seen to have positive rather than negative characteristics.

Throughout these plays, we find the attitudes and values of the kailyard literature, combined with an accurate and attractive account of life in an area

which retains many kailyard characteristics. What is lacking is any balancing account of the limitations of life in a rural community. Of these, the need to leave the district for further education has been noted, but, once the qualifications have been obtained, the student is unlikely to find employment in the Campbeltown area. Many parents are resigned to the fact that their children will never live within easy travelling distance from home. This separation can cause problems as the parents age. Similarly, the long journey from Glasgow puts the cultural and recreational facilities of the central belt out of reach. The existence of only one good road round the peninsula means that anyone planning a day's excursion is extremely limited when it comes to making a choice of destination; shorter expeditions are even more limited, so that incomers may miss the network of roads and the wide choice of venues that they have left behind. In addition, anyone pursuing a minority interest will have a reduced chance of finding fellow workers with whom to share information; making friends with one's neighbour is excellent, but it may not make up for the ability to choose one's companions, in such a case.

These problems are as intrinsic to the situation in an isolated area as is the more diffuse problem of understimulation in rural areas, raised earlier in the comparison with Simmel's 'Metropolis'.¹² Indeed it could be argued that lack of competition is not the only cause of understimulation and that a paucity of educational, sporting or cultural opportunity is equally detrimental.

KITCHEN COMEDY

As we can see from the list of plays produced during the period 1954 - 1966 (Appendix 15), Angus MacVicar's plays were only a quarter of the club's output. If we consider the remainder of the plays produced at this time, we find the majority share the same small town/rural background found in MacVicar's plays, and a similar degree of typecasting is evident.

It is very obvious that the plays were chosen to suit the cast, but Angus MacVicar, as producer, was looking for plays that he thought were relevant to his audience; a point very much in his favour - in view of the alternative of American films depicting a culture far from Scottish rural experience. His view of what would suit a local audience was to be queried later, partly because it was felt that he did not allow for

the changes in local perception brought about by the advent of television. However, at that time his judgement was unchallenged.

Of those plays listed under 'Other Festival Entries' five appear to be kitchen comedy, inasmuch as they are set in Scottish farm/cottage kitchens and deal with domestic/local matters. They are:

Mistress O' Greenbyres, The Woonin' O't, Moo, Gibbie Proposes, and The Lum Hat. These are the only kitchen comedies entered in the competitions by Dunaverty Players, and it should be noted that four of them were produced in the first five years, and none later than 1964. In addition, the club produced three full length plays which belong to the same genre: Joe Corrie's Tullycairn and Kye Amang the Corn, and T M Watson's Bachelors are Bold. All these plays share the Scottish small town/village background, and few have any sense of the world beyond. A possible exception is Moo by Sully and Anderson, which is concerned with the situation of a farmer whose land lies on the fringe of a big town and who is being pressed to provide building land by selling his farm. Some of the problems of a farmer in this situation are touched upon; gates left open, vandalism, and staff lured away to the town by the prospect of higher

wages. The use of the kitchen as the setting of these plays is deliberate. The kitchen was the hub of the household; here meals were prepared and eaten, family and close friends were entertained and the business of the farm discussed. The parlour was used for purely formal occasions, usually when strangers were present; but these plays were essentially about 'the everyday life of country folk'^{2.} (to quote an English variant of the genre) and hence were properly set in the kitchen.

Kitchen comedy is frequently equated with the kailyard. It would be useful therefore to consider these plays, together with those of Angus MacVicar, in the light of the factors considered by Campbell to be definitive of the genre. Both Campbell and Craig make the point that although the characters in the kailyard are unaware of the world beyond, it is assumed that the reader/audience is aware of it and probably belongs to that world.

The plays that Angus MacVicar wrote for Dunaverty Players were intended for a local audience, so that, in this respect, they do not conform to the expectation of the genre, moreover Angus MacVicar's plays differ from kitchen comedy in their underlying seriousness when compared with the absurd situations typical of kitchen comedy. Unlike Barrie, who in

A Window in Thrums is clearly distancing himself from his characters, and writing for the intelligentsia he has joined, about the world he has left behind, Angus MacVicar, by choice, remains part of the country community, respects it, and, in these plays, is writing for it. The same is probably true of W D Cocker's The Wooing O't, which also appears to have been written for a rural audience. It is a simple account of a proposal of marriage that went wrong through mutual misunderstanding, and while it is little more than a sketch, the situation and the characters ring true, and the writer was a countryman writing for country people.

The remainder of the one act examples of kitchen comedy were written for SCDA festival audiences, both rural and urban, and the full length plays were also written for Scottish audiences, with whom they were very popular, but they share with the kailyard novels the impression of describing rural situations for a more sophisticated audience. While MacVicar's more serious plays conformed to Campbell's description of kailyard as producing an idealised view of rural life; on the other hand comedy, by its very nature, is subversive; and thus, inevitably, in the kitchen comedies aspects of rural life were held up to

ridicule. In T M Watson's portrayal of small town politics in Bachelors are Bold, for example, the local undertaker, with no preparation, interest, or aptitude, stands for election to the local town council purely to spite his rival, in the certain knowledge that they share enough friends to split the vote and ensure that the third candidate will be elected. It is assumed that the issues are of no importance - what is at stake is the Bailie's ambition to become Provost.

Campbell has argued that the kailyard stories were 'contrived to throw discredit on innovation.²⁴' In these plays innovation is frequently threatened, resisted, and finally accepted. As we have seen, in Moo the farmer is threatened by the encroaching town, and after resisting this for some time, finally agrees to the wisdom of selling the farm and retiring gracefully. In all the Joe Corrie plays produced by Dunaverty Players change is a major factor. In Mistress o' Greenbyres the plot revolves around the modernisation of the farm kitchen by the young farmer's wife, with the consequent changes in her lifestyle, and the conflict this engenders with her more conservative sisters-in-law, but in the end her ideas and values are accepted. In Tullycairn, set,

kailyard fashion, in the recent past, the changes are brought about by the coming of motorised transport, which is at first resisted by the leading character, and then reluctantly embraced, when he realises that his livelihood will depend upon it. On the other hand, in Kye Amang the Corn the change, (which is to be brought about by the sale of a widow's farm for a golf course and hotel complex, with marked repercussions in the district), is welcomed by the locals, who compete, somewhat viciously, for the resulting financial benefit.

Kye Amang the Corn, is a well constructed, mildly satirical, comedy demonstrating the effect of the prospect of unexpected, easy money on the 'idyllic' rural community, and one which might have become all too relevant had the exploration for oil off the shore of Kintyre gone ahead. However, as has been pointed out, the theatrical text may vary considerably from the dramatic text, and a producer of Angus MacVicar's calibre is quite capable of taking a text which could be construed as meeting Craig's definition of kailyard, (inasmuch as it held up the limitations of a rural community for the amusement of a more 'knowing' audience) and using it to suit his own purposes - by minimising the 'bite' and playing the piece entirely

for laughs. He was helped in this by the fact that the two farmers, whose feud is the core of the play, were played by John Barbour and John McKerral (a farmer and a farmer's son) - who were known to the audience as two good natured and popular fellows, quite incapable of the degree of spite they were, or should have been, asked to portray. As their producer has said, 'We played down that side of it,' - and the audience was presented with a group of basically attractive people, temporarily, and comically, at odds with each other. This in spite of the fact that, in the dramatic text, these people find it amusing that the elderly postman is brought to the point of physical collapse by the ruse of posting, repeatedly, an excessively heavy parcel which he has to carry up a steep hill day after day; a prize cow is deliberately shot from spite; a highly strung woman narrowly escapes being run over by a farmer in the grip of rage; and the two farmers seriously threaten each other with physical violence. While many of the lines and situations in this play are extremely funny, the ambivalence that Craig refers to could have been avoided only by sending clear signals to the audience that none of it was to be taken seriously.

Corrie has recently been rediscovered as a

left-wing playwright of the 1930's. However, in spite of his own commitment to Communism, his 'political' one-act plays operated by showing, very vividly, the hardship and deprivation of the everyday lives of miners and of the unemployed in the pre-war period, and leaving the audience to draw its own conclusion. Drama in Kintyre, however was introduced in the immediate post-war period, when the mines had been newly nationalised by a Labour government and mass unemployment was believed to be a thing of the past. In these circumstances Corrie's serious plays read like period pieces. They seem more relevant in the 1980's and this may be a reason for the renewed interest in Corrie's serious writings. Be that as it may, Linda MacKenney has shown that in the 1930s, in addition to his political work, Corrie produced a large number of light-weight comedies written specifically for the use of clubs competing in the SCDA festivals. These must have provided his major source of income at a time when unemployment produced great hardship, and Corrie himself was unemployed; but the sheer necessity of earning a living is overlooked in David Hutchison's comment that Corrie was 'seduced' into writing 'pot-boilers' and in his quotation from Bridie,

'If I am asked whether I admire Messrs Corrie and Watson, I reply that I do; and that I continually mourn over them and pray that they may see the light. It is as if Dickens and Thackeray, knowing themselves to be masters of the anecdote, had written nothing but magazine stories till the greater virtue went out of them.'

Bridie had never experienced the hunger or hardship of Corrie's early life, but it is by the plays and poems²⁷ that sprang from this period that Corrie will be remembered, though none of this work was produced by Dunaverty Players. Indeed, political drama was eschewed in Kintyre,²⁶ though the Miners' Club from Drumlemble produced Hewers of Coal in 1954. However, this was seen locally less as a political statement than as an understandable drawing on experience that would stand them in good stead in the competition. The satire in Kye Amang the Corn is not inconsistent with Corrie's political stance, inasmuch as it portrays greed as the potentially destructive besetting sin of these comfortable farmers, but it is a mild attack coming from the man who wrote,

'I've come through Hell, my freen, since I was born....'

To return to the comedies, much of the humour in

these plays arises from the assumption that marriage is a woman's sole aim in life, while men, (other than young men in love, who play lesser roles in the plays) are determined to escape it. However, the desire for marriage is less a desire for the formation of a sexual relationship, (sex, as such, is almost completely absent from the plays) as for the acquisition of the status of mistress of the household. Married women are shown as being sensible, stable, domestically competent and respected, but the same status is given to the housekeepers who fulfill the homemaker's role in Kye Amang the Corn and Gibbie Proposes. Young women are actively seeking marriage; the older daughter in Tullycairn is told that she'll 'soon be on the shelf', and the graduate schoolteacher niece of the undertaker in Bachelors are Bold, while acting as his temporary housekeeper, is earnestly trying to acquire the housekeeping skills which will fit her for her future role as a wife. Women who have failed to marry, and widows, are figures of fun. The silly spinster in Kye Amang the Corn is said to be 'needin' a man badly, but will never get yin' and the widow in the same play is 'daft to get anither man'. There are similar widows in Bachelors are Bold, Gibbie Proposes

and The Lum Hat. The relevance of this to MacVicar's view of women as demonstrated in his plays is self evident, so also is the support given to the role played by women in local life.

On the other hand the men in these plays are depicted as being quarrelsome, competitive and obstinate, and a feature of the plays is the way in which the men's rivalry spills over, souring relationships and breaking up the romances of the young people, until, typically, the homemaker figure or a mutual but neutral friend takes matters in hand. In Kye Amang the Corn, this role is borne by the local policeman, who is a personal friend of the protagonists. This latter point is important, since in general the problems raised in these plays are such as can be resolved without reference to anyone outside the peer group of family and friends. That this is perceived locally as 'how things should be' is evidenced by the resentment felt in the area at any suggestion of interference from outside.

The class distinctions in these plays were between farmer and farm worker, not between farmer and laird. Impudent servants, of the type described in the discussion of Final Proof, occur in all the plays except The Woonin' O't and Gibbie Proposes, but in

these plays the servants are obviously of a different class from their masters, and are derived more obviously from dramatic precedent, than in MacVicar's plays where the class distinction is minimised.

Religion is not a topic in any of these plays, (though a stereotyped, disapproving minister appears briefly at the end of The Lum Hat and there is a brief reference to the 'Kirk Cantata' in Gibbie Proposes) nor is there any overt moralising, though the behaviour of the feuding males and the foolish females is plainly not approved. Only Iullycairn can be described as nostalgic, the remainder, like Angus MacVicar's plays, were contemporary at the time of writing, ie in the forties and fifties, though they may appear to be dated in 1988. Thus, while it would appear that kitchen comedy has much in common with the kailyard novels, (not least in the tendency, pointed out by Craig, to equate 'the language of Lowland Scots into a medium necessarily identified with a couthy, domestic, sentimental world')²⁹ - there are differences, arising partly from the nature of comedy and in some cases from the nature of the audience to which the plays were aimed. Be this as it may, the plays would certainly help to reinforce Angus MacVicar's ideal of a self contained community.

While these plays were chosen for their relevance to a rural audience, a further factor in the popularity of this genre with rural clubs, was the ease with which they could be set. Without exception, they were set in farm or cottage kitchens, so that it was simply a case of reproducing on stage the type of kitchen most members lived in at home. Once a basic box set consisting of flats, doors, window and kitchen range had been constructed, it could be used and reused with minor variations, and the furniture and properties were simply borrowed from members' homes. Even if the play was set in the past, accurate properties presented no problem - as one member pointed out to me, farm buildings provide plenty of storage space and little is thrown out, so that after a some searching among the lumber, kitchens of fifty or a hundred years ago could be recreated without difficulty.

Other English one-act plays produced by Dunaverty players at this time were, in fact, played in Scots and had similar limitations to those of kitchen comedy. Although they were set in different locations, (eg a restaurant, a village fete) they shared the same limited outlook, and the same small town situations.

SCOTS HISTORICAL COMEDY

More interesting was another popular Scottish genre, the Scots historical comedy.

Cairns Craig has identified Tartanry with Kailyard, as being equally detrimental to the discovery of a mature, contemporary Scottish identity. The myths of Tartanry have been attributed to Scott but owe less to the plots of his novels, which Lukacs³⁰ has praised for their realism,³¹ than to what Craig describes as,

'The trappings....the clans, the tartans, the high nobility of epic grandeur....'³²

and even more to the events surrounding the visit of George IV to Scotland in 1822. Campbell recalls Scott's masterminding of this visit so that the

Scotland the king saw was,

'stage-managed in people, in background, in social interplay....with tartan accoutrements provided for guests and hosts alike.'³³

This stage-managed 'Scottishness', however, impeded the development of a realistic Scottish identity, and, since the time of Scott attempts to portray aspects of life in Scotland have been bedevilled with the ubiquity of the tartan, the romanticism of 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' and the quaintness of Brigadoon.

These comic plays, however, fall into none of

these categories, but appear to give expression to a sense of Scottishness by using episodes from Scottish history familiar only to Scots. However, while they are directed at a Scottish audience, and so are relatively free from romanticism, they do tend to portray the Scots as pawky anti-authoritarians - a self-image which many see as being limiting. The language, typically, is Lowland Scots, with no concessions made to a non-Scots audience, so that a Welsh adjudicator declared, ruefully, that, although the audience had obviously enjoyed T M Watson's Hangman's Noose - he had not understood a word.

Scottish audiences, however, love to hear Scots well spoken, and though educated Scotsmen rarely use the vernacular in their business or professional lives, they enjoy being reminded that it was once the language of king and court, hence some of the popularity of Robert McLellan's Jamie the Saxt.

The first of this genre to be tackled by Dunaverty Players was T M Watson's full length Johnnie Jouk the Gibbet, set in Glasgow in 1605, which is based on the true, but ridiculous, situation which arose when the town council, being unable to find anyone to take on the duties of the hangman, offered the post to one of the condemned men, who

accepted in return for a free pardon. Hangman's Noose is the last act of this full length play tailored to fit the festival market. Lady Mirren's first speech makes it clear why the adjudicator experienced some difficulty in understanding:

'Stravaigin' oot an' in wullna bring them. Ye maun hae patience. Bailie Cameron isnae sae soople on his pins as he wis and the Toon Clerk's waur. Ye needna luck. I wis at the winnock masel' a meenit syne.'

However there is no doubt that the possession of a language not readily understood by incomers from south of the Scottish border is relished by Scots as evidence of an independent nationality.

Johnnie Jouk the Gibbet was an outstanding example, and Hangman's Noose is still a favourite at SCDA festivals.

The two other playwrights, whose work in this genre has been produced by Angus MacVicar for Dunaverty Players are George S Carruthers

(Trouble Brewing, Wha's Laird) and James Scotland

(Union Riots, Hallowe'en, and Hogmanay) - these last two, it will be noted, being the names of peculiarly Scottish celebrations.

Trouble Brewing dealt with an unexpected visit by the

exciseman in the early 18th century, and was little more than kitchen comedy set in the past; but Wha's Laird, set in the Scottish borders in the 16th century, made use of the idiosyncracies of Scots law, an aspect of Scottish life retained in The Act of Union, and clearly distinct from that of England. It is described as 'a rumbustious romp in Scots' and, played with vigour, should be just that.

The plot revolves around the inheritance of a small estate. The claimants are twin brothers, but there is doubt who is the elder. The denouement is ingenious: Jock was born first, but Cudgie is the heir, as the marriage of their parents took place between the first birth and the second. Most of the fun arises from the vigour with which husband fights with wife, brother with brother, wife with wife, master with servant - the maidservant flirts with all and sundry and the lawyer lines his pocket from both sides - all in broad Scots. As in many Scots comedies, use is made of the old Scots form of marriage which allowed two people to marry on the spot, without previous notice, and with minimum formality. The plot here depends on such a marriage, but we also find the maidservant marrying the manservant, who is groggy from a blow on the head and

is not quite sure what is happening to him.

In Johnny Jouk the Gibbet, Johnnie and Morag are married with equal lack of ceremony:

Provost Wull ye hae her?

Johnnie Aye

Provost Wull ye hae him?

Morag Aye

Provost Ye're mairret.

Clerk As sudden as daith itsel', Bailie.

Since 1970, MacVicar has turned to the plays of James Scotland, with Union Riots which dealt humourously with the Porteous Riots of 1706, and two hilarious plays set in 'The abbey of Cambusdonald in the Lothians of Scotland in 1460' - Hallowe'en and its sequel, Hogmanay. These again rely on the use of broad Scots and depict historical situations that are outside the general area of Tartanry, (and which, therefore, are unfamiliar to the English) thus drawing attention to Scotland's unique and separate history - and in so doing reinforcing a sense of a Scottishness that takes itself for granted and feels no need to measure itself against the English. Therefore, in these plays, we do not find the anti-authoritarian Scot pitted against the authoritarian English or Americans, as in films such as The Maggie or

Whisky Galore - here the Scots are secure enough to laugh at themselves. We find that in Union Riots, based on the riots against the Union of the Parliaments (1707), a subject ripe for romanticism, both sides are undercut by humour,

'As if it maittered whaur they windbags did their bletherin'.

Nothing is sacred,

FINDLAY:there's goin' tae be anither Bannockburn I tell ye, anither Stirlin' Brig, anither Flodden...

LIBBY: We lost that yin...

In Hallowe'en and Hogmanay, James Scotland causes a small group of very irreverent monks accidentally to summon up Helen of Troy (bare scuddy!) and Salome, thus creating a direct link between Scotland and a classical past, the more so as both ladies speak broad Scots. When Brother Donatus protests at Helen's nakedness (all but her head and shoulders is carefully hidden behind a screen), she replies,

'I niver thocht - I cam in my workin' claes.'

At the same time, the author takes care to establish an authentic background for his fantastic situation by carefully setting out the reasons which would lead men with no religious bent to seek life in a monastery.

DONATUS:mebbe I should hae held to the pleugh.

BARNABUS: Aye - gin ye wantit to be auld at thirty an' deid at forty....

DONATUS: What why did ye jine the order son?

SIMON: It wis either that or the airmy.

BARNABUS: I see. And oor Scots generals hae only wan thing in common.

DONATUS: What's that?

BARNABUS: They all get bate.

While it is probable that this reinforcement of a sense of identity was, at least, part of MacVicar's motivation in choosing these plays, one must also remember the more practical reasons for his choice. These plays were a gift to a Scottish cast, raising no problems of accent, and, as one member pointed out, James Scotland was heavily involved in SCDA himself, and understood the needs of the clubs. Thus, his plays invariably had six or eight fairly evenly balanced parts, and were perfect for an amateur group, especially one that was so opposed to any kind of 'star' system.

MACVICAR'S PRODUCTIONS 1966 -1987

For a short period from 1966 to 1970 Angus MacVicar, as producer, seems to have made a conscious effort to extend his range. In Five Minutes' Time, by G S Carruthers, produced in 1966, is interesting in that, at the outset, it seems to create in the audience the expectation that this is to be the type of Scottish domestic comedy already described, with all the opportunities for humour provided by a family wedding. Then, as could happen in real life, the mood is altered totally, and abruptly, by the accidental death of the bridegroom. This sudden switch to tragedy is unusual on stage, where it is more usual to build up expectation in the audience of what is to happen. In this case the shock felt by the audience would be increased, as familiarity with the genre would be reinforced by the assumption of what was likely to be presented by this particular group of players.

This was followed by a group of serious English one-act plays, played in Scots to suit the accents of the players, and with the location accordingly transferred to Scotland. These included: Outpatients, by Margaret Wood, set in a city hospital, ³²Profile by

T S Morris (a thriller with a romantic conclusion, relevant to local life only insofar as both hero and heroine had been badly injured in the war, and this had happened to one of the club's own members);

Pardon my French by Roland and Michael Pertwee (an episode from a current radio soap opera); and

The Man Who Wouldn't Go To Heaven by F Sladen Smith. This last, a fantasy about a proselytising freethinker who finally, as a result of his kindness to the 'lunatic', finds that he has entered heaven in spite of himself, was enormously popular with the cast, but it marked a watershed in the life of the players. As was seen in the chapter on the history of Dunaverty Players, several key members of the club were lost at this time. The following year MacVicar produced the two plays written by Alastair Maiden, to be described later, and thereafter shared the responsibility of production with Alastair.

Since then it has been said in the club that, 'Angus has reverted to type.' He proposed to produce

Highland Fling by G Carruthers in 1972 (one of two plays chosen by Dunaverty Players that used stereotyped Scottish peasants outwitting English landlords), but was prevented by an accident which severely injured two of his leading players. Finding

himself without a play for that year, as Dr Maiden was producing the club's other festival entry, characteristically, he went to the rescue of Peninver Players, who were temporarily without a producer. With them he won that year's competition with

Bessie Bell and Mary Gray, a well written Scottish tragedy by John M S MacCabe. (Highland Fling was finally produced in 1985.) The following year, he repeated Final Proof. This was less a restatement of his values, than a fall-back position when he was having difficulty in finding a play to suit a group consisting largely of new, untried players. The play had been written for just such a group.

The James Scotland comedies were produced in this period, as well as Scotland's more serious one-act, The Girl of The Golden City. This was the only play tackled by the company that attempted to get away from the well rounded 'well made play' form. The structure here was linear, with the 'girl' following the pattern of her mother's life - growing up in Glasgow, marrying a young man who immediately goes off to the second world war, as her father had gone to the first, and producing, in turn, a daughter who will grow up in Glasgow.... No conclusion is reached and no solutions are offered, the implication is that the

pattern will continue. The construction was, necessarily, episodic - the episodes being linked by a chorus of children chanting street rhymes.

The inclusion of this play shows that MacVicar was open to new ideas, especially if they were of Scottish origin. However, very few one-act plays which experimented with new forms were available to, or, if they existed, were known to, local producers. Inevitably, therefore, he returned to the well tried, 'well made' play, producing a mixture of historical comedies and neatly rounded plays with a moral content, such as Michael Dines' A Little Bell for San Marco or Norman McKinnell's version of an episode from Victor Hugo, The Bishop's Candlesticks.

Two of these, dealing with the problem of old age, are of interest. It may be significant that both are set in urban areas, or there may be a suggestion that times have changed; but there is a clear movement away from the situation in the kitchen comedies. There, old people were taken for granted as part of the household, often providing a source of humour, frequently portrayed as a cross that the woman of the house had to bear, occasionally as a source of wisdom, but securely based within the family. Mon(e)y a Slip, by Alastair Ferguson, is set in a Glasgow kitchen, but

the old couple are childless, and the neighbour, almost an essential component of the family grouping in the kitchen comedies, literally speaks a different language from the broad Scots of the old couple. While she is caring and kindly, she is a neighbour only in the sense that she has come to live next door.

In MacVicar's plays and the kitchen comedies, neighbours had known each other and shared the same lifestyle since childhood. There is a further basic difference. Whereas in the earlier plays all problems could be resolved within the immediate circle of family and friends - here, when the lives of the old couple are faced with disruption by the threatened demolition of their home, their problem can be resolved only with the help of a stranger: 'the man from the council.' In David Campton's Parcel, an old lady is shunted between her well-meaning, but insensitive, daughters like the parcel of the title. Here, the form of the play, a series of episodes set in uncomfortable exterior situations (a bus, a waiting room, a street etc), suggests a lack of comfort in the old lady's situation and the restlessness of her peripatetic existence, in contrast with the cosy, settled interior settings of kitchen comedy. It is difficult to discern whether the inclusion of these

two plays reflects a change in attitudes to old people, or a new awareness of their needs, or whether, indeed, MacVicar saw them as reflecting the values of the world he had renounced in favour of life in Southend.

NEW WRITING

Throughout his career as a producer for Dunaverty Players, Angus MacVicar has been anxious to encourage new writers and has been willing to produce their work even when it was distinctly amateurish. James Shaw Grant's Brighton Conspiracy was an early example. The original title was A Southend Conspiracy (referring to the English Southend-on-Sea), but, for obvious reasons, the title was changed when it was given its first airing by Dunaverty Players. This was little more than a humorous sketch making fun of English attitudes to the Hebrideans.

Children of the Carpenter, written by a Campbeltown minister's wife, Joanna Tibbs, was about life in a manse similar to that in MacVicar's own Minister's Monday. It is interesting that neither writer, both of whom had first hand experience of such a life, had what David S Robb has referred to as

...the dewy-eyed reverence for such things that is among the tell-tale signs of a 'Kailyard'

34
treatment.

In 1971, at a time when the club was struggling and was short of both males and juveniles, he volunteered to produce two plays by Alastair Maiden. The first of these, The Shaunessy Bodach, is one of only two plays produced by Dunaverty Players which rely on the staple of whimsical Highlanders who get the better of the domineering English (the other was Highland Fling). However, it was preferred by the players to Maiden's other offering, a farce, Flying Visit, set in a factory that produced knitwear for dogs. The concept of 'poodlepants' seems to have been just too much for a cast accustomed to working dogs. During the eighties MacVicar has produced two pantomimes written by Barbara Lamont, an active member of the club, and these have proved to be very popular with the local audience. He has been equally supportive of professional Scottish playwrights. His determination to produce Highland Fling stemmed from the fact that he had promised to try out the play for G S Carruthers and felt he had let him down when he had to withdraw in 1972; and his preference for Scottish plays probably owed much to a desire to support fellow Scottish writers.

ALASTAIR MAIDEN AND THE THEATRE OF THE ABSURD

Martin Esslin describes 'The Theatre of the Absurd' as

'the reflection of what seems to be the attitude most genuinely representative of our own time...(in) its sense that the certitudes and unshakeable basic assumptions of former ages have been swept away.'³⁶

He defines the term, quoting Ionesco, as follows:

'Absurd is that which is devoid of purpose Cut off from his religious, metaphysical, and transcendental roots, man is lost; all his actions become senseless, absurd, useless.'³⁷

He then goes on to describe how the writers he would include in 'The Theatre of the Absurd' have attempted to find a form, which, in a sense, is the negation of form, in order to express their sense of a world that has become meaningless, 'by the abandonment of rational devices and discursive thought.'³⁸

Alastair Maiden, an Argyllshire man brought up in Dunoon, had settled as the local GP in Southend after a lifetime of service overseas. He loved the place and liked the people, but found their world view sadly restricted; and, as a declared unbeliever, he was critical of the church which, he considered, failed to

practice what it preached. Consequently, he was critical of Angus MacVicar's choices, and his interest in 'The Theatre of the Absurd' which reflected his own stance, became evident when, in the early 1970s, he circulated a copy of NF Simpson's A Resounding Tinkle, presumably to 'test the water'. Predictably, this play was met with blank incomprehension by many of the players, and he received little support for his suggestion that it should be entered in the festival. At the time I argued that it was irrelevant to a rural community, since a community that retains a religious belief in a meaningful universe has no need of absurdist drama. However there is a case to be made for attempting to understand an opposing world view. Dr Maiden's position was atypical in Southend, though it was in the mainstream of thinking in the world beyond the kailyard. In the event, he made no further attempt to introduce such an extreme change, but the incident may cast some light on the choices he made.

New producers tend to play safe with their first productions, and choose something that is well within their scope and that of their players, and Alastair Maiden was no exception. A Villa For Sale, by Sacha Guitry, is of interest only in comparison with what had gone before. The setting is a French, bourgeois

drawing room, well removed from the Scottish kitchen, but surprisingly perhaps, the plot is the familiar one of locals, in this case the French, outwitting the incomers, here the Americans. What is new is the cheerful amorality with which this is done. Though he himself was moral almost to the point of being puritanical, unlike Angus MacVicar, Dr Maiden would not preach. In other productions Maiden seems to have shown a preference for bizarre comedy, absurd only in the commonly accepted sense of the word, but nevertheless negating the world view presented by Angus MacVicar.

In As Good as New by David Perry, we find the familiar domestic scene, the same close knit family unit, which includes the grandparents - but here it is grotesquely self-sufficient to the point of disposing of the daughter's suitors, (who just happen to die on the premises) by sending them down to grandpa to be stuffed. Tom Stoppard's After Magritte is equally bizarre and, at the outset might seem to have much in common with the drama of the absurd, but this effect is defused when each of the unlikely happenings turns out to have a perfectly logical explanation. The graveyard humour of the Scots is well known, T M Watson's Gibbie Proposes was an outstanding example,

but this should be seen against a background of Christian funerals, unlike the disposal of the bodies in As Good as New.

Rise and Shine, by Elda Cadogan, could be described as being literally graveyard humour, though here only gentle fun was being made of the concept of resurrection and the Day of Judgement. The play is set in a Canadian graveyard, where two young people arise from their graves and are on the point of falling in love, when the young woman's aged husband returns to reprove her for oversleeping and missing the last trump. The humour arises from the very literal application of the biblical account of the last days, which would seem to imply that people remain forever in the state they were at the time of death, hence the enormous disparity in age between husband and wife. The denouement comes with the revelation that the young woman is her admirer's great, great grandmother. MacVicar may not have chosen this play, but he enjoyed it enormously, as did the whole club, and it was the only play produced by Dunaverty to reach the British finals.

A Separate Peace, another Tom Stoppard play, was also popular with the club, who either enjoyed the idea of thwarting the authoritarian hospital

hierarchy, or simply sympathised with the idea of opting out and being looked after for a while. Most, however, were bothered by the lack of any explanation for Mr Brown's behaviour, and this play certainly broke with the expectation of the 'well made' play by failing to tie up the loose ends. This, of course, may have been the attraction of the play for Alastair Maiden, but it is a very small step in the direction of The Theatre of the Absurd.

Not every play, it must be reiterated, is chosen primarily for its content, and Pop Goes the Patient, by Leonard Barnett, is an example of a play chosen for purely practical reasons. All through the seventies the club was short of players, particularly young players, and in 1977 Dr Maiden made a special effort to recruit a group of young people. He assumed that to do this he would have to offer a lighthearted play that sounded 'with it'; hence his choice of this nonsensical piece about a successful pop star (who finds himself in hospital with very minor injuries as a result of a publicity gimmick that went wrong) and his agent, who manipulates both singer and fans for his own benefit. In choosing this piece it is just possible that Alastair Maiden was making his own oblique comment on society - since nothing could have

been further from his own taste; but through it he was instrumental in recruiting a group of young people, most of whom stayed with the club until the demands of education or employment took them out of the district, and this is the more likely explanation of his choice.

His last production, MacNeill, was the first act of Alun Owen's The Male of the Species, and, in its treatment of male exploitation of women in both personal and business life, was far removed from the cosy world of the kailyard. The 'male' in this act is the heroine's father who is seen in an exploitative relationship with a woman who is senior to him at work, a situation he finds intolerable. However, in addition, we learn of his brutal and utterly callous treatment of his wife, which had taken place in a rural situation, long before he had moved to the city.

Thus women are shown as being universally vulnerable; cruelty and exploitation occur within the confines of a rural community, as well as within the urban setting of this play. As the Maidens moved to Australia after this production, it is not possible to determine whether MacNeill was chosen because the theme seemed important to the producer, or because it offered good parts to some new younger players, and was a powerful play that might do well in the festival.

Probably all these factors were involved to a degree.

It would be unwise to make too firm a judgement on the basis of such a small sample, but it would appear that Dr Maiden's choice of plays reflected his rejection of kailyard values, which he felt were too limited, and his declared wish that the club should look to a wider world in its search for material.

OTHER PRODUCERS

If MacVicar and Maiden can be said to occupy opposing ends of a continuum, the producers who followed, being perhaps less committed to a particular viewpoint, have taken up positions somewhere in between. John McKerral produced three plays between 1979 and 1981; I took over from him and have had seven festival entries; and Ronald Togneri took over the production of Agnes Adam's

The Strawberry from Angus MacVicar, in 1986, and has since had two productions of his own.

None of us has produced a Scottish play, so that it would appear that Alastair Maiden's wish for a wider range has been fulfilled, albeit alongside Angus MacVicar's choices, so that the two streams have continued in parallel. On the other hand, the form of the drama has remained unchanged - we are still producing the well tried, 'well made' play. John McKerral is the Session Clerk of the Lowland Church in

the only one who might feel threatened by it - it is simply irrelevant to those with a secure faith. This being said, it would appear that our choices reflect our individual interests and competences rather than any clearly defined world view, and none of us could be completely absolved from the charge of choosing plays that we consider are likely to do well in the festivals.

John McKerral is, above all, an entertainer, much in demand at local concerts, not only for his fine singing, but for his skill in using his acting ability to add another dimension to his performance. He chose two light modern pieces, a comedy (George by Derek Hickman) and a farce (Pastiche by Nick Hall) together with a thriller set in France (Ripe for Conversion by J McConnel). The 'conversion' referred to a property - it held no religious overtones. George, being his first production, was a predictably 'safe' comedy, interesting only insofar as its ending recalls the repetitive movement of The Girl of the Golden City.³⁹ Hospitals are much the same the world over, and a local audience would have no difficulty in identifying with the characters in this play. By this time, too, the sympathetic treatment of the triangular affair at the heart of Ripe for Conversion would have been familiar from the many similar situations that arise in television drama, as indeed would the farcical treatment of the same theme in Pastiche. Both, however, were distanced by the fact of being set

outside Scotland and using English middle or upper-middle class characters. As he intended, these plays were guaranteed to entertain the audience.

My own choices reflected my insecurity as a producer. Knowing that many of the players had far more experience of practical stagecraft than I had myself, I tended to look for a classic piece, by an established playwright and with considerable depth of characterisation, which would allow me to use my interpretative skills. Thus my first production was Anton Chekhov's A Jubilee, since I had recently studied this writer in the OU drama course. This was followed by the first act of O'Casey's

Juno and the Paycock and later productions were Turgenev's The Provincial Lady and Shaw's Great Catherine. This latter play doesn't quite fit the pattern, being a fairly lighthearted dig at the English, but it was brought in at the last minute, when I was refused permission to go ahead with a shortened version of Anouilh's Antigone and found myself with a cast, but without a play. The other exceptions were, The Trial of Harry Mann, previously described at some length, and Red Spy at Night by Robert King, a slight farce which was chosen to provide experience of a different aspect of drama, but

exceptions were, The Trial of Harry Mann, previously described at some length, and Red Spy at Night by Robert King, a slight farce which was chosen to provide experience of a different aspect of drama, but which, in the event, proved to be too slight to retain interest over the customary long rehearsal period. Bernadette by Noel Wolfe and Sheila Buckley, was not a classic, but the situation of the nuns faced with the problem of adopting a popular saint into their order retained its fascination to the last rehearsal. None of the all-female cast was a Roman Catholic, so that much research was needed before we could properly appreciate the dilemma which faced the nuns. We were helped in this by the parish minister, who provided Marcelle Bernstein's authoritative ⁴⁰Nuns, and a succession of three local priests, who were more critical of the cloister than we were, so that, as women, we found ourselves defending the nuns against their male co-religionists. A more ecumenical venture can hardly be envisaged. That Ronald Togneri was not deeply involved in this production, is an indication of the extent to which the club becomes divided during the rehearsal period. Ronald had his own production rehearsing on a different night and we rarely came into contact in the normal course of events, though,

when invited, he did give very useful advice regarding aspects of the set and of Roman Catholic ritual. It is impossible properly to evaluate one's own contribution, but it does seem that these choices reflect an interest in the reasons for individual behaviour, and otherwise conform to the traditional world view.

Ronald Togneri is probably the most talented producer to have worked for Dunaverty Players to date.

An outstanding amateur actor himself, he has the ability to teach others, and in addition is a considerable scenic artist. He sees drama above all as 'theatre', by which he means a total amalgam of the visual and aural, which he has the skills to achieve, given the present acting talent in the club. His productions so far have included The Guilty Generation by Margaret Wood, in some ways an unsatisfactory account of life after the nuclear holocaust, but which he made memorable by his imaginative production, especially in his use of set, costumes and movement to reinforce the feeling of the play. He used a similar approach in this year's production of Synge's

Riders to the Sea. Here again we see the tendency to choose plays which allow for the exercise of particular skills, though the choice of play is

consistent with an underlying religious view which invokes the necessity for making moral choices. The disapproval with which the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Ireland first viewed the latter play has now long been forgotten and would, I believe, have surprised the two contemporary catholics who were involved in this production. Tragedy at sea, which could be seen as relevant to a Campbeltown audience, since Campbeltown is a fishing port, is not nowadays so apt a choice for Southend itself, since because of its position on an exposed coast, which offers little shelter, it is a farming rather than a fishing community.

Overall, though it would appear that there have been developments away from the kailyard drama with which the club began, these developments have, on the whole, been superficial. The location has moved away from Scotland; possibly the content has been fractionally more permissive, but only insofar as infidelity was treated as a subject for comedy in Pastiche and with sympathy in Ripe for Conversion; and some pieces have shown a greater depth of characterisation; but the form and the underlying religious assumptions remain undisturbed. Only Alastair Maiden attempted a more fundamental reappraisal and his influence has had no lasting

effect. Dunaverty Players were seen to reject, instinctively, drama originating in a perception of life as being meaningless, and their own choices reinforced the traditional values of an overtly Christian community. However, it may well be that the rejection of meaninglessness and of a philosophy based on 'the death of God' is more widespread than has previously been recognised - and that the attraction of the kailyard may be one manifestation of this rejection.

On the other hand, though one might argue that the choice of plays is consistent with a community that retains its traditional values - more mundanely, it could be shown to be a consequence of a system of marking that stresses the manner of the production above its content; so that producers are encouraged to concentrate on what they can do best. All too often, this means repeating established patterns and an important part of these established patterns is the narrative form of the plays. Frequently, in the interviews with club members, the demand was expressed that the plays should 'tell a story', and this is reflected in the choices that were made. This is interesting, in view of the stress laid by Alasdair MacIntyre on the telling of stories, historically, in

the inculcation of the virtues, in his important work After Virtue.⁴¹ According to MacIntyre, man is

'essentially a story-telling animal' and can find his way in life only via the question,

'Of what story or stories do I find myself a part?'

It is, at least in part, through the telling of stories that children learn to fit themselves into society and adults recognise what is expected of them by that society. If we accept this assumption, the narrative plays chosen by Dunaverty Players, and especially those written for the club by Angus MacVicar, can be recognised as serving precisely this function. The virtues being promoted are those which lead to the placing of a high value on the co-operative community, as opposed to the ideal of the self-sufficient individual. This has become an important issue in the Britain of the 1980's and one which transcends the traditional dichotomy between the country and the city.

References: Chapter 5.

All plays referred to in the text are detailed in Appendix 15.

1. Vulgarity seems to cause more offence than references to sexuality as such.

2. An average of ten a year since 1949 accounts for nearly 400 plays.

3. Examples would be: my own productions of the first act of O'Casey's Juno and the Paycock, and the last act of Bernadette, by Noel Wood and Sheila Buckley.

4. Keir Elam, The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama, Methuen and Co, London 1980.

5. Ibid p37.

6. Ibid p38.

7. Ibid p38.

8. Ibid p9.

9. (See Appendix 15 for a full list of plays produced by Dunaverty Players.)

10. Opus cit p22.

11. Ibid p103.

12. Ian Campbell, Kailyard: A New Assessment, The Ramsay Head Press, Edinburgh 1981. p15.

13. Cairns Craig, Myths Against History: Tartanry and Kailyard in 19th Century Scottish Literature, in Scotch Reels, ed. Colin McArthur, BFI Publishing, London 1982. p8.

14. Christopher Harvie
No Gods and Precious Few Heroes: Scotland 1914 - 1980, Edward Arnold, London, 1981. p124.

15. Ibid, p124.

16. There was, in fact, one stockbroker in Campbeltown at that time - he was closely identified with the town, became Provost, and later a public benefactor who donated several small plots of land to the town.

17. Angus MacVicar has explained that in the tradition the place is left for Christ who may come in the guise of 'the stranger'.

18. John B Stephenson,
Ford: A Village in the West Highlands of Scotland, Paul Harris Publishing, Edinburgh, 1984. pl80.

See also,

Cooper, Derek, The Road to Mingulay, Futura Publications, London, 1985, p204, for the reaction to 'white settlers' on the Island of Lewis.

19. Suspicion of theft in Under Suspicion; danger to the lifeboat and the daughter's life in Storm Tide; incipient threat to the church's income in Minister's Monday; delay in the arrival of the ambulance plane in Mercy Flight; possible departure of the editor in Final Proof; and the arrival of the Russians in search of the fugitive in Stranger at Christmas.

20. Mrs Galbraith, the minister, Mrs Glen, the BEA agent, the stockbroker, and the hotel owner.

21. These started with Salt in my Porridge, which was conceived as a tribute to his father, but which proved so successful that it has spawned a whole series of similar works.

22. Thompson, K and Tunstall J (ed),
Sociological Perspectives, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth 1984. P82 et seq.

23. The Archers, BBC Radio.

24. Opus cit. pl4.

25. David Hutchison, The Modern Scottish Theatre, Molindenaar Press, 1977.

26. People in Argyll treat politics as a private matter - presumably because it is potentially divisive.

27. MacKenny Linda Ed.,
Joe Corrie: Plays Poems and Theatre Writings, 7:84 Publications, Edinburgh, 1985.

28. Ibid, pl45.

29. Opus cit. p33.

30. Lukacs, The Historical Novel

31. Ibid, , p63.

32. Opus cit. pl1.

33. Opus cit. p42/3.

34. This was perhaps not so distant from local experience as might be thought, since the local hospital deals only with minor conditions, more serious cases of illness being sent to Glasgow for treatment, so that large hospitals are familiar to many local people.

35. David S Robb, The Fiction of George MacDonald, in Literature of the North, ed David Hewitt and Michael Spiller, Aberdeen University Press, 1983. p78.

36. Martin Esslin, The Theatre of the Absurd, Penguin Books Ltd, England, third edition, 1983.p 23.

37. Ibid, p23.

38. Ibid, p24.

39. The main character, a patient who has invented an imaginary companion, whom the hospital hierarchy have been at pains to kill off, replaces him with yet a third persona.

40. Bernstein, Marcelle, Nuns, Collins, Fount Paperback, Glasgow, 1978.

41. MacIntyre, Alasdair, After Virtue, Gerald Duckworth and Co. Ltd., London, 1985. p216.

CHAPTER 6 - Conclusion.

Communities and drama clubs do not remain static, and any attempt to record the life of either inevitably becomes an account of the process of change. With hindsight it would appear that this has not only been a study of an isolated and therefore distinctive community, but possibly also of an atypical period in the life of the community - a period when it was relatively free from class distinction and happily open to the few newcomers who had settled in the parish.

Before the Second World War Southend was a hierarchical society not dissimilar from that described by Stephenson as existing in Mid-Argyll. The 'big houses' Lephenstrath, Carskief and Macharioch were occupied and staffed by indoor and outdoor servants, and the farms were worked by tenant farmers who, in turn, employed men to work in the fields and women to help with the house and dairy.² However, following the farmworkers' strike of 1936 farmers began seriously to consider the replacement of men by machinery, a process which was accelerated by the outbreak of war in 1939. Younger farm workers joined the forces and did not return after the war,

women servants married, retired or found alternative employment and were not replaced, while the 'big houses' fell empty and their staffs dispersed. Thus in 1952 when Dunaverty Players were founded the situation was as described earlier: that is to say the parish at that time consisted largely of tenant farmers and their families. The sixteen council houses in the village were occupied by newly married farmers' sons, retired farmers and farm workers or their widows. Non-farming inhabitants included the figures familiar from kailyard narrative, the minister the doctor and the schoolmaster³, plus the owners of the two hotels and others who provided local services such as the coastguards, the car-hirer, the local shopkeepers and the Golf Club's greenkeeper⁴. Thus the pre-war stratification had largely disappeared. The sale of the farms to their tenants in 1954 made no outward difference to the situation. Farmers had taken out large overdrafts to buy their farms and were not inclined to conspicuous consumption, rather every penny that could be spared was ploughed back into the farm. A doctor with a small rural practice, and even more a village schoolmaster or minister may have an enviable status but they do not receive high financial rewards so that their income bracket was not markedly

dissimilar to that of the farmers; while the coastguards as government employees with attractive houses and pensions would seem to the local community to be well placed financially. Thus, at that time it was a surprisingly even society and to judge from interviews with people who can remember the pre-war as well as the post-war situation it was one that was greatly valued by the local community who had no desire to return to 'the bad old days' of class distinction within the parish.

This was the situation when Dunaverty Players was first conceived as the SWRI Players. It will be remembered that the SWRI was attended by virtually all the women of the parish and therefore was broadly representative of the whole community. Apart from the group of inter-related players described in Chapter 3, the drama club included teachers, the daughters of the doctor and the minister, a coastguard and his wife, a schoolboy from the village, a farmworker's wife and daughter, shopkeepers and hotel keepers as well as others with farming connections.⁵

The movement to a less representative grouping has been gradual and has gone almost unnoticed until very recently, and has come about largely as a result of people moving either into the parish or into the

club from outside. For the first ten years when the club was thriving no incomers were coming into the area and while from time to time locals had to be brought in to play specific parts, on the whole numbers were sufficient. At this time, therefore, except for the occasional personal friend brought down from Campbeltown to play (invariably) a male part, the club was composed entirely of people who belonged to the parish. This was a period when no new council houses were being built.

However, in the 1960's and 1970's more were erected from time to time, in groups of six to ten, until the present complement of forty six in all was reached.⁶ The first incomers to be given occupancy of these houses were three families who were allocated coastguard houses when the original occupants were moved to Oban. These three families were easily assimilated into the community. The original coastguard members of the club had been promoted out of the district some years earlier and, as we have seen, during the sixties the club was not recruiting, although younger members were being lost as they married or left the district in search of employment or education. Throughout this period Angus MacVicar, as a writer and as a producer was consciously using

drama to reinforce the ideal of the self-sufficient mutually supportive rural community - a perception of Southend that would be shared by the indigenous club members. It should perhaps be pointed out that while MacVicar was dominant in the club, his role in the community at that time would be less marked. He was younger then, and while he may have held a certain status as a minister's son, he was just beginning to make a name as a writer and has complained in his autobiographical writings that when he first set out on his career as a full-time author he was looked on with a degree of contempt by his farming contemporaries who regarded writing as no job for a grown man. Though he has grown in stature over the years he has had to cope with the well known situation of being a prophet in his own country.

The real influence in the community, then as now, was and is held by the farmers⁷. With the exception of Angus MacVicar all the Elders and all but one of the Congregational Board in the Church are farmers and the local representatives in Local Government (until the boundaries were changed so that Southend was included with Campbeltown) were invariably farmers. They are well represented on the Golf Club Committee, the Community Council, the Hall Committee and other social

groupings though villagers and incomers also play their part in these organisations. As the representation of the farming community in Dunaverty Players has decreased so, in a sense, has the club tended to lose contact with its roots.

The turning point came in 1970 when several leading players were lost at a time when local young people were increasingly turning to Campbeltown for their recreation and older people were still enjoying the novelty of television so that it had become more difficult to recruit local members. This was also the period when newcomers began to settle in the district.

As we have seen, these were newly retired couples who had known Southend as visitors for many years and admired the apparent lack of class consciousness in the parish. Quite a number of these people were recruited into the drama club and tended to support Angus MacVicar's attempts to preserve the local culture.^{8,}

It should be remembered, however, that the drama club has not been alone in its effort to maintain local values. For a long time the Golf Club resisted play on Sundays, and in spite of financial pressures still resists the sale of alcohol on club premises, and a recent comment in Life and Work^{9.} that Southend was in some ways a difficult charge is a reference

to the local congregation's somewhat idiosyncratic, if practical, view of religion and its firm resistance to advice and exhortation from the Church's headquarters in Edinburgh.

Alastair Maiden replaced the previous GP in the late sixties and unlike the other incomers, he was critical of Angus MacVicar's influence and made a conscious effort to introduce the type of play he had found interesting and relevant in the world beyond the parish. By this time MacVicar's concept of club discipline was well established and this included the acceptance without question both of the producer's choice of play and the casting of it. The players gave Dr Maiden the same respect as a producer as they had given to MacVicar, the more so as he had proved to be dedicated and unsparing of himself as a physician. However, when he left to join his sons and newborn grandson in Australia, the players returned to more familiar material, though later producers did try to extend the range beyond the merely parochial. This extension, while acceptable to the incomers and necessary for competitive purposes, was not universally welcomed by the locals, who on the whole preferred MacVicar's choices.

A recent check on the householders in the village

showed that the majority were still local, while those incomers who were not retired held skilled and responsible posts in Campbeltown. A number of council house tenants, both local and incomers, have now taken up their entitlement to buy their houses. Thus the parish retains much of its post-war egalitarianism, though it is evident that a greater influx of newcomers at either end of the scale could prove to be disastrous to the present balance in the community.

The movement of incomers from the south of England has proved to be destructive of the local culture elsewhere in the Highlands. Neal Ascherson, writing about the problem in The Scottish Child is quoted at length in The Oban Times - the very length of the extract denoting the anxiety presently being caused in the West Highlands by this issue.

Gradually, as car ownership spread and as the narrow roads which connected this beautiful land to the world outside were widened, new people arrived. Some were rich farmers from the south, others were well-off couples from England seeking homes for retirement. Then the young began to move in, full of the ideals of the English 60s: potters, jewellers, neo-peasants, fish-farmers, craftsmen serving the new yachting boom, or

merely hippies.

There was good in this, but bad as well. Small farmers were driven out of business by the wealth of aggressive incomers. The old had to move into council housing, because the stock of cottages available for single retired people was snapped up for expensive conversion. Jobs promised on 'leisure developments' hardly materialised, as the contractors brought their own labour. There was the odd drug scandal, but above all a sense of alienation: the feeling that 'our country is leaving us.'.....So a modest, remote place slowly turns into a playground, a 'recreational area' of 'outstanding natural beauty.'

Neal Ascherson is describing what has happened in Ardfern and Craobh Haven, seventy miles north of Southend on the road that leads to Oban. Southend has escaped because the road to Southend leads nowhere, so that it is off the tourist beat and is not well known. Again, it must be stressed that the Southend incomers are relatively few in number and, in the main, are Scots who have become familiar with the local way of life over many years and who have always intended to become part of it on retirement. Thus they have been

welcomed by the locals, as was evident in the remark made by a local member and quoted in the chapter on the parish, that they were lucky that the newcomers didn't stand aloof as they did in other places. The, mainly prosperous, Southern English incomers have had a much more drastic impact on Ardfern, (the advertisement included as Appendix 16 might suggest that the situation is deteriorating), and Ardfern is more typical of what is happening in the Highlands generally. Southend, so far, has been atypical.

On the face of it, it is illogical to argue that one group of people has more right to occupy a particular piece of ground than any other group, but that is an assumption made regularly at national level¹¹ and is part of the complex of issues which go to make up the concept of nationality. Being a Scot is a matter of heredity, geography and culture, but this study suggests that in local variants of Scottishness, geography and the development of culture are inseparable. The isolated position of Southend, the relative fertility of the land and the inhospitable coastline have led to the development of the farming lifestyle previously described and have fashioned the attitudes of the inhabitants, so that a large influx of people from more populated areas whose culture has developed under very different conditions could have

the devastating effect described by Neal Ascherson. In the current year (1989) two farms in the parish have been bought by people from the South. In neither case have the new occupants shown any willingness to integrate in spite of friendly overtures from the locals, and neither is being run as a farming enterprise. Fields have been let to neighbouring farmers so that it would appear that it was the attractively situated houses that attracted the buyers and the land is considered as a long term investment rather than as providing an immediate livelihood. If at a later date this land is used for speculative building the nature of the community will be changed dramatically.

However, the prospect for remote areas may be less bleak than appears at first sight. The descendants of the thrusting Ayrshire farmers who were brought into Kintyre in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the farm tenancies were virtually put up for auction, now are so integrated with their surroundings that they appear to be 'natives', though they still refer to themselves, on occasion, as 'incomers'. Not all of the present influx of Southerners will remain in Ardfarn. Those who do, and even more, their children and grandchildren, will be 'weathered' over the years by the same factors of

isolation and understimulation that formed the ethos of the original population - unless modern communications are developed to the point where no part of the United Kingdom can be classified as remote. When that happens the culture of the rural areas will, inevitably, be lost and there will be no alternative lifestyle to that of the metropolis.

Ultimately the attraction of the rural community lies in the importance which, in conditions of low population, can be given to the value of each individual as a whole person; and it is the loss of this in city life which has attracted the attention of so many social theorists, including Marx¹² in his denunciation of the reduction of human labour to a commodity in modern life, and Simmel¹³ in his account of the life of the metropolis. The same theme is the subject of Alasdair MacIntyre's After Virtue¹⁴ (referred to briefly at the end of the previous chapter) where, in effect, he presents the old opposition of the city versus the country in terms of a conflict in moral values, ie between those of Nietzsche, who represents modernism, and those of Aristotle as a representative of a pre-modern view. Certainly the values of Aristotle include most, but not all of the Christian virtues preached in Southend. However, for MacIntyre it is the fragmentation of

life experienced in the city which makes it impossible to treat the individual as a whole person.

Any contemporary attempt to envisage human life as a whole, as a unity, whose character provides the virtues with an adequate 'telos' encounters two different types of obstacle, one social and one philosophical. The social obstacles derive from the way in which modernity partitions each human life into a variety of segments, each with its own norms and modes of behavior. So work is divided from leisure, private life from public, the corporate from the personal. So both childhood and old age have been wrenched away from the rest of human life and made over into distinct realms. And all these separations have been achieved so that it is the distinctiveness of each, and not the unity of the life of the individual who passes through those parts, in terms of which we are taught to think and to feel.

A specific example of the way in which a parish like Southend can escape this fragmentation was noted previously in the incorporation of all ages in Dunaverty Players; and the regular meeting of the same individuals in different capacities so that they are

known to each other in their private lives as well as in their public roles, was commented on in the discussion of MacVicar's Final Proof. Knowledge of the whole lives of others in rural conditions, however, is a consequence of low population; it is much more difficult to avoid the compartmentalisation of life in the city.

Professor MacIntyre sees the recognition of 'the ^{17.}telos' (the concept of man as a whole) and the accompanying Aristotelian virtues as the essential value that must be regained if life in the metropolis is to be worth living. He sees the viewpoint of modernity as being in direct conflict with

'a concept of self whose unity resides in the unity of a narrative which links birth to life to death, as narrative to beginning to middle to ^{18.}end.'

It is tempting to point to Southend as a community where such values are intrinsic, since each man is recognised as an individual whose narrative is known, not only from birth to death, but also as part of an extended narrative extending over several generations. ^{19.}It is this 'rootedness' that is attractive to the present Southend incomers whose own lives have been, necessarily, peripatetic. If, however, the present

movement from the large conurbations is to be prevented from destroying the existing rural cultures by sheer force of numbers, the answer must lie in returning to city life the attractive connotations of civility. Metropolitan man must find his own way of ensuring that the worth of each individual is not overlooked; and in MacIntyre's view such a solution may well depend on a return to a religious viewpoint, using the term in its widest sense.

We are waiting not for a Godot, but for another -
doubtless very different - St Benedict.²⁰

Saint Benedict placed stress on the mental, physical and spiritual aspects of the whole man; so it is evident why Professor MacIntyre chose him from among the saints to represent a form of religion that would be open to all and that would encourage the development of the 'telos'. However, religion as it is experienced and practised in Southend has been shown to be dependent upon the rural life of the parish; it gives a focus and meaning to the lives of the parishioners, but it cannot be lifted, holus bolus, to act as an exemplar for those living very different lives in the city.

Changes in the club, however, have arisen less as a result of the movement of incomers into the parish,

than as a result of its success in attracting well motivated and able players from Campbeltown. Increasingly the emphasis in the club has moved from community oriented concerns to more specifically drama oriented ambitions related to success in the competitions. These new members would have been more sympathetic to the plays chosen by Alastair Maiden, and the recent choice of Strindberg's

Playing With Fire (described by Angus MacVicar as 'completely amoral'^{21.}) is an indication of the direction in which the club seems to be moving. There is some resistance to this, but with increasing age the original players are retiring, or dying off, and their influence is in decline. On the other hand, the present President of the club, Geoffrey Horton, who replaced Alastair Maiden as the local GP and who has gained considerable influence in the club, as much because of his wide previous experience in drama, as because of his role in the community, is making strenuous efforts to involve local young people - so that the present situation must be regarded as fluid. It simply is not possible at this time to predict the future direction of the club.

Chapter 6. Notes and references.

1. Opus cit.

2. Interestingly, the farmers in this period seem to have married the daughters of workers employed by the owners of the big houses, though they would not have married the daughters of farm workers. This inhibition may have carried over into the post-war period - the deference described by Newby may take time to die out.

3. Glenbreckarie school was still in use at this period under the charge of Mrs MacIntyre.

4. The greenkeeper was, and is, highly respected as his expertise was needed by the community. He is the only worker directly employed by the local residents. The hall is kept clean by those who use it and the duties of the beadle (or church caretaker) are shared between the elders - the actual cleaning being undertaken by the women of the church.

5. As with most drama groups those who opted to join tended to be the more outgoing and literate members of the parish - but in a farming community such people are not necessarily the most influential. They may have been regarded as somewhat frivolous.

6. This number includes the coastguard houses and those at Mill Park (which were built originally as homes for retired locals).

7. Though the farmers have the most influence - no-one in Southend actually wields power over anyone else. The doctor, the minister and the schoolmaster are regarded as having a special value since they are seen as being essential if the community is to remain intact. They are all respected for their learning, but the doctor is held almost in awe as his skills are required in life and death situations. Other providers of necessary services are also respected, while retired newcomers and those who work in Campbeltown are tolerated and even welcomed (if they are prepared to 'fit in') as a certain level of population is needed if the community is to remain viable. The farms themselves cannot support the necessary numbers.

The farmers, however, by virtue of their shared occupation and close family relationships form a more obvious and cohesive grouping within the community.

8. Though some of these people became influential in the club, they did not have equivalent influence in

the parish as a whole. They were already retired when they came to the area and were known locally only in this role. Moreover they could not expect to spend more than about twenty years of decreasing activity in the parish, so that they were mere transients compared to those whose families had been in the area for generations.

9. Life and Work June, 1989. Obituary of the Rev William Nelson minister of Southend until 1987.

'....he had a remarkable success after his move to Southend, to a distinctive and in many ways a very testing parish....it was said of him that he combined exemplary leadership with being 'always one of the congregation'.'

This last comment was the highest praise that could be given in this egalitarian community.

10. Ascherson, Neal, quoted in The Oban Times, Thursday 15th September, 1988.

11. As evidenced by legislation covering the control of immigration and by the outbreak of war in The Falkland Islands.

12. Thompson K. and Tunstall J. ed.
Sociological Perspectives Penguin Books,
Harmondsworth, 1971. p53.

13. Ibid. p82.

14. MacIntyre Alasdair, After Virtue, Duckworth, London 1987.

15. Ibid p182 et seq.

16. Ibid, p204.

17. Both the New Testament and Aristotle see a virtue as a quality the exercise of which leads to the achievement of the human 'telos'. (see MacIntyre p184.)

18. Opus cit p205.

19. The desire to provide new residents with such a narrative as part of the process of integration may lie behind the intense curiosity about their previous lives which many incomers find so disconcerting. A person with an incomplete narrative may well be seen as anomalous in an area where everyone else's history is known.

This has a further bearing on the preference for narrative plays which reflect a way of life in which the individual's life-story is common knowledge and can be seen to have a beginning and an end; whereas the episodic and apparently meaningless 'absurdist' drama may be regarded by the city dweller as a fair reflection of life as he experiences it.

20. Ibid p263.

21. This play was unpopular with both local and Campbeltown audiences and with local members of the club.

APPENDIX 0

KEY

All references to cassettes have been numbered thus:(9)

1. Angus MacVicar.
2. "
3. Mary Taylor.
4. Parkin Raine.
5. Janet Ferguson.
6. Iain Ferguson.
7. David MacCallum.
8. Maggie and Janet Barbour.
9. Barbara Lamont.
10. Linda Bawn.
11. Sybil Kelly.
12. Iain Rattray.
13. Alf and Morag Grumoli.
14. Charles Reppke.
15. Rev W Nelson.
16. Isobel Carter.
17. Ian Carruthers.
18. Elizabeth Semple.
19. Margaret Cameron.
20. Allan Lamont.
21. Jill Middleton.
22. Ralph Davidson.
23. Geoffrey Horton.
24. Elspeth Lennox.
25. Donald Kelly.
26. Pat McGlynn.
27. Norval Charteris.

APPENDIX 1 Entries to Campbeltown Festivals 1949-79.

CLUB	1949	'50	'51	'52	'53	'54	'55	'56	'57	'58
Albyn Players								✓✓	✓✓	✓
Ardrishaig										
Ardrishaig Rhu										
Brenacha Pl.*										✓
Carradale DG										
Campbeltown Pl										
Castle Players										
Clachan Players										
Davaar Players										
Drumlemble SWRI	✓	✓	✓							
Dunaverty Pl.										
Highland Parish	✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓	x.
Kinloch Pl										
Lochgilphead										
Lochgilphead New										
Lorne St Church	✓			✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓			
Machrihanish	✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓✓
Miners DG		✓	✓			✓✓✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓
Peninver Players										
Phoenix Players										
Port Ellen DG		✓	✓	✓✓	✓			✓	✓	✓
Southend SWRI						✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓
St Kieran's Ch.	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓✓	✓		
Tayinloan	✓	✓	✓							
Tayvallich										
Young Farmers								✓	x	x
Youth Club										
Total entries	6	9	9	9	6	9	9	9	9	9
Total clubs entered	6	7	7	5	4	5	6	8	6	6

Sheet
1.

APPENDIX I ENTRIES TO CAMPBELTOWN FESTIVALS 1949-79.

CLUB	1959	'60	'61	'62	'63	'64	'65	'66	'67	'68	Sheet 2.
Albyn Players	✓	✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
Ardrishaig											
Ardrishaig Rhu					✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓	x	✓	
Brenacha PL.*							✓	✓			
Carradale DG	✓✓	✓✓	✓								
Campbeltown PL											
Castle Players									✓	✓✓	
Clachan Players											
Davaar Players											
Drumlemble SWRI											
Dunaverty PL.		✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓	✓	✓	
Highland Parish	x	✓	✓	x	✓✓	✓	✓	✓			
Kinloch PL											
Lochgilphead											
Lochgilphead New										✓✓	
Lorne St Church											
Machrihanish	✓										
Miners DG	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Peninver Players						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Phoenix Players											
Port Ellen DG											
Southend SWRI											
St Kieran's Ch.											
Tayinloan											
Tayvallich											
Young Farmers	x	✓	✓✓	✓							
Youth Club							✓	x	✓	✓	
Total entries	6	9	10	7	6	8	9	7	5	9	
Total clubs entered	4	6	6	4	5	6	8	6	5	7	

APPENDIX 1 Entries to Campbeltown Festivals 1949-79.

CLUB	1949	'70	'71	'72	'73	'74	'75	'76	'77	'78
Albyn Players										
Ardrishaig										✓
Ardrishaig Rhu	✓									
Brenacha Pl.*										
Carradale DG	✓✓									
Campbeltown Pl							✓	x	✓✓	✓✓
Castle Players	✓	✓	✓							
Clachan Players	✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓
Davaar Players										
Drumlemble SWRI										
Dunaverty Pl.	✓✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓
Highland Parish										
Kinloch Pl								✓	✓	✓
Lochgilphead	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					
Lochgilphead New										
Lorne St Church										
Machrihanish										
Miners DG	✓	x	x	x	✓	x	✓	✓		
Peninver Players	✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓✓
Phoenix Players									✓	
Port Ellen DG									✓	
Southend SWRI										
St Kieran's Ch.										
Tayinloan										
Tayvallich	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	✓	x	✓
Young Farmers										
Youth Club	✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓	✓			
Total entries	12	8	8	9	10	9	9	8	10	10
Total clubs entered	10	7	7	6	7	5	6	6	7	7

Sheet
3

APPENDIX 1a Entries to Campbeltown Festivals 1979-88

CLUB	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	'84	'85	'86	'87	'88
Ardrishaig	✓									
Accent Players								✓	✓	✓
Campbeltown Pl	x	✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓				
Carradale DG	✓✓	x	✓	✓	✓	x	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓
Castlehill Pl							✓	✓	x	x
Clachan Players	✓✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓	✓
Davaar Players				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓	x
Dunaverty Pl.	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓
Fyneside Juniors								✓		
Kinloch Players	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	x	✓	✓		
Lochgilphead DC			✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓	x	✓	✓	x
Peninver Players	✓	✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Tayvallich	✓									
Total entries	10	6	12	13	11	0	11	13	12	7
Total clubs entered	7	5	7	8	7	6	7	10	7	5

RECEIPTS

I. ADMISSION TICKETS:

(a) Seats at each (Seasons)

(b) 910 Seats at 20 each

(c) 270 Seats at 80p each

(d) Seats at each + Cash Surplus

		1092	00	
		216	00	
			20	
				13 08 20
				132 30
				222 00

II. PROGRAMMES:

(a) Sales, 330 at 40p each + 30p Cash Surplus

(b) Advertisements

III. ADVANCES BY DIVISIONAL TREASURER

IV. OTHER RECEIPTS:

(a)

(b)

(c)

V. BALANCE LOSS (including Advance, if any)

DRAMA ASSOCIATION EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

KINTYRE DIVISION
AT CAMPBELLTOWN
ON 8, 9, 10 & 11 FEBRUARY 1983

EXPENDITURE

I. HALL RENT, Etc.:

- (a) Hall Rent
- (b) Lighting and Heating
- (c) Hire (including Carriage) of Stage Draperies, Flats, etc.
- (d) Hire of Furniture
- (e) Erection of Fit-up
- (f) Wages of Electrician
- (g) Wages of Stage Hand (MEALS)
- (h) Commissionaires
- (i) Gratuities
- (j) PRASMAN ACCIDENT INSURANCE (OTHER HANDS)

002 00	
119 31	
119 50	
10 00	
10 00	490 81
58 00	
00 42	78 62

II. ADVERTISING:

- (a) Press
- (b) Leaflets, Posters, etc.

III. TEAMS' TRAVELLING EXPENSES (details below):

CAMPBELLTOWN S.C.A.	25 50	Forward	134 00
" " "B"	58 50	Forward	9 00
LOCHGILCHRIST	57 00	" "B"	8 00
PERINVER	10 00	SAVANA	5 00
CARRABALE	10 00		
Forward	134 00	Forward	156 00

Forward	156 00
CAMPBELLTOWN A	7 30
B	7 28
C	7 30
Total	177 88

IV. ROYALTIES (details below):

CAMPBELLTOWN "A"	8 00	Forward	35 75
" "B"	10 00	Forward	6 50
LOCHGILCHRIST	10 00	"B"	—
PERINVER	5 75	SAVANA	5 75
CARRABALE	5 00		
Forward	38 75	Forward	51 00

Forward	51 00
CAMPBELLTOWN A	3 15
B	5 75
C	—
Total	60 00

V. PRINTING, Etc.:

- (a) Tickets
- (b) Programmes
- (c) General
- (d) Postages, etc.

39 68	
168 00	
12 00	219 68

VI. EXPENSES OF COMMITTEE:

- (a) Rent of Room for Meetings
- (b) Sundries - Secretary
- (c) Tools at afternoon school

11 10	
00 00	
5 39	36 49

VII. BOOKING OFFICE EXPENSES AND COMMISSION

18 00	
-------	--

VIII. OTHER PAYMENTS: - ADJUDICATOR (J.G.F.)

- (a) FEES
- (b) TRAVEL EXPENSES
- (c) ACCOMMODATION
- (d) BOUNTY FOR PRIZE PRESENTER

84 00	
20 00	
66 50	
4 00	201 50

IX. BALANCE SURPLUS (including Advance, if any)

376 32	
166 50	

One-Act Dates

(Sat.) EKO Players, *The Party*, Aileen Brookens. Kirkin-tilloch Players, *The Outside-in People*, Pat Trevor. Rutherglen Repertory Theatre, *Professor Taranne*, Arthur Adamov.

STEWARTRY DISTRICT, Thursday to Saturday 3rd to 5th March at Castle Douglas Town Hall. Adjudicator, John Irvine.

Crossmichael Drama Club Team 'A', *Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Act 1*, Eduardo De Filippo.

Crossmichael Drama Club Team 'B', *The Chief Guide*, Roy McCormick.

Dalbeattie & District Drama Club Team 'A', *Sleep Tight Tonight*, Michael Snellgrove

Dalbeattie & District Drama Club Team 'B', *Sequence of Events*, George McEwan Green.

Dunfries Guild of Players, *The Bear*, Anton Chekov
Glenkens '73 Club, *Don't Blame it on the Boots*, N.J. Warburton.

Unity Players Team 'A', *The Purging*, Georges Feydeau
Unity Players Team 'B', *Dreamjobs*, Graham Jones.

KINTYRE DISTRICT

Clachan Players 'A', *Womberg*, Sue Townsend.

Peninver Players, *George*, Derek Hickman.

Carradale D.C., *From Here to the Library*, Jimmie Chinn.

Accent Players, *Foreign Affairs*, Harry Glass.

Dunaverty Players, *Great Catherine*, Bernard Shaw.

• Original Plays

Eastern

FIFE DISTRICT, Friday and Saturday 26th and 27th February, at St Andrew's Theatre, Buchhaven. Adjudicator, Ian Brigg.

(Frid.) KADS 'A', a scene from *The Lion in Winter* (act 2 scene 1), John Goldman. Randolph Players, *The Play Goes*, Arthur W. Pinero. Leslie ADC, *You Can't Fight City Hall*, Fern Valentine.

(Sat.) St Andrews Playclub, *The Cavern*, Dilys Gater.

KADS Workshop, *George Square*, Charles Ross. Auld Kirk Players, *Out For the Count or How Would You Like Your Steak?*, Martin Downing.

FALKIRK DISTRICT at Falkirk Town Hall, Friday 5th and Saturday 6th February. Adjudicator Mr Kenneth Roy.

(Frid.) Eowhouse Drama Club, *Match of the Day*, Harry Glass. The Wyndford Players, *A Separate Peace*, Tom Stoppard. Tryst Theatre 'A', *War*, Jean-Claude Van Itallie. Strathkelvin Young Farmers 'A', *Hogmanay*, James Scotland.

(Sat.) Tryst Theatre 'B', *Them Boots Aint Made For Walking*, Bill Owen. Falkirk Players, *The Private Ear*, Peter Shaffer. Strathkelvin Young Farmers 'B', *Legges Eleven*, Harry Glass.

LOTHIANS DISTRICT, at Churchill Theatre, Edinburgh, Friday 26th Saturday 27th February. Adjudicator Mairi Christie.

Longniddry Drama Group, *The Decision*, Donald Mackenzie.

Glen Theatre, *The Illusion*, John Maddison Morton.

Unity Players, *Between Mouthfuls from Confusions*, Alan Ayckbourne.

BORDER at the Tait Hall, Kelso, Friday 26th February. Adjudicator Dr Paul Dougal.

Morebattle Players, *Playing with Fire*, A. Strindberg.

St Boswells Drama Group, *The Last Battle*, Max Raynor.

Tweed Theatre, *Skirmishes*, Catherine Hayes.

EDINBURGH DISTRICT at Church Hill Theatre, Morningside Road, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th February. Adjudicator Mr Brian Marjoribanks.

Edinburgh Civil Service DS, *Marble Arch*, John Mortimer.

Crown Players, *Return to a City*, James Saunders.

Leitheatre, *Hewers of Coal*, Joe Corrie.

Edinburgh Players 'B', *Sequence of Events*, George McEwan Green.

Fairmilehead Church DS, *A Family Occasion*, J. Clew and A. S. Thomas.

Open Stage, *The Private Ear*, Peter Shaffer.

Actel, *Our Man*, Daniel Clucas.

Liberton Kirk DG, *Still Life*, Noel Coward.

Mercators, *Out for the Count*, Martin Downing.

Edinburgh Graduate TG, *Better Days, Better Knights*, Stanley Eveling.

Saughtonhall Church DS, *The Trial of Harry Mann*, Michael Dines.

Edinburgh Players 'B', *Sherri Dawson*, Anthony Booth.

• Original Play

Divisional Finals

HIGHLAND — at Braemar High School Hall, on 24th, 25th and 26th March. Adjudicator, John Irvine.

WEST FIFE — at Victoria Hall, Campbellton, on 24th, 25th, 26th March. Adjudicator, Charles Ball.

NORTH FIFE — at Kirkcaldy Arts Centre, on 24th, 25th, 26th March. Adjudicator, Charles Barton.

EDINBURGH — at Adam Smith Centre, on 24th, 25th, 26th March. Adjudicator, Kenneth Thompson.

Highland

One-Act Dates

CAITHNESS, at Thurso High School, 26th and 27th February. Adjudicator Ewan Cameron.

Thurso Players, *Woyzeck*, George Büchner.
Halkirk DC, *Spreading The News*, Lady Gregory.
Wick Players, *Cast of Five*, Audrey Macbain.
Reay DC, *Vacant Possession*, Don West.

INVERNESS DISTRICT, at Fortrose Academy, on 18th, 19th and 20th February. Adjudicator Charles Bell.

Fortrose Academy, To be advised.
Dingwall Omega, *Outpatients*, Margaret Wood.
Crown Players 'A', *Curses Foiled Again*, Evelyn Hood.
Florians, *Irresistible Albert*, John Turpin.
Dingwall Academy, *Guest Team*.
Crown Players 'B', *A Novel Love*, M. McNaughton.
Faultline, To be advised.
Dingwall Alpha, *Coventry*, Joe Corrie.
Black Isle TC, *Barnstable*, James Saunders.

SUTHERLAND DISTRICT, at Golspie High School Hall, Golspie, 18th 19th and 20th February. Adjudicator Kennedy Thomson.

Bonar Bridge/Ardgay ADS, *A Kind of Alaska*, Harold Pinter.
Brora DC 'A' Team, *The Trial*, Anthony Booth.
Brora DC 'B' Team, *Equal Terms*, Jill Hyem.
Brora SWRI Players, *Ladies, This is War*, Anthony Booth.
Golspie ADS 'A' Team, *Family Voices*, Harold Pinter.
Golspie ADS 'B' Team, *Have You Met Our Rabbit?*, Michael Stevens.

Lairg Drama Group, *The Doll and The Marquis*, Thomas Cruden.

Dornoch ADS, *Women Within Walls*, A. J. Bradbury.

BADENOCH & STRATHSPEY DISTRICT, Friday 19th February, at Speyside Theatre, Aviemore, Centre. Adjudicator Charles Barron.

Aviemore 'A' Team, *The Income*, Joe Corrie.
Newtonmore Drama Group, *Singing in the Wilderness*, David Campton.
Aviemore 'B' Team, *Costa Del Packet*, Anthony Booth.

WESTERN ISLES DISTRICT FESTIVAL at Stornoway Town Hall on 25th February. Adjudicator Charles Bell. Gaelic Assessor Paddie Smith.

Stornoway Thespians, *Festival Nightmare*, Nina Warner Hooke.

Point Players, *Napoleon is Mairi* Iain Crichton Smith.
Uist Drama Club, *Na Gilleann Grinn* Dr. Finlay MacLeod.

ISLE OF SKYE, at Broadford Village Hall, Isle of Skye, on 25th and 26th February. Adjudicator Tom Martin.

Carbost Village DC, *The Miasma in Mostyn Mews*, Alan Ogden.

Broadford Gaelic DC, *Taxi*, Finlay MacLeod.
Portree Amateur DS 'A', *Uncle Jasper*, Leonard Morley.
Portree Amateur DS 'B', *Romance*, John Reason.
Sleat DC, *Dark Lady of the Sonnets*, George Bernard Shaw.

Portnalong Gaelic DC, *The Other Ark*, Charles F. Jeffrey.
Drama Ostaig, *The Cowboys*, Iain Murray.

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One-Act Dates

Northern

ABERDEEN DISTRICT.

Ferryhill Players 'A', *Greenen*, Lewis Grassie Gibbon dramatised by Isobel Hay.
Ferryhill Players 'B', *Green Farms*, Alan Bennett.
Longacre Players 'A', *The Orchestra*, Jean Anouilh.
Longacre Players 'B', *Another Lovely Day*
Raw Power, *Distant Days*, Improvisation.
Giz Giz, *Pressure*, Donald Gray.
Studio Theatre Group, *No Way Out*, (Huis Clos) Jean Paul Sartre.

EAST PERTHSHIRE DISTRICT at Blairgowrie Town Hall, 25th-27th February.

Blairgowrie Players Team 'A', *Whispers*, Eric McDonald.
Team 'B', *The Euchar Trap*, Charles Barron. Youth, *Old Moore's Almanac*, John Hampden.
Pitlochry East Church Drama Group Team 'A', *Laundry and Bourbon* by James McLure. Team 'B', *Swan Song*, Chekov.
Pitlochry Amateur Dramatic Society Team 'A', *Fife for Conversion* Jean McConnell. Team 'B', *Instruments of Darkness* Margaret Wood.
Aberfeldy Drama Club Team 'A', *A Galway Girl* Geraldine Aron. Team 'B' *Sweet Lizzie Day*, Robert McLellan. Youth, *Dear Little Sister*, Hettie Smyth.

ORKNEY, at Orkney Arts Theatre, Kirkwall, on 24th, 25th and 26th February. Adjudicator Rose McBain.

Birsay Drama Group, Birsay ADS (Ladies Circle) production of *Macbeth*, David McGillivray.
St Andrews Drama Group, *Cups and Crystal Ball*, David Campton.
Stromness SWRI, *Terrace Talk*, G. M. Green.
Kirkwall Arts Club 'B', *The Dear Departed*, Stanley Houghton.
Kirkwall Arts Club 'A', *A Respectable Wedding*, Bertolt Brecht.
Stromness Academy 'A', Play not known.
Palace Players (1), Play not known.
Palace Players (2), Play not known.
Deerness YF Players, *Ganfirs*, Anne Cormack.

ANGUS at Carnoustie High School Theatre, 18th, 19th, 20th February. Adjudicator Ken Barrett.

Glaxo Drama Club, *Nine Floors Not Counting The Mezzanine*, William Norfolk.
Strathmore JAC, *Gosforth's Fete*, Alan Ayckbourn.
Forfar Dramatic Society, *The Dark Rainbow*, Iain Blair.
Forfar DS Junior Drama Group, *Us and Them*, David Campton.
Brechin Dramatic Society, *The Devil His Due*, Seamus Fail.
Brechin DS Junior Theatre Club, *Out For The Count*, - Martin Downing.
Carnoustie Theatre Club, *Audition For a Writer*, Doris M. Day.
Carnoustie Theatre Club Juniors, *Dreamjobs*, Graham Jones.
Carnoustie Theatre Club, *Ernie's Incredible Illusions*, Alan Ayckbourn.
Kams Players Montrose (Juniors), *Dreamjobs*, Graham Jones.

• Original Play

KINCARDINE & DEESIDE DISTRICT, at the Town Hall Stonehaven on Mon. & Tues. 22, 23, February Adjudicator, Tom Martin.

(Mon.) Mackie Academy Monday Club, *Three Bags Full*, Leonard de Francquen.
(Mon.) Mackie Academy Wednesday Club, *Moliere's Sganarelle*, free English version by Miles Malleson.
(Mon.) Mackie Academy Thursday Club, *The Ring Game*, Leonard de Francquen.
(Tues.) Ury Players, *Punch Up*, Russell Adams.
(Tues.) Ury Players, *The Outpatient*, Rees Adrian.

Drama Revival

AWAY down in the south-west where Wigtownshire is washed by the Irish Sea there is a re-awakening of competitive drama.

The County used to be divided into two Districts — Wigtownshire East and Wigtownshire West — for the purpose of SCDA Festivals, but after a great run over about 30 years the East District crumbled from lack of support. The West, which started much later, has carried on and now with a revival of interest in the East the whole County is being made one District.

I hear there could be as many as ten plays for the Festival which will, this incoming year, be staged at Newton-Stewart. My own club, Creetown, has been re-born and two plays are in rehearsal. In my old age I am thrilled to bits and have been doing everything I can to encourage and help.

REVIVED CLUB

Funds that have been lying in the Bank since the early 70's when we ceased to function have grown from £83 to £235, giving the revived club a good start. They will need it as our local Hall has been stripped of the lighting we put in during our hey-days and the stage curtains are now in a deplorable state.

This bypassed, work-starved village of Creetown got to the Divisional Finals on a number of occasions at Greenock and Glasgow, and our own Festival at Newton-Stewart was supported admirably by the friends we made at Divisional level. I hope earnestly these days are coming back.

One sad feature of our revival is that of the apparent loss of almost all the trophies we had in the East District. Despite the evidence of newspaper reports and pictures it has so far proved impossible to recover all but one, of seven or eight we had. I have that one, Creetown was the last club to win it.

Drew S. Murray.

PPENDIX 4. Adjudicators at Kintyre Festival 1949-88

Date	Name	Notes
1949	Gordon Gilmour	SCDA Advisor
1950	Anne C Barr	Teacher of elocution
1951	Robin Richardson	BBC Features producer
1952	John Bourne	Actor/producer ed New Plays
1953	Rev GW Michie	Kilmarnock Qutly.
1954	Nan Scott	Actress Glasgow
1955	Peter McDonell	SCDA Advisor
1956	Peter Powell	Teacher of Drama(England)
1957	Edward Horton	"
1958	Harry Douglas	SCDA Advisor
1959	Nan Scott	
1960	David M Baxter	SCDA Convenor Play-writing
1961	William March	SCDA Advisor Comp.
1962	Alan Nichol	Lecturer in Drama.
1963	Peter Schofield	SCDA Advisor
1964	Nan Scott	
1965	Burke Onwin	SCDA Advisor
1966	Anton Nelson	"
1967	Cecil Williams	Glasgow College of Drama
1968	James Crampsey	BBC
1969	Anton Nelson	
1970	Kenneth Roy	West Sound Radio
1971	Finlay J MacDonald	BBC
1972	Peter McDonell	
1973	Kenneth Roy	
1974	Ida Schuster	Actress (Glasgow)
1975	Burke ONwin	
1976	Kenneth Barratt	Lecturer in Drama
1977	Terry Lane	SCDA Advisor
1978	Kenneth Roy	
1979	David DF Crouch	Lecturer in Drama
1980	Robert Stephani	"
1981	Kenneth Barratt	
1982	Uisdean Murray	BBC
1983	Arthur Brittin	Lecturer in Drama
1984	A Skelton	"
1985	Tom Martin	"
1986	Russell Boyce	"
1987	John Irvine	"

The local committee suggest a name to SCDA but may have to take someone else if their first choice is not available.

APPENDIX 5 - all plays listed by author

1949-79

Author	Play	Date Performed	Club
Agnes Adam	Braidlands The Masterfu' Wife The Birthday The Choir Invisible William The Conqueror The Bonesetter Forbid Them Not The Lum Hat The Door That Opens A Pearl of Great Price " A Cameo from Cranford Old Maid	1951 1953 1954 1955 1955 1956 1958 1964 1965 1966 1971 1971 1978	Tayinloan Highland P Lorne St Miners Lorne St Miners " Dunaverty Miners Ardrishig Rhu Youth Club Lochgilphead Clachan
David Anderson	I Walked from Philiphaugh	1970	Peninver
Howard Agg & Philip Johnson & M. Constanduros	A Shot in the Dark Little Glass Houses The Man from the Sea	1961 1951 1963	Albyn P. Highland P Miners
M.E. Atkinson	The Chimney Corner	1951	Machrihanish
Lynn Reid Banks	Already its Tomorrow	1977	Campbeltown
Leonard Barnett	Pop Goes the Patient	1977	Dunaverty
J.M. Barrie	The Old Lady Shows her Medals The Twelve Pound Look	1969 1973	Carradale Clachan
Charles Barron	Groomsnight	1979	Ardrishaig
John Bertram	Feast Saturday	1962	Albyn P.
Mary Biscombe	Practice Makes Perfect	1960	"
C.Stewart Black	The Guinea's Stamp To Love and to Cherish The Twa Merriet Weemen and the Weeda	1952 1954 1975	Lorne St Miners Peninver
Ursula Bloom	One Wedding - Two Brides	1951	St. Kieran's
G.E. Bollans	The Crooked Courtship	1978	Kinloch P.
Anthony Booth	Permanent Way Dangerous Twilight The Sky is Overcast	1958 1959 1974	Port Ellen Carradale Clachan

Author	Play	Date Performed	Club
John Bourne	Black Night "	1965 1974	Peninver "
Muriel & Sydney Box	The Truth about Scotsmen Anti-clockwise	1950 1960	Miners Carradale
Moirra Burgess	Exiled	1965	Youth Club
Yves Cabrol	Tapestry of Shades " The Elephant	1952 1953 1969	Highland P " Tayvallich
Elda Cadogan	Rise and Shine	1975	Dunaverty
David Campton	The Laboratory " Us and Them The Cage Birds Incident	1958 1974 1975 1975 1979	Machrihanish Clachan Campbeltown " Tayvallich
F.L. Carey/Philip King	Wife Required "	1963 1979	Albyn P Kinloch P
I. Carmichael	Dear Sir Oswald	1969	Lochgilphead New
Avis Clarke Carr	The House on the Moor	1961	Carradale
George Carruthers	Wha's Laird " " Trouble Brewing In Five Minutes Time	1961 1966 1980 1962 1966	Young Farmers Dunaverty Peninver Dunaverty "
Patricia Cheown	The Sea Shell	1956	Highland P
Gwen Cherrill	The Madam	1977	Campbeltown
Olive Clease	According to Plan	1962	Carradale
W.D. Cocker	The Woonin' O't	1956	Southend SWRI
Peter Coke	Goodnight and Goodbye	1953	Lorne St
Freida Collins	The Foolishness of God	1963	Highland P
Joe Corrie	The Shillin' a week man Glensheugh " The Rake of Mauchline The Bridge " " The Hoose o' the Hill The First o' the Year Salmon Poachers	1949 " 1972 1950 1951 1962 1973 1952 1954 "	Drumlemble Tayinloan Youth Club Drumlemble " Miners Peninver Port Ellen Miners St. Kieran's

Author	Play	Date Performed	Club
Joe Corrie contd.	Hewers of Coal The Mistress o' Greenbyres Old Verity The Miracle " On with the Tartan Up in the Mornin' Martha A Prince he would a' wooin' go The Domestic Dictator	1954 1955 1959 1960 1969 1961 1962 1967 1968 1978	Miners Southend SWRI Miners " Carradale Young Farmers Miners " Youth Club Peninver
Noel Coward	Blythe Spirit Act 1	1978	Tayvallich
T. Cruden	Pygmalion and his Galatia	1969	Castle Pl.
Delsie Darke	Still Waters	1966	Highland P
Gordon Daviot	The Pen of my Aunt	1979	Clachan
R.F. Deldersfield	Sailors Beware And Then there were None	1952 1961	St. Kieran's Miners
Joyce Dennys	Art with a Capital A Lear of Albion Crescent	1955 1980	St. Kieran's Kinloch
Marjorie Dickson	The Theshold	1951	Machrihanish
Thomas P. Dillon	The Doctor from Dunmore	1971	Peninver
Michael Dines	Under the One Robe A Little Bell for San Marco The Trial of Harry Mann	1965 1976 1979	Highland P Dunaverty Peninver
W. Dénar & W. Morum	Wedding Breakfast "	1957 1965	Southend SWRI Ardrishaig Rhu
Seamus Fail	The Naval Volunteer	1969	Clachan
Alistair Ferguson	Money a Slip "	1974 1977	Dunaverty Phoenix
Georges Feydeau	Better Late	1978	Campbeltown
J.A. Ferguson	Campbell of Kilmhor "	1949 1950	Lorne St Port Ellen
Eleanor Fitzgerald	The Candle "	1963 1970	Highland P Peninver
Lucille Fletcher	Sorry Wrong Number	1972	Youth Club
Joan Forman	Ding Dong Belle	1975	Peninver
J.O. Francis	Birds of a Feather	1975	Clachan

Author	Play	Date Performed	Club
Agnes G. Gault	God in his Mercy	1964	Highland P
Robt. Gillespie	Seven Doors for Johnnie	1967	Youth Club
Susan Glaspell	Trifles	1978	Clachan
Louis Goodrich	Keep Calm	1964	Ardrishaig Rhu
James Shaw Grant	Brighton Conspiracy	1963	Dunaverty
Wilfred Grantham	Unto the End Jeptha's Daughter	1950 1950	Highland P "
Glynn Griffiths	Moon on the Hill	1961	Miners
George H. Grimaldi	Circumstantial Evidence	1956	Port Ellen
Sacha Guitry	Villa for Sale	1972	Dunaverty
Ronald Hadlington	Abu Hassan Pays his Debts	1972	Lochgilphead
James Hesketh	Operation Cold Cure	1965	Brenacha P
Derek Hickman	George	1979	Dunaverty
Norman Holland	The High Backed Chair	1962	Miners
Nina Warner Hooke	The Godsend Festival Nightmare	1964 1965	Ardrishaig Rhu Albyn Pl.
Stanley Houghton	The Dear Departed	1949	St. Kieran's
Laurence Housman	Possession	1959	Machrihanish
L. Hinds/F. King	Vindication	1968	Castle P
Charles F. Jeffrey	The Other Ark	1977	Peninver
Gertrude Jennings	Between the Soup & the Savoury The Bride	1952 1958	Machrihanish "
Philip Johnson	Enclosed Premises The Late Miss Cordell April Dawn Sad About Europe Orange Blossom Present for a Lady Uncle Midnight Where Every Prospect Pleases Five to Five Thirty	1969 1971 1977 1949 1950 1953 1956 1959 1960	Dunaverty Tayvallich Clachan Highland P Machrihanish " Albyn P Carradale "
Howard Agg	Little Glass Houses	1951	Highland P
Peter Jones	The Rescue	1977	Clachan

Author	Play	Date Performed	Club
Joseph Kisselring	Arsenic and Old Lace	1973	Peninver Clachan
Margaret Kussmann	Apple Pie	1971	Campbeltown.
Eugene Labiche	Major Grevachon	1972	Clachan
Emanuel Levi	Altarpiece	1951	Port Ellen
Margaret Love	Girdle Round the Earth	1958	Albyn P
Arthur Lovegrove	There's Always Spring	1979	Campbeltown
Victor Lucas	Suspicion	1971	Clachan
John M.S. McCabe	Bessie Bell & Mary Gray " The Friars of Berwick Moonlight on Ben Varach	1955 1972 1973 1974	Highland P Peninver " Youth Club
Dorothy McCardle	Witches Brew	1953	Highland P
W. McConachie	Twa's Company	1974	Peninver
J. McConnell	Ripe for Conversion	1980	Dunaverty
Esther McCracken	Behind the Lace Curtains	1959	Albyn P
Alistair McDougall	The Shaunessy Bodach	1971	Dunaverty
Thomas McGuire	At Sea	1955	St. Kieran's
A. McIntyre/J. McLeod	Oh! Clever Mrs Cuthbertson	1962	Dunaverty
Norman McKinnell	The Bishop's Candlesticks	1980	"
Robert McLellan	The Changeling	1966	Peninver
Calum McLeod	Minister without Transportfolio	1963	Ardrishaig Rhu
Maura McLaughlin	Mr Parker Passes Over	1972	Tayvallich
Janet McNeill	There's a Man in that Tree Can I Help You	1975 1976	Dunaverty Youth Club
Angus MacVicar	Under Suspicion Storm Tide " Minister's Monday Final Proof " Mercy Flight Stranger at Christmas	1954 1955 1958 1956 1957 1973 1961 1964	Southend SWRI " " " " Dunaverty P " "

Author	Play	Date Performed	Club
A.A. Milne	The Boy Comes Home Before the Flood	1970 1976	Tayvallich Peninver
J. Coleman Milton	Winds for Sale " "	1957 1958 1973	Miners Miners Miners
Moliere trans Miles Malleson	Sganarelle	1979	Clachan
David Monger	A Bride in Samaria	1951	Highland P
Evelyn M. Moran	Such a Nice Girl	1952	"
T.B. Morris	Oranges and Lemons The Watcher of the Road " Ma Vatch Stew for Simon	1954 1955 1967 1969 1965	" Lorne St Castle P Miners Dunaverty
M.M. Muir	The Black Bun But and Ben	1950 1951	St. Kieran's Machrihanish
Sean O'Casey	The End of the Beginning " A Pound on Demand The Plough and the Stars (Act IV)	1965 1976 1970 1973	Ardrishaig Rhu Clachan Castle P Youth Club
Alun Owen	MacNeil	1978	Dunaverty
L. du Garde Peach	Six Wires of Calais It Wont be a Stylish Marriage	1955 1971	Machrahanish Clachan
David Perry	As Good as New	1973	Dunaverty
H & R Pertwee	Pardon my French	1969	Dunaverty
Arthur Pinero	Cards on the Table	1952	Port Ellen
Jack Popplewell	Careful Rapture	1964	Albyn P
J.B. Priestley	Try it Again "	1960 1976	Miners Tayvallich
Nora Ratcliffe	The Saint	1956	Machrihanish
Maud Rayne	Judge Not	1961	Carradale
Molly Raynor	Something in the Attic	1973	Lochgilphead
Stuart Ready	Fire at the George	1956	St. Kieran's
Phoebe M. Rees	Idols	1959	Miners

Author	Play	Date Performed	Club
Allan Richardson	The Black Ring	1980	Ardrishaig
Nan Ross	Tractor's Tryst	1967	Peninver
T.H. Roughead	The Mistress of Carse	1954	Highland P
H.F. Rubenstein	They Went Forth	1956	Albyn P
Peter Schaffer	Black Comedy	1976	Clachan
James Scotland	He'll go no more a' reiven' " Union Riots Friends of the People " Hallo'e'en " The Girl of the Golden City " Himself when Young	1960 1968 1969 1970 1979 1972 1977 1976 1979 1980	Young Farmers Ardrishaig Rhu Peninver Clachan Campbeltown Peninver Dunaverty Miners Dunaverty Clachan
Alexander Scott	Shetland Yarn	1964	Peninver
excerpts Shakespeare	Wine, Song and What You Will	1974	Tayvallich
Islay Shanks	The Night of the Dance The Fosterlings	1953 1957	Port Ellen "
G.B. Shaw	O'Flaherty V.C.	1968	Lochgilphead New
Rae Sherley	Our Pilate Hands Author in Search of Himself	1957 1962	Highland P Dunaverty
N.F. Simpson	The Form	1978	Peninver
F. Sladen-Smith	The Man who wouldnt go to Heaven	1970	Dunaverty
Hal. D. Stewart	John Brown's Body The Causeway Comic Southward Ho Fire Policy Henry Hereafter	1952 1957 " 1968 1970	Machrihanish Albyn P Miners Miners Lochgilphead
Tom Stoppard	A Separate Peace After Magritte	1974 1976	Dunaverty Dunaverty
E. Sully & A. Anderson	Moo	1958	Southend SWRI
J.A. Swanson	The De'il Diddled	1969	Ardrishaig Rhu
J.M. Synge	Riders to the Sea The Tinkers Wedding	1957 1969	Albyn P Youth Club

Author	Play	Date Performed	Club
T.C. Thomas	Profile	1968	Dunaverty
Joanna Tibbs	Children of the Carpenter	1961	Dunaverty
John Tully	Tony	1975	Miners
John Turpin	Irrisistible Albert "	1968 1972	Lochgilphead New Clachan
Richard Tydeman	Idea for a Play	1972	Campbeltown
George Waddell	Kirkpatrick's Gowd	1964	Miners
George Wallace	If You Cant Beat Them	1968	Castle P
Marjorie R. Watson	The Vixen and the Grapes	1958	Carradale
T.M. Watson	Gibbie Proposes Hangman's Noose Wind Along the Waste	1960 1960 1966	Dunaverty " Miners
Fay Weldon	Words of Advice	1978	Campbeltown
Thorton Wilder	Pullman Car Hiawatha The Happy Journey	1970 1971	Youth Club "
H. & M. Williams	With Intent	1975	Clachan
Margaret Wood	The Root of All Evil Outpatients Edward Instruments of Darkness	1951 1967 1977 1978	Miners Dunaverty Port Ellen Dunaverty

Joe Corrie	16 plays	20 performances
Agnes Adam	12 "	13 "
Philip Johnson	11 "	
Angus MacVicar	6 "	8 performances
James Scotland	6 "	11 "
Hal D. Stewart	6 "	
David Compton	5 "	
Margaret Wood	4 "	
T.B. Morris	4 "	5 performances
George Carruthers	4 "	5 "
Anthony Booth	3 "	4 "
Sean O'Casey	3 "	4 "
Michael Dines	3 "	
T.W. Watson	3 "	
Howard Agg	3 "	
with others		

20 Authors 2 plays each
104 " 1 play each

498 5
Set 9.

Local writers:

Angus MacVicar	6 plays - Dunaverty
Islay Shanks	2 plays - Port Ellen
Moir Burgess	1 play - Youth Club
A. MacDougall	1 play - Dunaverty
I. Carmichael	1 play - Lochgilphead New
Thomas McGuire	1 play - St. Kieran's
Joanna Tibbs	1 play - Dunaverty

1980-88

Author	Play	Date Performed	Club
Agnes Adam	The Masterfu' Wife The Green Fields of Carraghtreen The Strawberry	1983 1987 1986	Peninver Clachan Dunaverty
Alan Ayckbourne	Absurd Person Singular Act 1 Gosforth's Fete Mother Figure/Drinking Companions	1981 1984 1982	Clachan Clachan Carradale
Jean Anouilh	The Orchestra	1986	Lochgilphead
Kenneth Bird	A Nun's Tale	1981	Kinloch
T.M. Barrie	The Twelve Pound Look The Professor's Love Story	1982 1984	Lochgilphead Lochgilphead
Charles Barron	The Buchan Trap	1983	Clachan
Richard Blythe	The Princess who Pretended	1984	Clachan
George S. Carruthers	Wha's Laird Highland Fling Trouble Brewing	1980 1985 1987	Peninver Dunaverty Davaar
David Compton	Parcel Little Brother, Little Sister Where Have all the Ghosts Gone Now & Then Mutatis Mutandis	1981 1981 1984 1987 1987	Dunaverty Peninver Campbeltown Carradale Lochgilphead
Anton Chekhov	A Jubilee The Bear The Proposal	1982 1982 1982	Dunaverty Campbeltown Campbeltown
Constance Cox	Maria Marten	1982	Campbeltown
Joe Corrie	Hewers of Coal The Income	1986 1986	Davaar Castlehill
Jimmy Chinn	From Here to the Library	1988	Carradale
Agatha Christie	The Patient	1987	Accent P
Joyce Dennys	Lear of Albion Crescent	1980	Kinloch
Gordon Daviot	Pen of My Aunt	1983	Dunaverty
B. Duffield	Dragons in Caves	1983	Clachan
Michael Dines	The Trial of Harry Mann	1984	Dunaverty

Author	Play	Date Performed	Club
Dorothy Dunbar	Cutty Sark	1984	Peninver
Seamus Fail	The Devil his Due	1986	Clachan
Max Frisch	Philip Holt's Fury	1982	Clachan
S. Glaspill & C Cook	Tickless Time	1981	Campbeltown
Louis Goodrich	Keep Calm	1981	Campbeltown
Lady Gregory	Spreading the News	1983	Clachan
C. Griffith	Moon on the Hill	1987	Davaar
Harry Glass	Foreign Affairs	1988	Accent P
Derek Hickman	George	1988	Peninver
Nick Hall	Pastiche	1981	Dunaverty
Gwenyth Jones	The Ass and the Philosopher	1986	Peninver
Philip Johnson	Dark Brown Heaven on Earth	1981 1981	Lochgilphead Carradale
Philip King	Wife Required	1985	Castlehill
Robert King	Red Spy at Night	1986	Dunaverty
Hugh Leonard	The Last of the Mohicans	1987	Clachan
Drummond Mays	McManus M.D.	1981	Clachan
V. Maddern	Miss Pringle Plays Portia	1982	Kinloch
J. Mortimer	Knightsbridge	1983	Campbeltown
Helen Murdoch	Dragon for Dinner	1985	Carradale
Margaret Muir	The Wee Motto	1985	Kinloch
Jean McConnell	Ripe for Conversion	1980	Dunaverty
Norman McKinnell	The Bishop's Candlesticks	1980	Dunaverty
Robert S. McLean	Nothing Ever Happens	1982	Peninver
Esther McCracken	Behind Lace Curtains	1986	Davaar
Wm. McConnachie	Twa's Company	1987	Dunaverty
Josephina Niggli	Sundays Costs 5 Pesos	1981	Dunaverty
Sean O'Casey	June and the Paycock Act 1	1981	Dunaverty

Author	Play	Date Performed	Club
L. Pirandello	The Other Show	1984	Clachan
Arthur Pinero	Playgoers	1985	Carradale
Marjorie Rindle	Hans who would not tie his Bootlaces	1986	Fyneside Jnrs
Alan Richardson	A Fine Gentleman The Black Ring	1983 1983	Carradale Davaar
James Scotland	Himself when Young Hogmanay Union Riots A Shilling for the Beadle	1980 1982 1984 1986	Clachan Dunaverty Dunaverty Accent P
G.B. Shaw	Great Catherine	1988	Dunaverty
T.M. Synge	Riders to the Sea	1988	Dunaverty
Ted Sharpe	When we Practice to Deceive	1985	Clachan
Christine Scofield	Red Wine in Crystal Glasses	1985	Clachan
A. Strindberg	Playing with Fire	1985	Peninver
James Saunders	A Slight Accident	1981	Clachan
N.F. Simpson	A Resounding Tinkle	1983	Lochgilphead
Richard Tydeman	Idea for a Play	1980	Campbeltown
John Tully	Woman Alive	1982	Lochgilphead
Ivan Turgenev	A Provincial Lady	1985	Dunaverty
Sue Townsend	Womberang	1988	Clachan
Barbara Van K	Make Mine Mayfair	1986	Kinloch
Frank Vickery	A Night Out After I've Gone	1985 1984	Davaar Davaar
Cherry	Barbecue	1988	Carradale
Margaret Wood	The Guilty Generation Courting Disaster	1987 1987	Dunaverty Peninver
Noel Wolfe & Sheila Buckley	Bernadette Act 3	1987	Dunaverty
Hugh & Mgt Williams	With Intent	1985	Clachan

Author	Play	Date Performed	Club
Fay Weldon	Words of Advice	1985	Carradale
T.M. Watson	Hangman's Noose Wind Along the Waste	1981 1982	Peninver Davaar
Malcolm Young	At the Changing of the Year	1986	Carradale
E.D. Zonick	Mulligan's Shebeen	1983	Campbeltown

Leading Authors - number of performances:

Author	1980-88	1949-79	Total
Agnes Adam	3	13	16
Alan Ayckbourne	3	0	3
J.M. Barrie	2	0	2
G.S. Carruthers	2	5	7
David Compton	5	5	10
A. Chekhov	3	0	3
Joe Corrie	2	20	22
P. Johnson	2	11	13
A. Richardson	2	0	2
James Scotland	4	11	15
Frank Vickery	2	0	2
Sean O'Casey	1	4	5
Michael Dines	1	3	4
Mgt Wood	2	4	6
T.M. Watson	2	4	6
Angus MacVicar	0	8	8

APPENDIX 6 - Plays in Sample listed by Publisher (Sample consisted of all plays
in alternate years from 1949-79)

Brown, Son and Ferguson Ltd. Glasgow

N.B. This firm does not put a date on Acting editions - they are numbered but many of the plays I have seen were in typescript (before publication?) or producers copy - with pages mounted separately - no cover.

No	Title	Author	Team	Date performed
6	The Shillin' a Week Man	J. Corrie	Drumlemble	1949
25	Glensheugh	"	Tayinloan	"
108	Braidlands	A. Adam	"	1951
	The Bridge	J. Corrie	Drumlemble	"
				(1973)
153	The Masterfu' Wife	A. Adam	Highland P	1953
162	The Night of the Dance	I.D. Shanks	Port Ellen	"
57	The Mistress of Greenbyres	J. Corrie	Southend SWRI	1955
	Bessie Bell and Mary Gray	J.M.S. McCabe	Highland P	"
145	The Chair Invisible	A. Adam	Miners	"
120	William the Conqueror	"	Lorne St	"
	Storm Tide	A. MacVicar	Southend SWRI	"
177	Final Proof	"	"	1957
				(date put lished)
	The Causeway Comic	H.D. Stewart	Albyn P	"
82	Southward Ho	"	Miners	1957
179	Old Verity	J. Corrie	"	1959
	On With the Tartan	"	Young Farmers	1961
185	Wha's Laird	G. Carruthers	"	"
182	Mercy Flight	A. MacVicar	Dunaverty	"
				(date put lished)
129	The Door that Opens	A. Adam	Miners	1965
	Seven Doors for Johnnie (?)	R. Gillespie	Youth Club	1967
157	Traitor's Tryst	N. Ross	Peninver	"
62	Martha	J. Corrie	Miners	"
31	The Miracle	"	Carradale	1969
172	A Cameo from Cranford	A. Adam	Lochgilphead	1971
	The Friars of Berwick	J.M.S. McCabe	Peninver	1973
164	The Twa Merriet Weemen and the Weeda	C.S. Black	"	1975
202	Hallo'e'en	J. Scotland	Dunaverty	1977
194	A Pearl of Great Price	A. Adam	Youth Club	"
	Money a Slip	A. Ferguson	Phoenix	"
90	Groomsnicht	C. Barron	Ardrishaig	1979
				(pub. 1979)
216	The Girl of the Golden City	J. Scotland	Dunaverty	"
				(pub. 1975)
204	The Friends of the People	J. Scotland	Campbeltown P	"

Brown, Son and Ferguson specialised in Scottish Plays

Samuel French Ltd. London

Author	Title	Date published	Team	Date performed
P. Johnson	Sad About Europe	typescript	Highland P	1949
J.A. Ferguson	Campbell of Kilmohr	1915	Lorne St.	"
P. Johnson	Dark Brown	1946	Machrihanish	"
S. Houghton	The Dear Departed	1908	St. Kieran's	"
V. Bloom	One Wedding, Two Brides	1943	"	1951
M.M. Muir	But and Ben	1931	Machrihanish	"
P. Coke	Goodnight and Goodbye	1950	Lorne St.	1953
P. Johnson	A Present for a Lady	1952	Machrihanish	"
J. Dennys	Art with a Capital A	1953	St. Kieran's	1955
L. du Garde Peach	The Six Wives of Calais	1945	Machrihanish	"
R. Sherley	Our Pilate Hands	typescript	Highland P	1957
J.M. Synge	Riders to the Sea	1904	Albyn P	"
P. Johnson	Where Every Prospect Pleases	1946	Carradale	1959
E. McCracken	Behind Lace Curtains	typescript	Albyn P	"
G. Griffiths	Moon on the Hill	1955	Miners	1961
H. Agg	A Shot in the Dark	1954	Albyn P	"
R.F. Delderfield	And Then there were None	1954	Miners	"
F. Collins	The Foolishness of God	1939	Highland P	1963
F.L. Carey	Wife Required	1946	Albyn	"
M. Constanduros	The Man from the Sea	1941	Miners	"
& H. Agg				
T.B. Morris	Stew for Simon	1952	Dunaverty	1965
W. Denny & W. Morum	Wedding Breakfast	typescript	Southend SWRI.) Ardrishaig Rhu)	1957/196
J. Hesketh	Operation Cold Cure	1948	Brenacha P	1965
N. Warner Hooke	Festival Nightmare	1959	Albyn P	"
M. Wood	Outpatients	1960	Dunaverty	1967
T.B. Morris	The Watcher of the Road	1954	Castle P	"
			Lorne St.	1955
P. Johnson	Enclosed Premises	1950	Dunaverty	1969
S. Fail	The Naval Volunteer	1957	Clachan	"
T. Cruden	Pygmalion and his Galatia	1958	Castle P	"
R. & M. Pertwee	Pardon My French	1955	Dunaverty	"
L. du Garde Peach	It Wont be a Stylish Marriage	1946	Clachan	1971
P. Johnson	The Late Miss Cordell	1944	Tayvallich	"
A. Pinero	Playgoers	1913	"	1973
D. Campton	Us and Them	1977	Youth Club	1975
C.F. Jeffrey	The Other Ark	1973	Peninver	1977
P. Johnson	April Dawn	1954	Clachan	"
G. Cherrill	The Madam	1966	Camp. Seniors	"
L. Banks	Already Its Tomorrow	1962	"	"
P. Jones	The Rescue	1973	Clachan	"

Author	Title	Date published	Team	Date perform
<u>H.F.W. Deane and Sons. London</u>				
M. Dines	The Trial of Harry Mann	typescript	Peninver	1979
J. Tully	Tony	1955	Miners	1975
M. Wood	The Root of All Evil	1939	"	1951
E. Levy	Altarpiece	1933	Port Ellen	"
H.E. Atkinson	The Chimney Corner	1934	Machrihanish	"
D. McCardle	Witches Brew	1931	Highland P	1953
J. Forman	Ding Dong Belle	typescript	Peninver	1975
<u>Evans Bros. Ltd. London (Now taken over by S. French Ltd.)</u>				
Mgt Kussmann	Apple Pie	1966		
L. Barnett	Pop Goes the Patient	1965	Dunaverty	1977
P. Hemsfeld Johnson	The Pigeon with the Silver Foot	1951	Highland P	1961
& C.P. Snow	Edward	1973	Port Ellen	1977
Margaret Wood	Under the One Robe	1961	Highland P	1965
M. Dines				
<u>New Plays Quarterly (Rylee Ltd.) London</u>				
D. Monger	A Bride in Samaria	n.d.	Highland P	1951
Y. Cabrol	Tapestry of Shades	n.d.	"	1953
T.B. Morris	Ma Vatch	n.d.	Miners	1969
<u>Hugh Queckett Ltd. London</u>				
A. Booth	Dangerous Twilight	1955	Carradale	1959
Y. Cabrol	The Elephant	1957	Tayvallich	1969
V. Lucas	Suspicion	1957	Clachan	1971
<u>English Theatre Guild Ltd. London</u>				
M. Raynor	Something in the Attic	n.d.		
J. Kesselring	Arsenic and Old Lace	1942	Clachan	1973
T.P. Dillon & N. Leary	T.P. Dillon & N. Leary	1940 Rev. 1941	Peninver	1971
<u>MacMillan & Co. Ltd. London</u>				
S. O'Casey	The End of the Beginning	1946	Ardrishaig Rhu	1965
"	The Plough and the Stars	1926	Youth Club	1973
<u>G. Allen and Unwin Ltd. London</u>				
J.M. Synge	The Tinkers Wedding	1904	Youth Club	1969
<u>Wm. Culross & Son Ltd. Coupar Angus, Perthshire</u>				
M. Burgess	The Exiled	1959	Youth Club	1965
<u>Elek Books. London</u>				
H. & M. Williams	With Intent	1960	Clachan	1975

APPENDIX 7

Population of Southend - Numbers on Electoral Roll 1982

Length of residence

Born Locally	190	
Since marriage	52	
More than 12 yrs	29	
Less than 12 yrs	29	incomers 151

341

NB Most incomers arrived in the 1970's - before that the population was surprisingly static. People moving into the area before that came to work, or through marriage. Many are now retired farm workers who have lived in Southend for most of their lives.

Occupation

Farmers and families (inc retired)	144
Farm workers and families "	50
Retired (non-farming)	29
Widows "	12
Other workers and families	98
Unemployed	8

341

Distribution of Houses

The parish covers 48 square miles and the 154 houses listed are scattered over this wide area. However, there are 50 in the village, including 30 semi-detached council houses and a terrace of 6 ex-coastguard houses. There is another small grouping of 13 at Mill Park, including 10 semi-detached cottage type council houses of the type well known in Argyll. At Machariorch 8 very different homes are gathered within half a mile, and the remaining detached houses are scattered, singly or in groups of 2 or 3.

A few houses are not included because the owners were away for an extended period at the time the voters' roll was compiled.

APPENDIX 8

Occupancy of Council Houses - Dec 1984

Coastguard cottages - in village

Worker at radar station and family.
Widow of journalist/editor.
Widow (domestic workers) and family.
Widowed mother of hotel owner.
Unemployed man and family.
Farm worker.

Wallace Cottages - in village

Wide variety, including:

Retired farmers and farmers' widows.
Farm workers, retired farm workers and widows.
Hotel owner's widow and hotel staff.
Workers at Machrihanish aerodrome.
Headmaster's widow.
Shipyard workers and families.
Factory worker.
Cooper and wife.
PO linesman and wife.
Lorry driver and wife.
Self-employed agricultural contractors.
Unemployed.
Tinkers.

Mill Park

Retired farm worker and family.
Sister of deceased farm worker.
Widow of Chief Coastguard.
2 farmers's widows.
Agricultural contractor and family.
Incoming retired parents of contract manager.
Incoming retired parents of local GP.
Disabled electronic engineer and wife.
Farm worker and family.

APPENDIX 9

Non-farming occupations

Of the non-farming working locals, the motor-hirer, shopkeeper, hotel workers, agricultural contractors and handyman are employed locally, an insurance agent travels the district and the remainder work in a variety of occupations in Campbeltown.

(Production manager, aerodrome and shipyard workers, PO linesman, labourer, joiner, factory worker, civil servant, bank clerkess and nurse.)

Of the working recent 'incomers' - the doctor, minister and hotel keepers work within the parish, the chiropodist, the motor mechanic (who visits farms) and an insurance agent cover a wider area and the remainder work in Campbeltown.

Of the 29 non-farming retired, 22 are recent incomers and 2 more came with a view to retirement 20 years ago.

All but two of these had either a long previous connection with the village (eg as holiday makers) or had come to join their families (daughter married into local family or son working incomer). In one case a widow had come to be near her brother and his wife, who, in turn had come to be near a daughter married to a local farmer.

NB For the purpose of this survey women's occupations have been noted only where the woman is single or is the householder.

When this survey was taken, in 1984, the Schoolhouse was unoccupied - it is now occupied by the headmaster of the RC school in Campbeltown.

Appendix 10.

EXTRACTS FROM SWRI MINUTES

Sept 1950 It was decided to begin a dramatic class and Miss Greenlees and Mr John McKerral had agreed to help.

May 1952 Then last, but not least, Miss Niven spoke of the dramatic club that had been formed. Some of the members then presented four fifteen minute sketches:

Here Comes the Bride - the cast being: Miss Niven, Mrs A Cameron, Gartvaigh, Miss Elise Barbour, and Miss Nettie Cameron.

The Painless Extraction - with Mrs J Ronald, Misses Janet Ferguson*, Helen McKerral, and Margaret Barbour* in the cast.

The Permanent Wavers with Mrs A Grumoli, Misses Mary Taylor*, Lydia Grumoli and Janet Barbour* playing the parts, and

Hunt the Gowk with the same cast as The Permanent Wavers.

Oct. 1952. Miss Niven said that Miss Greenlees had agreed to take charge of the dramatic club as she has done the previous season.

Nov. 1952. The company also enjoyed a game and a 15-minute sketch called Hunt the Gowk done by four of the members.

April 1956. The three cups won by the Institute were on display: the cup for the best hyacinths at the Campbeltown Bulb Show, won by Mrs Galbraith, Machrimore; the one for the person with the most points, won by Mrs Reid, Keprichan, and the cup won by the WRI Dramatic Club at the County Festival.

Jan. 1958 Mrs W McKerral congratulated the Southend WRI Dramatic Club on winning the festival at Campbeltown and wished them further success on their visit to Glasgow.

APPENDIX 10 (sheet 2)

Feb. 1959. Miss McNiven congratulated the Southend WRI Dramatic Club on the very successful show they had in Southend. Members were also told that the dramatic club had donated 10 to the WRI to help to pay for the bus on their annual outing. They also gave a contribution to the Southend Ladies Lifeboat Guild.

April 1959 The Southend SWRI Dramatic Team then gave a most enjoyable performance of their play Gibbie Proposes.

The cast was as follows:

Gilbert Dalgleish	Alf Grumoli
Erichie McLean	John McKerral
Martha Love	Mary Taylor*
Maggie Buchanan	Morag Grumoli
Producer	Angus MacVicar*
Assistant Producer	Olive Wadsworth
Stage Manager	Archie Ferguson

Mrs W McKerral thanked the drama team for their performance.

May 1959the President also congratulated the Southend SWRI Dramatic Team on their recent success in Ardrishaig

NB Those people whose names are marked * are still members of Dunaverty Players in 1988.

The club's last appearance as SWRI Players was at the Ardrishaig festival in 1959. They had not entered the Campbelltown festival that year, and the following year were entered as Dunaverty Players.

The idea that the club should contribute to other local organisations is not dead, although for many years the club no money to spare. However, following a successful pantomime in 1986 it was agreed, in addition to 300 allocated to local organisations, that 50 be given towards the Senior Citizen's Christmas dinner, since so many of the club would qualify to attend as guests!

THE DUNAVERTY PLAYERS

Our drama club was born in 1952, a lively infant whose parent was the W.R.I. In fact we were christened the Southend W.R.I. Dramatic Club, and we owe a great deal to the enthusiasm of the ladies—notably Jenny Greenlees and Florrie Niven—who nursed us through the first year of our existence.

Our birthplace was the Muneroy Café, where, thanks to the unflagging interest of the proprietor, Alf Grumoli, we still live and move and have our comfortable being.

At the age of one year we flexed our muscles and, to our own astonishment, succeeded at the first attempt in winning the Kintyre District S.C.D.A. Festival and the Argyll County Festival. This was anything but good for us, but we like to believe that it didn't make us too swollen-headed and that we accepted success in the same equable spirit as we later accepted failure.

In 1956 we literally took wings. Chartering a BEA plane to carry ourselves and over a hundred props, we flew to Islay and played before a packed audience in Port Ellen as guests of our old friends, the Port Ellen Amateur Dramatic Society. The trip was well worth while, both financially and from the point of view of experience.

Competition-wise, perhaps our most successful year was 1957, when, with "Final Proof", we won the Kintyre District S.C.D.A. Festival and our night at the South-West Divisional Final and were runners-up both in the Argyll County Festival and at the W.R.I. National Festival. Commenting on the W.R.I. event, T. M. Watson wrote that "the adjudicator must have been working in decimals to separate the two leading clubs".

The ladies of some of the W.R.I. teams at this Festival—held in the beautiful Arts Guild Theatre, Greenock—made no secret of their surprise at the number of men we had, both as actors and behind the scenes; and this may have been why the following year the General Council decided that W.R.I. teams would in future consist entirely of women. We were forced, regretfully, to change our name to "The Dunaverty Players". Soon afterwards we read in the papers about a W.R.I. team which had to cancel its show "World Without Men", because the leading lady found she was going to have a baby.

From one acts we graduated to full-length plays—"Bachelors Are Bold" and Johnnie Jouk the Gibbet", the latter giving the wardrobe mistresses and stage managers an opportunity of doing some excellent work.

Only the hardest characters endure the rigours of "The Drama". Throughout the winter—and sometimes well into the spring—we rehearse two or three times a week. "come rain, snow or lightning-bolt", some of us travelling as far as ten miles each way, with a hard-working day behind us and another looming up. Nothing prevents us from arriving at the café at the stated time, because the absence of one person lets the whole side down.

Why do we do it? It may be because of an instinctive desire for self-expression. It may be because of the comradeship, the sense of being in a closely-knit team, sharing excitement like soldiers in a war. It may be because of the fun we can give to others and the fun we have ourselves when we relax after a show. Whatever the reason, we like it.

In the ten years of our existence we have always stood on our own feet, without the help of any grants which might have been available; but if offered the services of an SCDA adviser we jumped at the chance of improving our knowledge of the drama. We have made gifts of money to a number of charitable causes. We hope, too, that we have made gifts of pleasure to our generous and faithful audiences.

A. Mac Vicar.

APPENDIX 12 Copy of Minutes.

Extraordinary General Meeting 4th May 1975,
Village Hall - 8pm.

This meeting was called to arrange the journey to London on June 27th to compete in the SCDA British Final Festival of one-act plays, to be held in Lewisham Concert Hall on Sat. 28th June.

26 members were present.

Mr MacVicar then explained how, in the absence of the secretary, he had formed an Investigatory sub-committee consisting of Miss Taylor, Mr Rattray, Mr Buchanan, Mrs MacVicar and himself to try to find out the best way to get to London. He also read out the many letters of Congratulation and listed the equally numerous phone calls from well-wishers.

This committee's findings were as follows:-

- (1) Travel costs:-
 - a. Air - £2,000
 - b. Rail - Week-end return from Glasgow - £18-16 plus sleepers (one way) £3-50. Total per person - £21-66 - plus bus from Southend to Glasgow and return - £70.
 - c. Bus - return from Southend to London - £200.
- (2) Appointment of London Agent - Mr Les Hutchines.
- (3) Hotel recommended by Mr Hutchines - Clarendon Hotel, Blackheath, London - two miles from Lewisham Concert Hall.
Tariff £5 B&B.
- (4) The treasurer wrote to the County Council, Regional Council, H.I.D.B. and had been in touch with The Rotary Club, SNP, Round Table, SCDA (Kintyre) and Kintyre Farmers.
- (5) In accordance with SCDA Festival rules, our club would be reimbursed for travelling expenses (on application with receipt) but only for the cast plus two others.

The recommendations by the above named committee was that the Club travel by bus for the following reasons:-

1. If we arrived at Lewisham about 8pm on Friday, the team could have a quiet, restful night's sleep and plenty of time to relax on Saturday morning.
2. The stage props and furnishings could travel with us and be under the eye of the stage manager all the time.
3. It would mean the £200 for the bus could be fully recouped by paying passengers, not members of the club, leaving only bed and breakfast etc to be paid for out of grants etc.
4. It would cut out a costly journey to Glasgow and obviate the use of taxis, Underground etc from Euston in the first place, and to and from the theatre and the hotel. (Bus could be used all the time.)
5. It would maintain the spirit and tradition of the club, as being a unit, travelling together.

Mr MacVicar went on to praise the report in the Campbelltown Courier and also the Editorial.

The Chairman asked for the views of the members - a lengthy discussion ensued

Two members of the cast stated that they were going by rail and, if necessary, would pay their own costs.

Mrs Rattray suggested that other drama club members in the area should be offered spare seats in the bus at the same rate as ourselves. This suggestion was not approved.

It was agreed that the bus should not be completely filled.

Mr Henderson moved that the fairest way of filling the spare seats would be to allocate so many to each club. Mr Rattray reminded us that members of the district SCDA Committee were not members of a club and should be allocated seats also.

Mr Rattray kindly agreed to act as business manager and make the arrangements for travel and accommodation and refreshments on route etc.

Mr A Ferguson agreed to be in charge of any business matters on the bus journey as Mr Rattray was travelling by rail.

Raffle tickets were distributed to all present and the secretary agreed to distribute more to the District SCDA Committee and representatives of the other Kintyre Drama Clubs.

There being no other business the meeting closed at 10pm.

(NB In the event the club was so well supported that they made a profit of around £100 - which was used to buy a trophy for the winners of the third place at the local festival.

The apparent reluctance of members to pay their own expenses derived from the idea that no-one should be prevented from joining the club for financial reasons. This, however, may be less straightforward than it seems. Farmers were notoriously reluctant to spend cash, though they were generous in other respects, as they were not accustomed to the cash economy; and where one partner, only, was a member of the club - and this was usually the case with locals - there was a reluctance to draw on the joint account for recreational purposes. Things are changing, and this may not have been valid in 1975 - but the attitudes of the club had been formed earlier.)

APPENDIX 13.

CONSTITUTION FOR DUNAVERTY PLAYERS

AMATEUR DRAMA CLUB.

1. The society shall be called 'Dunaverty Players'.
2. The funds of the club shall be devoted to the stated objects, and for such charitable purposes as agreed by the members. In the event of the dissolution of the club, the balance of funds and all assets, shall be devoted to charitable objects similar to those of the club.
3. There shall be two classes of membership:-
 - a) Full members shall pay an annual subscription of....which entitles them to participate in all the club's activities and to one vote at all General Meetings.
 - b) Honorary Members shall be elected at the discretion of the General Committee and Members.
5. Application for membership shall be made to the secretary.
6. Admission to membership shall be at the discretion of the General Committee.
7. The day to day management of the club shall be in the hands of the General Committee, consisting of Chairman, Vice-chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer (all acting ex-officio), and four other members. But all matters of artistic and financial policy shall be decided by a General Meeting of Members.
8. The officers and one half of the other members of the general committee shall retire annually, but shall be eligible to offer themselves for re-election. The names of the committee members to retire at the end of the first year shall be determined by lot and thereafter by rotation.
9. The quorum for a meeting of the General Committee shall be four members.
10. Any members of the club co-opted to the General Committee must offer themselves for re-election at the next AGM.
11. Subscriptions shall be due at the AGM each year. The rate of subscription can be altered only at the AGM.

12. The AGM shall be held to transact the following business:-

a) To receive a report on the year's activities and the statement of accounts from the Treasurer for the previous year.

b) To elect the officers and members of the General Committee for the ensuing year.

c) To consider any other business.

At all meetings of the Club, the General Committee or any sub-committee, the Chairman of that meeting will, if necessary, have a casting vote.

13. An Extraordinary General Meeting may be convened at any time at the instance of not less than ten members, or at the request of the General Committee, within 21 days of the request being received in writing by the Committee.

14. Any member desiring to bring a complaint or a grievance before the Committee shall notify the secretary in writing, who shall then bring it to the notice of the General Committee not later than the next Committee Meeting.

15. The club shall not be terminated except by resolution of an Extraordinary General Meeting passed by at least three quarters of the members present.

APPENDIX 14

DUNAVERTY PLAYERS - MEMBERSHIP MAY 1987

Key to acting ability: A = outstanding
 B = good, with some limitation
 C = good in the right part
 D = inexperienced but promising
 E = inexperienced - time will tell
 F = doesn't usually act

Joined Club	Name (accent-actors only)	Age Group	Role(s) in Club	Occupation	Acting Ability
1954	Angus MacVicar	70's	Producer	Author	F
	Jean MacVicar	70's	Support to Angus Makes tea-pianist	Housewife	F
	John Barbour (local)	50's	Actor-handyman- driver-chairman	Farmer	B
	Maggie Barbour (local)	60's	Actress-prompter	Housekeeper to invalid sister and family	C
	Janet Barbour (local)	60's	" "	Helps John on farm	C
	Mary Taylor (educ. Scots) Peggy Campbell	60's 70's	" chairman Retired actress- supporter	Retired hotel keeper Housewife	B F
1958	Alex Ronald (local)	60's	'bit' parts in fest-plays.leading comic in panto.	Farmer	C
	Margaret Cameron	50's	Prompter-treasurer (1978-86)backstage	Hotel cook	F
	Janet Ferguson	50's	Small props-soft furnishings-back stage	Hospital ward maid	F
	Sybil Kelly	70's	Wardrobe mistress	Retired hotel keeper	F
c 1963	Ronald Togneri (educ. Scots)	40's	Producer-actor- stage designer &	Head of Art Dept. C.Grammar school	A
+ 1971	Iain Rattray (educ. Scots- Highland)	70's	Actor. previously Treasurer chairman	Retired bank manager	B
+ 1972	Mary Rattray (English)	60's	Producer-previous- ly actress	Retired teacher	C
+ 1973	Barbara Lamont (educ. Scots)	70's	Actress-writer of pantomimes	Housewife	B
+ 1974	Allan Lamont (educ. Scots)	70's	Secretary-has acted	Retired head- master	C
1976	Calum Semple (local)	20's	Actor (not avail- able at present)	Insurance sales- man	C
c 1977	Donald Kelly (educ. Scots)	30's	Actor	Lawyer	B
+ 1979	Linda Bawn (Walker)(English)	30's	Actress. produced children's play	P.O. Clerk	B
o	Ralph Davidson (local)	50's	Actor	Storeman (pre- viously farmer	C
*	David McCallum (local)	late teens	Actor-sound effects-stage-crew	Factory worker	C

	Joined Club	Name (accent-actors only)	Age Group	Role(s) in Club	Occupation	Acting Abilit
		Alison Bawn (local)	mid teens	Actress in pantomime-stage-crew	Schoolgirl	E
		Allison McMillan (local)	20's	Actress-mainly pantomime	Bank clerk	E
+c	1979	Iain Ferguson (Scot.borders)	late 20's	Actor	Lawyer	B
?o		Billy Nelson	50's	Local minister-supporter-play reading group	Minister	F
+		Joan Nelson	50's	Minister's wife (supporter)	Housewife	F
+	1980	Jill Middleton	50's	Stage manager-president 5 years	Housewife	F
+		Geoff. Horton (English)	early 50's	Actor-painter-make-up-carpentry-produced pantos.	G.P.	A
o	1981	Helen Ronald (local)	20's	Actress (not available at present)	Hairdresser	C
*	1982	Eliz. Semple (local)	late 40's	Actress	Farmer's wife	B
+		Lisa McTaggart (local)	mid teens	Actress in pantomime-stage crew	Schoolgirl	D
		Margt. McCallum (local)	early teens	Actress in pantomime-stage crew	"	E
+	1984	Pat McGlynn (Aberdeen)	30's	Actress	Assistant head teacher large primary school	B
o		Isobel Carter (English)	50's	Actress	RAF wife. Admin. Off.NATO base	B
+		Charles Reppke (educ. Scots)	20's	Actor	Lawyer	B
c		Jean Taylor	80's	Supporter-attends all club meetings	Retired G.P.	F
+	1985	Elsbeth Lennox	30's	Back stage	Further education teacher & organiser	F
c		Mary Lamont (educ. Scots)	20's	Prompter-actress	Graduate tax assist in Law office	D
*		Jan McCorkindale (educ. Scots)	20's	Actress	Farmer's wife-bank clerk	D
+		Linda Nelson (educ. Scots)	20's	Actress	Housewife	B
o	1986	Ian Munro	50's	Skilled stage-crew-treasurer	Retired university lecturer	F
+		Lena Munro	50's	Stage crew	Housewife	F
+		Sid. Day	60's	Stage crew-skilled handyman	Retired clerk of court	F

	Joined Club	Name (accent-actor only)	Age Group	Role(s) in Club	Occupation	Acting Ability
+	1987	Mgt. Day	60's	Stage crew-skilled needlewoman	Housewife	F
+C		Chris. Ashmore	40's	Wardrobe mistress	Instructor-mental handicap	F
O		John Kerr (educ. Scots)	50's	Actor	Assistant Headmaster Grammar school	B
C		Cathie Kerr (educ. Scots)	40's	Actress-stage design	Art teacher Grammar school	A
* + C O		Alisa Graham (local)	late teens	Actress	Village shop assistant	E

- * Previously in another Kintyre Club
- + Incomer
- C Living in Campbeltown
- O Previous experience outwith Kintyre

APPENDIX 15

PLAYS PRODUCED BY DUNAVERTY PLAYERS

KC = Kitchen comedy

C = Comedy

SN = Serious narrative

SHC = Scots historical comedy

D = Heavy drama

Date	Title	Author	Pro-ducer	Publisher (NB. Brown, Son and Ferguson rarely dated their plays. Some plays played from unpublished manuscripts were later published)	Type
1954	Under Suspicion	A. MacVicar	A.McV	Brown, Son & Ferguson Ltd., Glasgow (190)	SN
1955	Storm Tide	"	"	" (186)	SN
	Mistress o' Greenbyres	J. Corrie	"	" (57)	KC
1956	Minister's Monday	A. MacVicar	"	John McQueen & Son Ltd. Galashiels	C
	The Woon' O'ot	W.D.Crocker	"	Unpublished	KC
1957	Final Proof	A. MacVicar	"	Brown, Son & Ferguson Ltd., Glasgow (177)	SN
	Wedding Breakfast	W.Dinnar A.Morrum	"	Samuel French Ltd. London, 1952	C
1958	Storm Tide (as above)		"	(The sound effects went badly wrong in the first performance so the pro- duction was entered again after a gap of two years)	SN
	Moo	E.Sully and A.Anderson	"	The Albyn Press, Edinburgh (6)	KC
	Bachelors are Bold (3 act)	T.M. Watson	"	Brown, Son & Ferguson Ltd., Glasgow, 1952	KC
1959	Gibbie Proposes	T.M. Watson	"	" (124)	KC
	Johnnie Jouk the Gibbet (3 act)	"	"	"	SHC
1960	Hangman's Noose	"	"	" (last act Johnnie Jouk the Gibbet)	SHC
1961	Mercy Flight	A. MacVicar	"	Brown, Son & Ferguson Ltd., Glasgow, 1959 (182)	SN
	Children of the Carpenter	Joanna Tibbs	"	Unpublished	SN
1962	Trouble Brewing	G.S.Carruthers	"	Brown, Son & Ferguson Ltd., Glasgow, 1955	SHC
	Author in Search of Himself	Rae Sherley	"	Unpublished	S
	Oh Clever Mrs Cuthbertson	A. McIntyre J. McLeod	"	The Albyn Press, Edinburgh	C
1963	Brighton Conspiracy	J. Shaw Grant	"	Unpublished	C
	Tullycairn (3 act)	J. Corrie	"	Brown, Son & Ferguson Ltd., Glasgow, 1961	KC
1964	Stranger at Christmas	A. MacVicar	"	" (193)	S

Date	Title	Author	Pro-ducer	Publisher	Type
1965	The Lum Hat	Agnes Adam	A.McV	Brown, Son & Ferguson Ltd., Glasgow (187)	KC
	Stew for Simon	T.B. Morris	"	Samuel French Ltd., London	KC
	Kye Among the Corn (3 act)	J. Corrie	"	Brown, Son & Ferguson Ltd., Glasgow (rep.1956)	KC
1966	Wha's Laird	G.S.Carruthers	"	" 1961(185)	SHC
1967	In Five Minutes' Time	"	"	" (188)	S
	Outpatients	Mgt. Wood	"	Samuel French Ltd., London, 1960	S
1968	Profile	T.C.Thomas	"		S
1969	Pardon my French	M.&R.Pertwee	"	Samuel French Ltd., London, 1955	C
1970	Enclosed Premises	Philip Johnson	"	" 1950	D
	The Man Who Wouldn't go to Heaven	F. Sladen-Smith	"	<u>Twenty One-act Plays</u> J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London, 1938	S
	The Shaunessy) Bodach (old man)) Flying Visit)	A. MacDougall (Alastair Maiden)	"	Unpublished	S
1972	Villa for Sale	Sacha Guitry	A.M.	Unpublished	C
1973	Final Proof	Angus MacVicar	A.McV	George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1935	C
	As Good as New	David Perry	A.M.	Brown, Son & Ferguson Glasgow Playbill Two, Hutchison Educational Ltd., London 1969	S
1974	Money a Slip	Alastair Ferguson	A.McV	Playbill Two, Hutchison Educational Ltd., London 1969	KC
	A Separate Peace	Tom Stoppard	A.M.	Switch On-Switch Off and Other Plays, Faber & Faber Ltd., London, 1968	S
1975	There's a Man in that Tree	Janet McNeill	A.McV	Canadian publisher (details unknown)	?
1976	Rise and Shine	Elda Cadogan	A.M.	Photocopy from collection	C
	A Little Bell for San Marco	Michael Dines	A.McV	Faber & Faber, London, 1971	C
	After Magritte	Tom Stoppard	A.M.	Brown, Son & Ferguson Ltd., Glasgow (202)	C
1977	Hallowe'en	James Scotland	A.McV	Evan Bros. Ltd., London, 1965	SH
	Pop Goes the Patient	Leonard Barnett	A.M.	Samuel French Ltd., London, 1955	C
1978	Instruments of Darkness	Mgt. Wood	A.McV	<u>The Male of the Species</u> Act 1. Samuel French Ltd., London 1972	D
	McNeil (act 1)	Alun Owen	A.M.	Brown, Son & Ferguson Ltd., Glasgow, 1975	D
1979	The Girl of the Golden City	James Scotland	A.McV	Samuel French Ltd., London, 1967	SN
	George	Derek Hickman	J.McK		C

Date	Title	Author	Pro-ducer	Publisher	Type
1980	The Bishop's Candlesticks	Norman McKinnell	A.McV	One Act Plays of Today George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., London, 1926	SN
	Ripe for Conversion	J.McConnell	J.McK	English Theatre Guild Ltd., 1976	D
	Sunday Costs 5 Pesos	Josephine Niggli	M.R.	Samuel French Ltd., London, 1937	C
1981	Parcel Pastiche	David Campton Nick Hall	AmMcV J.McK	" 1979 Samuel French Ltd., New York, 1978	SN C
1982	Hogmanay	James Scotland	A.McV	Brown, Son & Ferguson Ltd., Glasgow, 1981 (119)	C
	A. Jubilee	A. Chekhov	M.R.	Chekhov Plays Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1951	C
1983	Pen of my Aunt Juno and the Paycock (act 1)	Gordon Daviot Sean O'Casey	A.McV M.R.	Samuel French Ltd., London, 1932	SN SN
1984	Union Riots	James Scotland	A.McV	Brown, Son & Ferguson Ltd., Glasgow, 1973 (207)	SHC
	The Trial of Harry Mann	Michael Dines	M.R.	Kenyon, Deane Ltd., London, 1964	SN
1985	Highland Fling The Provincial Lady	Geo. Carruthers Turgenev	A.McV M.R.	Unpublished Samuel French Ltd., London	C SN
1986	The Strawberry	Agnes Adam	A.McV & R.T.	Brown, Son & Ferguson, Ltd., Glasgow	C
	Red Spy at Night	Robert King	M.R.	Samuel French Ltd., London, 1972	C
	Your Obedient Servant (3 act)	Diana Morgan	M.R.	Evans Plays, London, 1971	C
1987	Twa's Company Bernadette	W. McConnachie Noel Wolfe & Sheila Buckley	A.McV M.R.	Unpublished Samuel French Ltd., London, 1958	C SN
	The Guilty Generation	Mgt. Wood	R.T.	Samuel French Ltd., London	SN
1988	Great Catherine	G.B. Shaw	M.R.	Selected One Act Plays Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, 1965	C
	Riders to the Sea	J.M. Synge	R.T.	Twenty One-Act Plays J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London, 1938	D
<u>PANTOMIMES</u>					
1979	Mother Goose's Golden Christmas	Derek Wood	M.R.	Samuel French Ltd., London, 1978	C
1982	Aladdin	J. Crocker	G.H.	Samuel French Ltd., London, 1967	C
1985	Cinderwelly	Barbara Lamont	A.McV	Unpublished	C
1987	Jock and the Beanstock	Barbara Lamont	"	Unpublished	C

Distinctive retreat with a memorable view

AS the sale of co-ownership holidays at the inner estate of The Melfort Club nears completion, an attractive crescent of 11 mews cottages, to accommodate 46 people, is now being erected within the walled garden.

A short walk from the centre's main amenities, the final construction phase of stone-faced buildings with traditional slate roofs, is set in an elevated situation looking south.

There are unobstructed hill views across the estate. And to Loch Melfort, a haven for yachtsmen keen to encounter the challenge (via the famed Gulf of Corryvreckan) of sailing to the Hebrides, and maybe even to St Kilda or the Fiannan Isles.

Where once a dozen gardeners tended vegetables, flowers and fruit trees for the estate, the builders are now busy creating a

retreat within the distinctive time-share holiday settlement.

Sheltered by the old stone walls, a small spruce forest and many deciduous trees on the hill at the rear of the garden, the site is a natural sun trap all year round. And it offers another, less obvious, form of protection.

Private holiday cottages and their owners are sometimes resented in the Highlands. Villagers see vital houses lying empty most of the year while local young couples have to move elsewhere.

There may also be concern among holiday owners about burst pipes in winter and other matters of general maintenance. A co-ownership development obviates these problems. An early phone call ensures the cottage heating is on and that any other requirements are catered for before arrival. Car parking at the mews cottages is close

to the rear of the crescent, a handy and unobtrusive arrangement for transport.

The interiors of this architecturally designed row of cottages with its own leisure facilities have been given every attention. There are functional mezzanine levels in each of the large lounges and bathrooms, shower rooms, and main bedrooms are equally spacious. A small upper balcony to the front offers exceptional views of the loch and sliding lounge windows give easy access to personal patios just above the garden.

A short stroll from the steps of these holiday home investments opens up immediate vistas to the Isles of Scarba and Luing and on clear days even to the distant Paps of Jura. The cottages are also ideally placed only minutes away from the estate's stone pier with its broad, wooden boating pontoon.

The Melfort Centre is situated in Ardfern.

Name: Mary Taylor Date: 18-3-85
Occupation: Retired Age: c70
 hotel owner.
Role in Club: Actress Joined club: 1954
Address: Southend (local). Interviewer: Mary Rattray

MR. Would you tell me about the beginnings of the club, Mary?

MT. It began when Jenny Greenlees started play-readings, one night a week.

MR. Was Jenny a teacher?

MT. Yes, Jenny was a teacher in Campbeltown Grammar School - she was an MA. She started this one night a week in Alf's cafe. That's where the dramatic club started. We had that first winter and Jenny ended up doing a play, a one-act play and some other things - and I'm not sure how Angus became interested. I think we sort of joined forces and Angus brought in men.

MR. Did you have any trouble getting men to come in to it?

MT. Well, no - the first ones we had were John McKerral, John Barbour, Alf Grumoli - I'm not sure who else, John Galbraith, Polliwilline, who has been dead many years, and Archie Ferguson who was stage manager. I think he was in from the beginning and I think Maggie and Janet would be in almost from the beginning - they were in very early.

MR. Whose idea was it to ask Angus?

MT. I don't know. I imagine it must have been Angus and Jenny - and Florrie Niven was in it too. Florrie was a Nursing sister - her father had been the local doctor and she came here - I think her mother was ill and she had to give up her career and come home to look after her mother and father. Florrie was one of those indispensable people - in the golf club, she played the organ at church and at concerts, she did all sorts of things. She has never been replaced. There was never

anybody could take over from Florrie. So, Florrie was interested in it too, and I think the next year when the players were formed, she would have been in it with Jenny.

MR. You competed in the SWRI competitions?

MT. Not at first - the first time we competed was in the SDCA festival in Campbeltown.

MR. You did that before you entered the SWRI competition?

MT. The SWRI - in those days the SWRI allowed not more than 50% men.

MR. But you were allowed men? So it wasn't a case of a group of the SWRI turning into a Dramatic Club - it was a club from the beginning?

MT. We called ourselves SWRI because we were all SWRI members. But we had no intention of entering SWRI festivals. How they do it is that the plays that do well in the local festivals and get in the prize list. They send out invitations to compete in their festival. I don't know if we ever went to the SWRI, but we used to get invitations.

MR. Angus said something about - you went and people were shocked because you had so many men, and after that the rules were changed?

MT. Yes, they changed the rules. Yes, I believe we went once. We hadn't more than the 50% men you were allowed, but I think a lot of the average dramatic clubs were complaining because the majority were women only, and the clubs that were SWRI and had men were naturally able to do better plays - therefore they were always winning. So I think that's why the SWRI made a rule - women only. So we dropped out.

MR. After that there was a year when you didn't enter - 1959. You did Storm Tide in 1958 and then you had a blank year and then you came back as Dunaverty Players after that.

MT. Yes, we won with Storm Tide. Well, the reason we did that - there was an element in the thing, they felt we were doing too well - and we were. There was dissatisfaction - shall I put it like that?

MR. Within the club?

MT. No, in the opposition. Oh, they were just silly at the prizegiving. I think that was when we decided to give it a miss for a year - and I think, not to be too modest, that we were missed at the festival. We went the following year and there was never any trouble after that.

MR. When Iain and I came along, in 1970, you'd just lost Morag and Alf and John Barbour had baled out for the time being - I had the feeling then that....

MT. We were in a state of disarray.

MR. A feeling that 'Our great days are past' - and you were feeling a bit demoralised.

MT. Well, that was two of our best people - Morag and John. Morag was streets ahead of the rest of us, she was a superb actress - she was absolutely marvellous - she was in a class by herself, no doubt about that, and John Barbour was excellent - and Alf was good, given the right part.

MR. Just looking at this (record of successes) you can see this had been a wonderful time.

MT. Yes.

MR. The number of firsts is incredible - will you tell me a bit more about what it was like to be in the club at that time?

MT. Well, it was very much ... Well, it was just like a social club and a night out. We had our rehearsals in the cafe. You went up there early and there was a lovely fire and we spent the whole evening. We had our rehearsal and it was all very comfortable. We got tea, Morag and Alf prepared the tea, presumably we paid our sixpence or whatever it was. But that was the period when there was a tremendous boom in SCDA and we'd a tremendous lot of clubs in the area.¹ In the fifties there was a great revival - on into the sixties - and in this area it was very popular and the festival was very well attended, there's nothing like it now. The festival used to be held in the Rex Cinema - it's no longer there. It was marvellous for the audience - like a theatre - but it was very expensive, and also they had

to get a joiner to build out the stage. There was no stage and no proper dressing rooms - but it was a marvellous place for the audience. The Campbeltown audience was a great audience. Now it's rather different. The majority of the people who were in the audience then are no longer there - and there are more diversions.

MR. When did you stop rehearsing at Morag's - when she went away?

MT. No, I don't remember. I think when Alf took half the building to make a storeroom.

MR. I remember you telling me - I was complaining of the hall being cold - that it was nothing like it was.

MT. Yes, The wind was blowing up through the floorboards....

MR. Did you find a big difference when you moved out of these really comfortable surroundings?

MT. Yes, and no. I think when we got out of there we really got down to more serious business.

MR. Were you pretty well all locals at that time?

MT. We had a number of Campbeltown people. Ronnie Togneri (Alf's nephew), he was very young then and a big chap, John something from the Campbeltown Courier, and John McInally who was the art teacher from the Grammar School.

I don't think we had any girls. They always seemed to be men.

MR. Except for the spell about 1970 - the bad spell - you don't seem to have had any problems about getting men?

MT. No, we were very fortunate.

MR. And all those trips to the divisionals?

MT. Oh, they were fun.

MR. You must have expected to go to divisionals, very nearly. Before we joined you had been eight times.

MT. Yes, three years in succession, or two years -

miss a year - then another two years.

MR. That must have helped to keep the club together?

MT. Oh yes, it gave you a lot of confidence, but I don't think we were ever offensively complacent.

MR. I don't think Angus would have allowed it, somehow.

MT. No, Angus was always known as 'The Grim Reaper' - you'll have heard about that? It was in one of the plays.

MR. Yes. Do you think we are doing enough to bring in young people?

MT. It's always been difficult getting in young people - we had that problem from the word 'go'. I think we're very lucky at the moment in having Pat and Linda - not that they're that young, but they're young by my standards. David McCallum and Charles Reppke are young.

MR. Do you think there's the same spirit in the club nowadays?

MT. I think there's a tremendous camaraderie now.

MR. We had a difficult bit - how do you think we got over it?

MT. There's a different attitude. If you've got a rehearsal on, anybody who hasn't a part or is in Angus' play is welcome to come along, and Angus is the same - and that's the difference. Dr Maiden wasn't all that keen on onlookers. He didn't mean to be short - but he was so completely tied up that any diversion seemed to irritate him.

MR. Looking over the years - people didn't always get a part - but they didn't seem to mind?

MT. No, I haven't been in much for many years. In the last year or two I've been delighted when there was a part for me - because it's marvellous to think 'Here am I, one foot in the grave, and I can still...' Maybe there's still something for me - and I'm delighted.

MR. My impression has been that members of Dunaverty have always been willing to miss a year - or to take a big part one year and a walk-on the next?

MT. Well, I think you can give Angus credit for that. He always maintained it was a club thing and that the smallest part was as important as the biggest, 'The strength of the chain is in its weakest link.' If people weren't actually in the play there was always something to do - if they didn't get a job to do they could always come along - and you felt that you were welcome. You were still part of the club even if you weren't acting. I think that's where Dunaverty scored and why they have been able to keep on through the years - why they've been able to keep together - getting new people in and yet still the remnants of the old originals hanging on. I expect it's just the way Angus formed the club - I feel I'll always be part of it - a member of Dunaverty Players.

MR. Did you ever feel you would like to do a different sort of play or a different kind of part?

MT. Well I don't know - I played a young girl in Under Suspicion - I'd be about 40 then. In Gibbie Proposes I was an old person. Funnily enough Angus' play Mercy Flight - he didn't like it - but I liked my part in it. Olive and I were in that. I was the wife and she was the secretary.

MR. There was quite a bit of tension in that play between you two?

MT. Yes, I liked that - Oh, I loved that - the only bit of dramatic acting I got.

MR. Would you have liked more of that?

MT. Oh, yes - very much so.

MR. We'll need to do something about that.

MT. Oh, I don't know whether I'm up to it now. I remember it because Olive and I were having a slanging match. At Ardrishaig I got into trouble - a terrible adjudication from Nan Scott - because there was a sofa close to the edge of the stage, and in those days in Ardrishaig the front row of the stalls was just under the footlights - and they were all looking up and I was in a short skirt. I still remember the Duke of Argyll and all the aristocracy of Mid-Argyll and the Provosts were sitting in the front row - so I was sitting carefully and Nan Scott was talking about my 'wooden

legs'. At the private adjudication we were laughing like anything. I said 'You try sitting on a sofa with all that lot looking up at you.' She said 'Never mind them.' But I was young enough to be slightly conscious in those days - I wouldn't mind now - also that would be in the days before tights - you'd have stocking tops showing.

MR. Would you have liked to do a different sort of play - more drama, or whatever?

MT. Sometimes - but I don't know what I'm capable of doing. I think I played Glesca chars more than anything else, but I always come back to Mercy Flight - though Angus didn't like that play at all - I don't know why - but I loved it - I loved my part in it.

MR. Was there ever any pressure from the club on Angus to do different types of play?

MT. Oh, no - Angus was the boss. We always went along with Angus - there was never any quibbling about that - as far as I know. We didn't have people reading plays until much later on.

MR. Actually I think that's more theory than practice, even now. They all read plays and then Angus and I make up our minds.

MT. Yes, well it's fair enough. It keeps some members feeling they're doing something and I think you're a very tactful pair.

MR. Angus was winning for years and years and then went down and had a bad spell. What do you think went wrong?

MT. Well, one thing was that the opposition improved, for many years we were in a class by ourselves, and Angus was the first really good producer they'd had at the local festival² I think and he knew more about it.

MR. You think it wasn't so much a case of Angus going down but of everyone else coming up?

MT. I think so and, of course, losing one or two people here and there. We lost Morag, Alf, John Galbraith - and there was that sad business of John McKerral's first wife dying when they came back from their honeymoon - not that that affected....
I'll tell you about the club too - Alex Ronald was in

it.

MR. Yes, he came on and off as far as I can see.

MT. Alex had to be typecast.

MR. So it was just a case of the opposition improving and you losing some of your best players at the same time?

MT. Yes, I think it would be that more than anything else - sometimes it was difficult getting a play - because after a number of years Angus stopped writing plays. Usually we had very good sets and costumes when we did a period play.

MR. Mary, quite seriously, why do you do it?

MT. Why do you climb Everest - because it's there. Well, I think it's because I've always been a member of the club. I suppose I could gracefully slip out anytime now - but I always enjoy it. I mean - I enjoyed that play thoroughly - but only from the last three rehearsals - because it was only then I got in to the part - it took me all that time. I think it's the most difficult part I've ever done and it was a small part.

MR. It's the challenge of getting the part right?

MT. Oh yes - that's it. I struggled and struggled and it's only a wee part - but it took an awful long time.

MR. Do you think the people who are in drama now are in it because they really enjoy drama rather than for any social reason?

MT. I think it's a bit of a hotch-potch of the two - but I think most of them, the old hands - we just enjoy 'the drama'.

MR. The whole thing - being there and being part of it?

MT. I think that's it - I just enjoy it. How much longer I'll have the energy - I've just given up the bowls this year. Of course, I love the theatre - I'm going up tomorrow to the Scottish Opera to see The Barbour of Seville.

MR. Do you find you relate to the new people who come in as you used to relate to the 'old staggers'?

MT. Oh, yes, I think so. A lot depends on the people themselves - but any one new - Charles, for instance has just slipped in. I think it boils down to - Southend is a very friendly place - for instance, Elspeth - It's nice to see her there, and we hope she'll keep coming and take part in things, either on the stage or off it - whichever is her metier. We need new people very much.

MR. My feeling is that people are made welcome - a stranger coming in wouldn't know who were the 'old-stagers'.

MT. Unless he counted the wrinkles.

MR. Well, some of the new folk have wrinkles.
Do you mind about winning things?

MT. No.

MR. Did it ever bother you?

MT. In the early days I remember it was a terrific thrill - our very first. Nothing was farther from our minds. I remember Angus giving us a pep talk. He told us 'You could be in the first four' and we hooted with laughter at the very idea.

Then we won first place - I'll never forget it - my feet weren't touching the ground - it was like drinking a whole bottle of champagne. That was the feeling. Put it this way: it's great to win, but I don't mind losing.

MR. Exactly.

MT. But this year - I haven't said this to anyone else, but really - on the last night, judging by the audience reaction and the adjudicator's remarks - I really thought our play would win the festival.

MR. It's the first time I've minded the results - other times I've been completely indifferent, but this time I was really disappointed. I think it was because I thought it could have been better - if I'd taken just a little bit more trouble with the costumes and the set.... but I didn't mind when I knew Angus had got it. We were all so pleased for Angus.

MT. Well I had a feeling - I thought, 'Oh, no - our play was better - and I thought 'Poor Mary.' And then I thought it was good that it was Angus because it was so

long since he had won.

MR. I was disappointed that I wasn't second to Angus - because I didn't like John's play.

MT. No, I didn't. Mary, I'll tell you, that's the type of play that has to be terribly slick and sophisticated, and James was hopeless and went right over the top. He could have given us the suggestion without overdoing it. He just overdid his reactions - he made it grubby. It was too much. It may have been written like that but if I'd been the producer I'd have toned it down a bit - he could have given us disappointment without so much physical anguish.

MR. Mary, the club now has a more formal set-up. We have a committee and a President and all the rest of it. In the early days it wasn't like that - it was all very informal. When did the change come.

MT. Alastair Maiden - he said it was ridiculous that we didn't have a constitution³ - we were just formed and carried on. We had a Chairman and that was that.

MR. Were you the first Chairman?

MT. No, - I was for two years - Angus, John McKerral, John Barbour - I wasn't the first.

MR. I may have remembered this wrongly - but at one of the first meetings I attended - there was the problem of the Coffee Morning. The producers and the actors were all tied up with the Summer Show and there was a suggestion that a committee should be set up, formed from the non-active members, to run the Coffee Morning, and take some of the strain off the producers. Now that committee has grown into a committee that runs the club, and the producers still aren't on it.

MT. To me that is sheer nonsense - because the producers are the most important people in the club.

MR. I think it's just grown that way - it wasn't intended.

MT. Quite honestly, Mary - I don't like it - too many formal meetings - far better when the producers had a little more obvious power. I think the producers should be able to put a spanner in the works if somebody has silly ideas - I don't know.

MR. AGM's when I came first, used to end with a ceilidh. They were super, and they've died out. Why was that? Was it you giving up the hotel? Or was it just everybody getting older and just couldn't be bothered?

MT. We used to have them in Keil (Tape ran out.)

Summary of remainder from notes.

The ceilidhs ended when Mary and Sybil gave up the hotel. Mary would like to see them revived. Asked what she thought would happen if Angus retired, she said she thought the 'old stagers' would retire with him but that the club would carry on.

Asked what were the biggest problems the club had had to face, she saw the question in purely practical terms - problems of farmers and teachers getting away to Divisional Finals.

She is quite sure that the club would not have lasted so long without Angus.

Notes:

1. This is not completely borne out by the records. (See Appendix 1.)
2. Norval Charteris was producing for Highland Parish from the beginning.
3. This was not confirmed by other informants or by the club minutes.

Name: Angus MacVicar Date: 18 - 3 - 85
Occupation: Author/broadcaster Age: Late seventies.
Role in Club: Producer Joined club: 1954
Address: Southend.(Local) Interviewer: Mary Rattray.

M.R. Angus, what influences you when you are choosing a play?

A.M. Well - the policy of the drama club for long enough at the beginning I wrote plays to suit the cast and chose another play that suited the cast, and throughout our history we tried every year to employ everybody in the club. It's such a bad thing to leave anybody out - they lose interest and drop out and so forth and so on.

So that was the policy when I was the sole producer, but when we got another producer, in Alastair Maiden, we often consulted as to what play he wanted to do and then I chose a play with the people he had not chosen; and it was very often that he chose a play with very few people in it - so after that we had to get plays with large casts that take up everybody.

M.R. Taken that you've got to find plays that suit your people - are there any kinds of play that you warm to from the start - or just rule out?

A.M. Well our sort of thing, at the beginning, was to choose plays that our people could identify with. For example, we would never have chosen a Coward play or any sophisticated South-country play, because we didn't understand that kind of society. We always wanted to choose a play that we could identify with - we could understand the background of the play and the characters in it. Our accents, too, had an effect on everything, because with our accents here it would be very difficult for us to try, for example, a Noel Coward play.

M.R. Did you ever choose a play with the clear intention in your mind of bringing in new people? Or did you choose a play to suit your existing people and

find you still needed new people and had to bring them in to fill the smaller parts?

A.M. That happened once or twice. We chose a play that used up all the remainder of the cast, but we had one or two places for somebody else. So we cast around and asked somebody, 'Would you like to join the drama and take this part?' Quite often that happened.

M.R. Would that account for the fact that there were a lot of people on my list¹ here who only appeared one year? Would they agree to play one year without further commitment?

A.M. Well, that sometimes happened, but the extraordinary thing was - once they got bitten by the bug they were very keen to come back.

M.R. Have you a preference for playwrights that you know? James Scotland, George Carruthers - people that you know personally? Did you feel that you wanted to do their plays?

A.M. Well, we enjoyed these plays because - plays by such people as as TM Watson, James Scotland and George Carruthers were very much on our wavelength and they also used the Scots idiom and language and the Scots ideas - and, as well, they were very good stage plays. TM Watson's plays, for instance, are marvellous stage plays, beautifully constructed and marvellous stagecraft in them - so had George Carruthers and, of course, Jimmy Scotland. His plays were marvellous as far as the stage was concerned. Sometimes they didn't read all that well, but, by Jove, when they went on stage they were fine.

M.R. I notice that in 1960 you did two plays by TM Watson and another year you did two by George Carruthers - in each case contrasting plays. Was that deliberate, to show the two sides of the playwright - or did it just happen?

A.M. No, it just happened, Mary.

M.R. Were you influenced at all by going to the divisionals as often as you did in the early days and to the Scottish Finals? Did the other plays you saw there....

A.M. Oh, Yes. At the beginning for instance.

Under Suspicion, the first year - the great thing we learnt there was that we didn't carry heavy dressers with us - we made up dressers with plywood and cardboard instead. The heavy dresser we had in Under Suspicion was fantastic. I remember we went to the Athenaeum with that one and all the men humping; and Jimmy Crampsey and another fellow came to help and Jimmy said 'In heaven's name, Angus, learn something about the stage!' We learnt so much about the stage and about acting - and this is what I think is the great thing about SCDA - that you learn such a lot from competing and from what the adjudicator says. Of course, in those days we had four or five advisors in Scotland and we were very keen to get them. We had them down time and time again, teaching us what drama was all about.

M.R. Have you ever done a play that you first saw at Divisional level?

A.M. I don't think so.

M.R. I didn't think you had, and that's interesting, because I know John² has.

A.M. Oh, I know - and Norval Charteris. That was his great gimmick, he went to all the Divisionals and Finals and always came back with a play that he wanted to do. But we never did that, because these plays didn't necessarily suit the casts we had. Our thing was to get plays that suited our casts and which at the same time were good plays, and plays that were acceptable to our audiences here. We always had this at the back of our minds - that we had to entertain our audiences. Our first priority was to communicate with our own kind here, and this was why so many of our plays were chosen - because we knew that they would go down well here.

M.R. What I did notice was that you've always been ready to put on plays by people who were just trying their hand at writing plays for the first time. There was Joanna Tibbs and two by Alastair Maiden.

A.M. That's right.

M.R. And Rae Sherley - Did you know Rae Sherley, or were you just asked to do that play?

A.M. I'll tell you how we came to do that. It was the playwriting competition which was held in Campbeltown - the short leet were done in Campbeltown and we were

asked to do this one.

M.R. What happened? The playwrights entered their plays and then the local teams were asked to put them on and then the final decision was made after they had been seen?

A.M. It wasn't the drama club that was judged - it was the play - but it depended, too, on how you put it over, you know.

M.R. That's interesting - I didn't know...

A.M. I was on the panel, the Scottish Playwriting Panel, for many a year - but I had to give it up at last because I had too much to do otherwise, but it was very interesting. We got thousands of plays, Mary, and out of say 30 plays, if you found one that was any use at all....

M.R. I know you were going to produce Highland Fling - and that that was to have been its first production. Then John had his accident - marvellous that you've come round and won with it in the end.

A.M. That's right. That year John had his accident and Fiona³ went to Oban.

M.R. But that was to have been its premiere? Have you premiered any other plays - Of Jimmy Scotland, for example, or George Carruthers?

A.M. I'll tell you one we did. Money a Slip. He asked us to do that one.

M.R. It was done again by one of the other clubs?

A.M. Yes, and it actually won - we didn't win with it.

M.R. You've been talking about doing Scottish plays, and why you do them. I've always had the idea that you preferred them and I've been interested in finding out if this was a fact. Up to 1960 only one out of eleven was English but since then it's been fifty /fifty.

A.M. That's right - we thought we were getting a wee bit better by then.

M.R. None of the other producers has done even one Scottish play - neither Alastair nor John nor I. Do you

think there's been a bit of conscious or unconscious balancing going on? If we chose a markedly not Scottish play - you chose a Scottish one to balance - or vice versa?

A.M. Well, it could be a subconscious thing to balance it, but on the other hand it was also, as I've said before, to get a play with a big cast - non-Scottish plays had mostly small casts - so we had to do plays with big casts to get everybody playing.

M.R. This is important from the point of view of someone completely outside - because they tend to assume that you choose a play because you like it. They don't realise all the other factors involved.

A.M. That is true, that is a valid point, and of course, we try to get good plays alright. We don't just go for anything - except once or twice. We did a James Shaw Grant, Brighton Conspiracy at one stage.

M.R. I've never been able to find anything about that play; never been able to get hold of a copy....[#].

A.M. It was a very bad play - but James Shaw Grant asked me to have a go at it.

M.R. Was that another original one?

A.M. It was, and it was James Shaw Grant.

M.R. Stornoway Gazette, isn't he?

A.M. Yes, well, he's head of the Crofters' Commission and wrote a play set in Brighton - he was trying to go outside Scotland to write a play, you see. A combination of that, and our lack of experience in doing English plays created a disaster, Mary.

M.R. It's good for you to have one or two.

A.M. Oh, we've had a lot of disasters...

M.R. What do you think makes for a cup-winning play? I don't mean a winning team or a winning performance - but if you're looking at a play, does it strike you, 'This is one we could go to the top with.'

A.M. No, not at the beginning. I don't think I've ever chosen a play in order to win a festival. But it's

odd - once you get in a play and start producing - you begin to see, 'By Golly, this could be a festival play.'

It's after you get into it that you see it. You don't, at least, I've never done it deliberately - to choose my play to win a festival. Never. But as you go on you think, 'This could be...'

M.R. That leads me in to the next thing I was going to ask you. Looking back, are there times when you've been surprised at the outcome - either you won when you didn't expect to - or when you haven't won when you thought you really had a very good chance?

A.M. That's right, it often happened.

M.R. Which ones surprised you by winning?

A.M. In Five Minutes Time, that's George Carruthers' play. It didn't surprise me so much in the end.

M.R. It came away, didn't it?

A.M. That's when you suddenly realise, 'This could win a festival!'

Which one now was the reverse? Well, there was Wha's Laird, which was third when In Five Minutes Time won. We thought we had done that heck of a well - and, as a matter of fact, I think we won Ardrishaig with it.²

M.R. Yes, that happens doesn't it?

A.M. Absolutely, this so often happens, Mary.

M.R. I know from my own experience - I've seen teams that were no good here, but were super in Ardrishaig.

A.M. They suddenly sparkled - this is a thing we can't manipulate, Mary, as producers. It depends on what happens to the team on the night - Well, footballers are the same. Aberdeen can be rubbish one day and brilliant the next - and it's not Alex Ferguson's fault.

M.R. Tell me, this is something I've wondered about - you're very much a sportsman - you've been a competitor in sport all your life. Do you see any parallels between drama and sport?

A.M. Oh, absolutely. It's great fun - it's the joy of competition - and there is one thing my Mother always said, 'Always remember, Angus, if you get beaten,

someone else is terribly happy.'

M.R. How easy did you find it to take her advice?

A.M. Relatively easy - Allan Lamont always says I'm the best loser in the world, but the worst winner.

M.R. Now what did he mean by that?

A.M. I get a swelled head.

M.R. How did Alastair come to produce?

A.M. Well, we were growing, more people joining the club and I felt I was quite unable to compete with two plays every year.

M.R. Was it getting a bit much?

A.M. Along with three-acters some years.

M.R. And Alastair had had experience elsewhere?

A.M. Alastair had had experience before, so I asked him and he took over - and he got bitten by the bug.

M.R. Didn't he - he was more competitive than any of us, I think.

A.M. Well, he himself said that he wasn't - he didn't like the competition.

M.R. Well, he liked to win, I think.

A.M. He liked to win, but...

M.R. And he was quite ruthless in some ways....

A.M. Quite ruthless - once he caught the bug.

M.R. Since then a second producer has been taken for granted. Do you think that's a good thing?

A.M. I think it's been a very good thing - it's been a very excellent thing. I think - because it's been good for the club. If anything went wrong with one producer the other would take over; and also it is as important in a club, I think, to bring up new producers, new stage-managers, as it is new actors - because they are all important in their own way, and it's a bad thing to

have somebody who is the producer - I think that's not a good thing as it can verge on dictatorship.

M.R. It was very successful in the early years, but I can see that if something had suddenly happened to you - there would have been a sudden stop.

A.M. That's right - and the other thing I stopped doing was writing plays especially for the casts. I thought that was a bad thing for the club as well - because the club wasn't improving that way at all. Actors must try their hand at any kind of part.

M.R. That had puzzled me - you had written every year for six years, then suddenly - no more.

A.M. I took a conscious decision - because it wasn't good for the club, I thought. How could it possibly be good when you were writing plays for people you knew could do them well - actors have got to come in and do any kind of part they are asked to play. You don't write plays for stars, that is done in the commercial theatre, and we were doing that - we were writing plays for stars - you can see we were winning and why..

M.R. Because people hardly needed to act? Maggie and Janet being Maggie and Janet.⁶

A.M. And being applauded off the stage just for being themselves.

M.R. Do you see any disadvantages in having two teams in one club? When you've got two producers each casting plays is there any possibility that people who would like parts get overlooked?

A.M. This is the responsibility of the second producer each year - to see that they don't. But, of course it's very difficult. This year I had difficulty in finding places for the twins, but I had Maggie as prompter.

M.R. I think the twins have always accepted that, simply because they are twins, it's not often possible to cast them in the same play - because they are so alike.

A.M. They are very good like that.

M.R. I was thinking more of people coming in, as I did, and using the club as a way of getting to know people. Then you feel very disappointed if you haven't something to take you to rehearsals.

A.M. That's right. This is the great thing about Dunaverty. We've held on to people because we've always given them something to do each year. Hardly a year that somebody was left out.

M.R. A real, conscious effort is made to find something for everybody to do?

A.M. Very much so, Mary, very much so - that's very important.

M.R. Now, recruiting. In the countryside, people don't see a notice and ask to join - they wait to be asked.

A.M. That's right.

M.R. How have we decided who to ask, over the years. We had a nucleus who were self-selected, SWRI members who were in from the start, but, after that...?

A.M. Well, as we've mentioned before, we sometimes had a play and we hadn't a member to play the part. So we thought of somebody in the parish and asked them in, and of course, nowadays we've got a scouting system to equal Alex Ferguson's in Aberdeen, because Iain's combing Campbeltown and round about and we've got all sorts of other people. We've got Ronnie now, and all sorts of other people, casting around for talent.

M.R. But - it is a case of finding someone who might be useful and then asking them if they would be interested.

A.M. Finding if they're interested in drama, and new people....

M.R. When new people come into the village they're asked almost automatically, aren't they?

A.M. That's right, absolutely.

M.R. There are an awful lot of people who have been in

only one play - an example would be your Jean, who was obviously press-ganged into a walk-on part.

A.M. There's a lot of that.

M.R. There are others who appeared one or two years and then disappeared.

A.M. One of the greatest reasons was when they got married, the young girls, particularly. When they married, that was it. Their husbands didn't want them to go - or they didn't want to go - and the babies started to come, and so on and so forth. Other people left the district. The younger ones like Alan Cameron, for instance, went to the university, and others got outside jobs, and that was the end of that.

M.R. As an organisation, Dunaverty has changed over the years. My impression is that in the early days it was all rather informal, built round you?

A.M. Absolutely.

M.R. But after that it gradually became more formal. Have you any ideas on how that came about, and why it came about.

A.M. Well, I think - we started off we had Jean and me running the thing and then we'd Alf. When we started moving around to other festivals we had to have a business manager and Alf was the ideal man - but we never had any constitution or minutes or anything else. Every AGM we had - Oh, we had AGM's - twice a year! But they were all parties.

M.R. I was going to ask you about that.

A.M. We had ceilidh's and we'd talk about what we were going to do - but we didn't have any minutes. I think, how it happened, and I think Iain will corroborate this, it was when we went to the British finals - grants and things had to be got and we had to have a constitution and we made Alastair the President and he and Iain saw that through. Iain was a great treasurer, and I think that was when we started to have a proper constitution and proper minutes. I think that's the reason. I think it was needs must because we were looking for grants - because all through the years we never had a grant - we never asked anybody for anything - just looked after ourselves, and made money on the three-act plays and the

Summer Shows, and shows at Christmas as well.

M.R. I remember when I first joined the club the AGM was a ceilidh, and it was great fun and this has died out, this whole party side of it, and I'm sorry about that.

A.M. It's a thing I regret very much - I don't know what it is - it was the hotels. You see, in those days, we had Sybil and Mary both in the drama and both in the hotel up there, and they laid on the most wonderful eats.

M.R. I remember.

A.M. I think when that faded out - the hotels just didn't suit somehow, so we went to the hall.

M.R. And it's not the same in the hall?

A.M. It's not the same at all. I think that's right and also Allan as secretary - he's not very keen on ceilidhs and things like that. I don't know if that's the reason or not, but I'm very saddened.

MR When I was going through this list - I noticed that in 1967, 68, 70, 71, 72, - we had only one play five years out of six. Now, I know about the '72 one, that was the Highland Fling year, but, even so - there was a period when the number of people involved in the club went down and that was about the time Iain and I came in....

A.M. That's right.

M.R. I had the impression, at that time, coming into the club, that the good old days were behind us - things were not as they had been.

A.M. That is correct. I think that is very true - I don't know what it was.

M.R. Well, Morag had just left...

A.M. That was a tremendous blow - and Alf left - he was the business manager - and various things...

M.R. And about that time Alastair and Mabel had just come, and Alastair was a bit of a serious fellow - he hadn't as much fun as Alf....There was a change going on

at that period.

A.M. There was a change, and that was the time Alastair came in - that happened then, and I found it a great job keeping the club together. But since then - I think Iain helped an awful lot with his recruiting, and of course, we went to the British Final, which was a great boost.

M.R. That was in 1975. It certainly was a boost, but we'd begun to come out of it a bit before that - you think Iain's recruiting had something to do with it?

A.M. Well, I certainly think it had - and the rest of us as well. We were all trying our best.

M.R. My impression of that time was that there was a bit of depression about - a bit of a feeling that our best days were behind us and yet - Well, I know on Iain's part - he desperately didn't want it to fade. He wanted the club to be as it was before he joined it - he had a tremendous commitment...

A.M. That's right.

M.R. And he wasn't the only one. There was a great feeling of 'We've got to get it on the road again.'

A.M. That's right - I don't know what it was at that time. There was trouble with the two teams, Mary, that came to a climax at the British Final. But I think that after that everything has worked out pretty well.

M.R. Pretty well, since then. Oddly enough, Angus, - I went through the voters' roll, doing an analysis of what people do and that kind of thing, and I found that before 1970 there were hardly any incomers to the district. It was after 1970 that we started getting incomers - so it seems that around 1970 was a crucial time.

A.M. A watershed.

M.R. A watershed, that's right.

A.M. Well, you see - oddly enough this year was the first time that a team I had produced had won the festival since 1970 - we'd been to the Scottish Final with Hallowe'en, which never won a night anywhere - it took second or third and so went on to the next round.

M.R. It was a very good production that - But - Do you think you'd had this club of local young people, and you'd lost people for one reason or another - the young people were going away - as they have to do , and your original players weren't getting any younger and weren't available for young parts any more....

A.M. Two of the most important people had left the district, Alf and Morag - and John McKerral was beginning to think he'd like to be a producer.

M.R. Do you think the fact that people were coming in to the district - do you think they were a factor in getting it off the ground again?

A.M. It helped. It's just that, football teams are the same - Rangers were up on top, now they're bottom, but they'll come up again. As long as they have people who are committed to promoting the club - this is the thing. And you see we've got good people like yourself and Iain and...

M.R. Barbara and Allan.

A.M. It started to come up then. Alastair was committed, too, but he was more committed to his team than the club - this was the difference.

M.R. And it does make for difficulties.

A.M. It makes for difficulties, division always does.

M.R. We had that sad do when John and some of his team left the club - I don't want to go into that now - but what were the mechanisms we used to get over that, because potentially that was a very upsetting thing for the club.

A.M. It was very upsetting Mary - it was very upsetting indeed - and of course, when you come to think about it, we've always tried to have great discipline in the club and we've always tried to instil into people that when you've had a bad adjudication and didn't get anything - we didn't say anything. We had to accept the referee's decision and that was that. It's like disciplining a football team the same way - and that was what was wrong at that time.

M.R. And of course the people who were most involved were incomers who hadn't really taken that idea on board - they hadn't been in the club long enough.

A.M. That's right - well, again, you've got to consider personalities, Mary, and this was the unfortunate thing about that.

M.R. And then again - there was somebody with the idea, which we've never encouraged, of 'star quality.'

A.M. Never - that is a thing we want to avoid at all costs - is the star syndrome. You see, there was a star syndrome at the beginning with Morag and John - and I wrote plays for them encouraging this - which was a bad thing.

M.R. Because when you lost them, it did leave the club struggling.

A.M. Of course, and that is not a good thing for a drama club at all - everybody must be the same - I know some are more equal than others, but, when it comes to the bit, there's a thing I've always tried to tell newcomers coming in, 'Now, you see me here, a producer, and I'll bellow and roar at the thing - but after the drama is over, we're just two people together - that is the producer's job to do that and that is the actors job to forget all about that and to be the person he's supposed to be representing on stage - and afterwards - we're just ourselves. There's nothing personal in it at all - it's all the drama.

M.R. This is a thing I've noticed - people who have been in the drama a long time - people like Mary Taylor and John Barbour - they're prepared to do an enormous part one year and a walk-on the next.

A.M. That's right.

M.R. ...and put the same dedication to it whichever....

A.M. That's right - and this must be - the smallest part is as important as the highest part - the lowliest ASM is as important to the production as the producer himself.

M.R. Indeed, indeed. You remember the time we went to Castle Douglas with all the tombstones, and when we got there we found we were locked out because they had the idea that being Dunaverty we'd have been drinking all the way there.

A.M. That's right.

M.R. How did Dunaverty get that reputation?

A.M. Of drinking? I think we sort of made it ourselves by saying we drank a lot, which we didn't, but we just had a good time. Alf was pretty desperate at times and I remember when we were at Largs for

The Man Who Wouldn't go to Heaven - it was good and we should have gone further - he, and this other young teacher from the Grammar School - they got drunk before the show and made a heck of a mess of it on stage.

M.R. That's really unforgiveable.

A.M. That's unforgiveable - and I told them that, and Alf never really appeared on stage after that.

M.R. And you think that shocked people into being more careful? Since I came into the club, people are more careful.

A.M. People are very good now - a great sense of discipline in the club now - but it had to be worked for and there was quite a lot of aggro - even when we went to Ardrishaig, was it two or three years ago, Calum and Iain Ferguson - just before the show they went out and had two or three drams and came back late for tea before we were going on stage. And I had to stand up and give them a good dressing down before everybody - which they didn't like - but they had to have it, because that was the first break of discipline I'd seen for a long time - and it's not a good thing and it's up to the producer to give them a bollocking and it's up to the club in the case of Jennifer to give her a bollocking too. Surely that's right, isn't it?

M.R. I think so.

A.M. This is the trouble with so much of the country today - it's lack of discipline and lack of clamping down when the situation arises - but you can see what it can lead to.

M.R. Yes. When you've seen it happen once - that is a lesson to everybody. The trouble is, you get new people in who weren't there when it happened. Dunaverty have done other things apart from the festival competitions. I know you've done some three acts.

A.M. Allan, I think, has got the old programmes. They were usually Scots comedies, Kye Amang the Corn and Johnny Jouk the Gibbet, that was a TM Watson.

M.R. And you did one act out of it for the competition?

A.M. That's right. That was the most successful three act we ever did.

M.R. Did you do one every year? Or did it just come up every now and again?

A.M. It just came up every now and then - we didn't do one every year - but it was becoming a bit hectic in the end and it was difficult finding time because television was coming in then and the Young Farmers' were doing their stuff with the drama - and one thing and another.

M.R. Then we went on to pantomime. Do you think pantomime has replaced the three acts?

A.M. The first pantomime was the one you did.

M.R. Yes - there was a bit of unhappiness about that in the beginning I think - some members of the club weren't too happy about that pantomime going on, but in the end everybody was involved.

A.M. I don't think there was any unhappiness, Mary. I don't know - I suppose Allan was growling a bit, but he growls at everything - pay no attention to Allan.

M.R. Angus, there was something about the hall I've never understood. I was on the Hall Committee for a while and was very shocked to find there were one or two people on the committee who were very anti-drama.

A.M. That's right. There was - because I think there was sheer jealousy in a way that the drama was getting on well and other things weren't - I think that was it. You always get that in a small place.

M.R. And was there some dispute over who the hall belonged to in the early days?

A.M. Oh, that was - You see, Alf and I got the offer from Donald McCallum there - that he would floor the hall and everything and Alf and I wanted to make it into a community hall. Well, lots of people wanted to make it into a store for agricultural stuff - that sort of thing - it was a political thing. There was an awful lot of opposition to a community hall at that time - but Alf and I went on with it and got a constitution and it went on and everybody's happy with it now.

M.R. But it was never the drama's hall?

A.M. It was the drama's hall to begin with because we got it from Donald McCallum - it belonged to us - but we wanted to give it to the community - which we did.

M.R. Of course we do use it more than anyone else - but then we pay for the use, so that's no problem. Is there anything that I haven't asked that I should have, Angus?

A.M. I don't think so, but I think - You will stress,

I know you will stress, that a thing like this is so very good for the community and we're lucky here in Southend that we are a community. That's how drama can flourish. We're lucky in our geographical location - sea on three sides and one good road out and in - that's why we're a community still and it's a community in which drama can flourish. We're lucky in that respect.

M.R. Obviously it's the biggest club in the area - far and away.

A.M. Yes - and the most successful, as a club.... I think you'll find it very typical of drama clubs all over Scotland - and you'll find they're all in a community - I think you could also touch on the fact that as the club goes on we're getting more in touch with what you might call international drama - the Schaffer plays and Turgenev and all these sorts of plays.

M.R. Yes, we are getting a little more adventurous.

A.M. Well, I wouldn't say adventurous, but perhaps more in touch with international drama.

M.R. But it's a thing that grows - you have to start off with what you know?

A.M. You have to do it very quietly - it doesn't happen overnight, Mary.

Notes:

1. Throughout the interview, I was referring to two lists: a list of plays performed by Dunaverty Players (with dates) and a list of the names of everyone who had appeared for Dunaverty, taken from the programmes of the Campbeltown festivals from 1952 - 1985.

2. John McKerral.

3. Fiona McMurchy played juvenile leads and was difficult to replace.

4. It was originally entitled Southend Conspiracy - I was able to locate a copy later.

5. The Argyll County Festival - nothing to do with SCDA, but it uses the same format and draws from the same list of adjudicators.

6. Twins, who are natural comediennes.

previous clubs?

IR I think one of the things is the tremendous turn over in membership in the fifteen years I've been at it. I mean - I've seen people come and go and the ones who were in it when I came have gone and others have come in. There's been a tremendous turnover of players.

MR You didn't get that in Oban?

IR No. Well, that was pre-war - that was in the 1930's when there wasn't the same movement of population.

MR I've heard drama groups described as 'self-consciously arty'. Would you say that could be applied in any sense to Dunaverty?

IR No, nothing like it.

MR They do take it seriously. They're not slapdash about it - they work very hard at their drama. How would you describe the attitude to drama in the club?

IR Well, I think part of it is community pride - anything that goes out of Southend has to put up a good show against the rest of Kintyre - whether it's running a day at the Red Cross Week or the Southend Games or the Southend Football Club. Southend has got to put on a good show. They're very community conscious and they do take drama seriously - but it is a winter pastime and that is all.

(Discussion of choice of plays.)

MR What do you think of the present system of only the producer choosing and casting the plays?

IR Yes, I agree - only the producer must choose and cast the play.

MR You don't think there's anything to be said for having a small group...?

IR No, there can be only one skipper on a boat. I feel that to land a producer with a play he didn't like would be very difficult. I've played parts that I didn't want but I must confess that I did much better and enjoyed much more playing a part in a play that I liked. I feel if a producer was told to produce a play and he didn't like it - he obviously wouldn't give the same interest

as if he'd chosen the play himself.

MR Do you think the producer should consult the people who are going to have to play in it?

IR Oh yes, and consult the stage crew - whether it's feasible to put it on.

MR How far do you think the choice of play influences the result of the festival?

IR Well - it depends on the adjudicator. I've seen some very good plays done very well that didn't win the festival and I've occasionally seen a play which I thought wasn't a good play either winning or doing very well. It's purely a subjective decision of the adjudicator. I'd sooner see a good play done in a mediocre fashion than see a bad play well done.

MR Iain, you've recruited an awful lot of people to Dunaverty - have you had any difficulty with this?

IR No, no.

MR How do you decide who you are going to approach?

IR Well, most of the people I've brought to Dunaverty were men. As you may remember, at one point in Dunaverty there were only two men and one of them had a broken leg, so I was the only man in the team and it was essential to get men. I got Ken McConnachie and Jim Johnson and Charles Reppke, and John Meredith and Donnie Kelly - it was a case of - we had to get men in.

MR What do you think is the best approach to recruitment?

At present we take everyone who comes and we invite everyone who comes into the village automatically. But I can see problems if we get more actors than we can find places for. Do you think there should be any sort of discrimination or should we go on with our all-comers policy?

IR I think we should go on with our all-comers policy - because I'm sure there are people who may not want to act but could be useful behind the set or with electronics or in some way. I think anyone, particularly anyone who is interested in drama - interested enough to come along - could be found a job.

MR Would you be disappointed if you weren't cast at all one year?

IR Oh, no - I'd be delighted.

MR What would you do if you had to give up acting. Would you stay in the club in another capacity?

IR Oh, yes, yes. Supposing I had to make the tea or - I'm the club auditor - that gives me a once a year interest in it. Oh, I'd be available - I could always stand in at rehearsals or something - if I was fit. Yes.

MR I think that there is no doubt that Dunaverty is flourishing more than most clubs as far as numbers go. Why do you think that is?

IR Several reasons. One is Rise and Shine at the Scottish... We did get a bit of a boost, and secondly we have recruited people, and thirdly Campbeltown Drama Club has fallen off and Davaar Players is pretty well restricted to the DHSS office. Kinloch Players are mostly young players, under Gertie - so anyone coming into the district who is interested in drama has to choose between Peninver and Dunaverty. Clachan's a bit far away and so is Carradale - so if they are interested in drama, some of them find their way to Dunaverty.

MR Do you think it's a good idea to have permanent producers the way we do - or do you like Clachan's idea of letting everyone have a go if they want to - changing jobs each year?

IR I wouldn't be in favour of changing jobs each year. I think it would be very good to have a pool of producers - but I think it should be brought in gradually.

MR Like all organisations, we've had our ups and downs and our disagreements - but in spite of the size of the club, we've never had a really bad split. We once lost four people at once but I think that was the biggest split we ever had. How do you think we keep such a large number of people together?

IR I think one of the reasons is that members meet in many other ways, apart from drama, and there's personal friendship between them - we lost four but they did not live in Southend.

MR No, none of them did, when I come to think of it.

IR I think if you are meeting folk at the church and at the village shop. You could drop out, but you'd be the odd one. I think in a community like Southend you've got to pull together.

MR Two producers competing against each other year after year - that's potentially a divisive situation, as I see it. How do we avoid splitting into two clubs?

IR Well, it's up to the producer who has first choice to choose players he didn't have last year, if possible, and secondly, the joint backstage staff helps to keep the whole together. I think it would help if members of one team occasionally visited the rehearsals of the other, but that doesn't always happen because there is so much else on - it's not always easy to give two nights to drama.

MR I think it happens more often if we have a Sunday rehearsal. Two nights a week is a bit much for most folk.

What's your opinion of competitive drama?

IR In theory I don't like it - but in practice there's no doubt at all it makes for a higher standard of performance - higher standard of production and higher standard of stage setting - the whole standard is much higher as a result of the competitive festivals. When I look back at the non-competitive days at Tarbert, anything would do - the audience would laugh - but I think from the point of view of anyone who is really interested in what can be attained by an amateur group - you've got to have the competition. And another thing, you learn from lots of adjudicators - not only in the interpretation of the play but how particular parts should be played and how you could improve your performance.

MR How important is winning?

IR Well, for myself, I cannot care whether I win or lose, but I think if a team has given a good performance it should be recognised - it's encouraging for the team as a whole to feel that they have done well - even if they don't actually win - they've done well - they've had a good adjudication.

MR Yes, for me a good adjudication is the satisfying thing. Do you ever wish the club did something else - other than festival plays - three-act plays or something bigger?

IR In a way I wish it did. I've been in three-acts - it's a lot of work. Certainly you have a big cast to share it - but as things are at present with the festival in February and the possibility of going on... You can reckon, even going to divisionals - you've got three months from January onwards and once it gets in to the summertime people aren't so interested in going to rehearsals.

MR In the early days the club was run very informally with Angus as a sort of paternal dictator - then we seemed to have a more formal set-up, it's less formal at the moment - can you account for these changes and tell me which you thought was the best way of doing it.

IR Well, we did get a committee going - I can't remember exactly when, it's since I joined the club. As far as I can remember the committee was set up, not so much to deal with the artistic side as to deal with the business side - running the Coffee Mornings and the business side of the Summer Show and that sort of thing. But benevolent dictatorship was fine so long as Angus was the only producer - then when Dr Maiden came in I assume he and Angus discussed things between them. It's more formal now, I suppose - but I suppose the point was we were younger then and the informality didn't matter - I mean, we had a secretary and a treasurer and Angus to look after the artistic side of things and that was all.

MR Do you think our present arrangement is the best possible arrangement - or can you see ways in which it could be improved?

IR Well, to be perfectly honest, I can't even remember who serves on the committee. But I think the committee shouldn't consist solely of people who are playing parts. I mean they should have people who are free to do other things. Certainly Margaret Cameron (prompter) is treasurer and Allan Lamont, who is secretary is no longer going to be playing parts, so he'll be able to devote more time to the business side of things. I suppose one should have a committee for negotiations with people like - we have our representative on the

hall committee and two representatives on the SCDA in Kintyre. I don't think we could revert to the old benevolent dictatorship of Angus - firstly, because Angus is becoming an old man and it's a bit much to land on him - being responsible for all of it. Secondly, the club is bigger and we're doing more than one play and having more than one producer - I'm quite happy as it is at the moment.

MR What do you think were the biggest difficulties the club has had to face?

IR Since I came into it?

The biggest difficulty we had was around 1970 - the shortage of men - and particularly the following year when John McKerral was hurt in that motor accident - I was the only man. The following year we did Final Proof, and we got more men roped in and things went fairly well. A potential big difficulty was winning the Scottish Championship and going to London - but finance rolled in and what could have been a major financial difficulty was overcome.

I suppose the next difficulty was the trouble over the first pantomime - but that was amicably settled and the warring factions both in their way helped to make the pantomime a success. And then there was that blow-up over the criticism of the adjudicator - but as it happened I think I was doing something and I wasn't at the meeting of the club at which it was discussed - so I was rather on the outside of that. I was sorry it happened - I was sorry, in particular, to lose John McKerral with whom I'd played many times - I was sorry to lose Jenny Strain too.

MR Do you think it could have been avoided?

IR Yes, I think it could have been avoided - but I think Mrs John McKerral and Allan Lamont...don't tell Allan I said that.

MR Yes, I think it was a case of two strong personalities who weren't prepared to give.

IR I mean, John is a very amiable man - I mean from my days on the SCDA committee - John was the man who poured oil on troubled waters and settled a very serious possibility of a break-up of the association at that time. I'm sure if it had been left to John and Angus they would have come to an amicable conclusion to the matter.

MR What would you say were Dunaverty's greatest strengths?

IR Unbroken membership of SCDA and appearing in festivals since it started. The Rock of Gibraltar is MacVicar - but the fact that so many of the club live locally and, as I've said, they're all old friends and some are close relatives. We have a very good community in Southend and people who come to Southend are made welcome at the drama - I think it's strength is as a local community.

MR When I was talking to Ian Ferguson I asked him why we didn't get so many young people and he said that, frankly, it was dull - that people were only interested in the play - all this worrying about getting everything perfect. It was all too real and earnest and there wasn't enough fun. Do you think there is any truth in that?

IR Oh, yes there is - up to a point. As I said before, in competitive drama you try to reach as high a standard as possible. I suppose there is something in it, but you need some firm control - or it will just disintegrate into what the Woman's Guild gave them at Tarbert. I must say the two pantomimes were great fun and they involved young people - and I think everybody enjoyed themselves. I think one of the reasons for that, apart from no adjudicator, we weren't just plodding through the same act all the time. We'd do a bit of Act 1 and then Act 4. You'd a lot of variety at rehearsals. In any case, you'd rehearse with the people who were there - and the people who weren't in that particular part did not need to come (that night).

MR Another thing that Ian said was that we take far too long to produce a play. We work at it far too much - starting in October and going on till the end of February on one-act was just too much.

IR Yes, that's too much. If members could be persuaded to to take their books away and learn their words and become word perfect before they started rehearsals, it would be time enough to start rehearsing in January.

MR Yes, but if you didn't start rehearsing in October and there was no drama in the Autumn term - people would join up for other things on that night.

IR That's true.

MR And find themselves committed to something else - so you would have to keep something going on in the club during that period - to keep your people from drifting off to something else.

(Discussion of pros and cons of pantomime.)

MR There's an idea that all organisations have unwritten rules quite apart from any formal constitution - what would you say these were for Dunaverty?

IR Do you want a serious...?

MR Yes, a serious answer.

IR The most important unwritten rule is that, if you take a part, you must turn up for rehearsals - and that, if you cannot turn up, you tell the producer a week beforehand so he can try to change the night - and that, even if you're ill.... I've known a man being sent home with flu by his doctor and told to go to bed, and when he pointed out that he had a rehearsal that night, the doctor said it would do no harm to go down to the hall for three-quarters of an hour.

Other unwritten rules:

That the players do what the producer wants them to do.

MR Yes, they don't argue much, do they?

IR They don't argue - the producer's interpretation stands.

Another one is that you leave the place tidy and there was another...

If you're given a part in a play you either take it or refuse it and if you refuse it, you don't expect to get another in the other play.

You muck in with everything that's required for the club - whether it's painting scenery or loading a van or selling raffle tickets.

The club is more than drama - anything the club does you have to take part in.

MR I think another is that everyone is equally important, whether they are back-stage crew or leading actor.

IR Oh, yes, yes.

MR It's very democratic in that way - the producers are expected to do their share of humping and cleaning and putting away.

IR And also that you accept everything MacVicar says - with a slight pinch of salt.

MR What do you think is the effect of the club going to divisional finals and - away?

IR I think it's very good indeed. I think it lets you see teams - especially teams from other parts of the division. It's the biggest division - it takes in the city clubs and Paisley - it lets you see - sometimes plays we've done ourselves - and see other interpretations of these plays. It lets you meet members of other clubs - it's a very good get together for amateur drama. And there's the sense of being away as a club - not just individual players. Particularly I remember when we went to Castle Douglas and won with Rise and Shine travelling back on the bus with everyone in great form - and when we got back going straight to Keil Hotel where the ladies who hadn't been away had a lovely buffet laid on. To me that was the highlight of all the fifteen years I've been in it. I had no part in Rise and Shine but I was just as much a member of the club as anyone else and I thoroughly enjoyed myself.

MR That was a gorgeous experience - when they were winning everything. The last time we went to a divisional it was an absolute disaster. What was the effect on the club of that experience?

IR A united animosity against the adjudicator - and a determination to see what was better. Also a sort of sadistic inclination to see what he said about plays that were better than ours.

MR I think it did pull the club together in an odd sort of way - there was an odd sort of - I don't know - I think it was like being in the forces - a shared unpleasant experience.

IR We were all bombed out - even Geoff was bombed out that night.

MR It certainly didn't damage the club?

IR No. No, not at all.

(Discussion of social life of club - pros and cons of travelling together by bus.)

MR You talked about standards. How does the standard here compare with Oban - or say the standard in the army, where you'd one or two professionals involved?

IR Well, I think the standard in Dunaverty is as high as it was in the army. It was certainly a higher standard than we had in Oban and a much higher standard than we had in Lochgilphead.

MR Yes. Do you think it would be a mistake to go for such a high standard in perhaps a mediocre play - rather than risk doing not so well in something really good? I'm thinking of Peninver and their Strindberg, last time, which was obviously too difficult for them - but I still think it was a very good thing to try it.

IR I think it was a very good thing to try it - so much depends on the producer - whether the producer thinks he can achieve what he would like to do. I think all praise to John Bryce for trying the Strindberg - but then, all praise to you to for trying the Chekhov and bringing it off to some extent.

I'd far rather see them doing Strindberg and Chekhov and Sean O'Casey and Joe Corrie even - than see them doing the trashy things that John MacKerral's team did. I like experimental drama to some extent - do you remember at a divisional final once - Cumbernauld Players did a very stylised American thing, with girls dancing and all the rest of it - it was a great spectacle.

It wasn't great drama - but it was different - that's why I'd like sometime to do Thistle in Donkeyfield, but I liked Harry Mann - I thought 'Oh, it won't come off.' But it came off.

MR Yes, but none of the adjudicators liked the play, and it wasn't a very good play, if we're honest.

IR It wasn't a very good play - but it was trying to say something, and it had one or two good parts in it - the two young men particularly.

MR Yes, it gave them a good start.

IR But I'd far rather try to do Strindberg - I'd even do Arsenic and Old Lace² with me as the dramatic critic

of The New York Times than The Man in That Tree.

MR That was pretty awful wasn't it?

Notes:

1. 'See what was better' - look for the good in other performances.

2. A friend of Iain's was terribly miscast in Clachan's performance of that play - Iain considers he would have been equally unsuitable.

There's a Man in That Tree was a play written primarily as a classroom exercise that Angus insisted on producing. The cast hated it to a man - it says much for Angus' control over the club that it was produced and has become one of the shared memories that unite the club.

Name: Charles Reppke

Date: 25-7-85

Occupation: Lawyer

Age: 20's

Role in Club: Actor

Joined club: 1984

Address: Campbeltown

Interviewer: Mary Rattray

MR Charles, you live in Campbeltown. How did you come to join a Southend club?

CR Mainly because I was dragged screaming by Mr Rattray from the office.

MR And not the only one by any means.

CR No, I don't regret it at all but, certainly at the time it was something I hadn't contemplated. But Dunaverty was just because I was asked really - I don't think I would have joined any club if I hadn't been asked.

MR Had you taken any interest in drama at all - even as audience?

CR I was always very keen on theatre. When I went to Dundee first to go to the university I went to the theatre quite regularly because it was something I'd never had the chance to go to in Campbeltown and I was very keen to see live theatre - mainly because my father said, 'When you go - go to the theatre.'

MR Now that you are involved and you've done a bit of it- do you wish that you'd joined one of the Campbeltown clubs and saved yourself a bit of travelling?

CR No, I prefer the atmosphere in Dunaverty. I don't know what the other clubs are like. I've met a lot of people from the other clubs certainly - but I think that part of the enjoyment for me is the atmosphere in Dunaverty, which I think - I don't know - wouldn't be repeated in the clubs in the town. I think there's a special atmosphere about the village hall and the people that gather.

MR Did you know anything at all about Dunaverty before you joined?

CR I knew the Golf course that was all. Southend was

never a place I came to much. Machrihanish was where I went to really - I came to Dunaverty to play in the cup that was all.

MR So you really have no idea what kind of a reputation Dunaverty has in the town?

CR Not really, no - I would say that once I joined there was no way I was going to find out.

MR No. That is why I am asking people who are new to the club. What struck you most when you came in to the club and got to know it?

CR I think it would be the number of people, from so many different backgrounds who were involved and the skills that they had. There were people from all sections - all come together and there was no class consciousness. As far as I could see there was nothing - it didn't matter who you were when you came into it. But I think what really impressed me most of all was the skills people had - I was amazed - that people at the level we were at - the skills they had. I would never have appreciated it if I hadn't got to see it - I would never have thought...

MR What sorts of skills are you thinking of?

CR In the scenery, the props - but probably the most important thing - in the stage craft they had acquired - the producers and the experienced actors. It never occurred to me that amateur dramatics could have such a level of expertise.

MR That's interesting - you really think the standard is quite high for an amateur club?

CR In my view, from a layman's point of view - Yes. I thought it would be a case of 'muck it up together and see how it works,' - but it wasn't like that at all.

MR Do you like competitive drama?

CR Yes - I like winning. When I say that - it's funny - in many things I do I don't particularly bother whether I lose or not so long as I do well - but in team games...So long as I'm representing myself I don't bother too much, but in team games I get a tremendous desire to win.

MR Do you think it adds something to drama - this going out to pit yourself against other teams?

CR Oh, I think so - I don't think the drama would survive if you merely performed for your own enjoyment or for an audience - without the actual battle in February. I don't think there is any way we could do it - I don't think there would be enough 'Go' in the place to do it - if we didn't have the battle.

MR. I think there's the battle for the people taking part - and I have a suspicion that the audience go for the competition as much as anything else.

CR I think so as well - I would say so. You get a big turnout on the night of people supporting their own club and they're only there for one reason - to see their club win - they're not particularly bothered - I don't think so anyway - they want to see their club perform well. I know when I went to the theatre on the other nights when the festival was on, I went to see the other plays but I wasn't bothered particularly whether they were good or bad - it was when the other Dunaverty team was on - I wanted them to win and when we were on I wanted to be better than anyone else. There was nothing else on my mind - being entertained or anything like that - it was just a case of who was best.

MR I think there are people who go - I think particularly Campbeltown people who are not attached to any particular club - but who go year after year and pick their own winners.

CR Well I think that's fair too - I was never involved in drama - never went to see it - but I know my cousin goes every year and she's got nothing to do with the drama - she's never been involved in drama. But she's gone every year for a good number of years and she goes every night and likes to try to pick the winners - and I think that backs up what you are saying - because she has no interest in the drama or been involved in the drama.

MR Do you see any disadvantages in festival drama?

CR I think it might hinder new people coming in to a certain extent - if they thought they had to come in and perform at competition level and be concerned that they might let the more experienced members of the team down.

The first year I came in it never bothered me at all - it never occurred to me that there was any chance - I didn't realise how good people were when I came - if I'd known I probably would have been concerned - but I thought it was just a bit of a laugh.

MR Where ignorance is bliss - but I think we do - I mean, you were rather thrown in at the deep end because you weren't nervous - and you took to it like a duck to water - but I do think we nurse people who are more nervous.

CR Oh, I think so.

MR Rather than face them with the worst rigours from the beginning.

CR Well the problem with that is that you do find that if people become involved - if they're not acting it's difficult to keep them involved. There's only so many jobs backstage - if we could have understudies - I think that would be a way of getting people in.
(Some discussion of this)

MR Do you think the choice of play makes any difference to the result? Do you think some plays go down better with the adjudicator than others?

CR I think that's a difficult question for me to answer - My own personal view is that the ones I've done have been entirely different and I like that. There's clubs in the town, such as Davaar, that do the same play pretty well every year - but to my way of thinking that must be pretty boring.

MR Yes, we try to change it if we can. What do you think of Dunaverty's choices overall - taking Angus' plays as well as mine?

CR I think they're pretty good - the one I was most impressed with was Harry Mann from a play point of view.

MR Yes, but the adjudicators didn't like it very much.

CR I thought there was a lot in it - probably too much.

MR I thought there was a lot in it - but I chose it for the very down to earth reason that I was second producer that year and, as we do it, it's the job of the second

producer to rope in as many people who haven't got parts as possible. Also we were short of back-stage people so the second producer was supposed to go easy on the sets - Angus doesn't always remember that mind you - but that was the understanding and Harry Mann had a very simple set.

(Discussion of Harry Mann)

MR Do you approve of the system we have whereby the producers produce the play and the cast? The producer doesn't need to consult anyone else. They carry the can at the end of the day - but they have full say.

CR I would say so - I think the old adage of a camel being a horse design'd by a committee would apply. From my experience of committees you would not get anywhere - trying to have a selection team - you would have infighting all over the place. I think it's better to have a benign dictatorship - or a not so benign dictatorship - depending on how you look at it.

MR Do you think it's a good idea always to have the same producers. Clachan doesn't - they change round - You might be producing one year, playing the lead the next and stage-managing the year after - they swop around a bit.

CR I think so - I haven't much experience and I haven't seen Angus producing but I feel that our producers - yourself and Angus are good and I don't think we should change. We could perhaps have assistant producers if people are interested in the production side - but my own feeling is - we've got good ones - stick with them.

There obviously has to be a progression - people are going to come in to fill a space - but I don't think we should rotate.

MR Are you interested in the organisational side of the club - the administration of the club?

CR That's a difficult one. I got put on to the committee and I went to one meeting that was particularly short and to the point and I wasn't much involved in it. There doesn't seem that much to be done - it doesn't seem to be a confidential place. The organisational side interests me but with the other organisational things I've got I don't have time for it - that's what it amounts to.

MR How does the system in Dunaverty compare with other organisations you're involved in?

CR Well, I think to be quite honest with you - it's very much easier. The golf club is very much a commercial concern - it's much more difficult to get involved in - it's very much an infighting situation. You have to fight your corner. Dunaverty is run by one or two people, I would say - probably Allan Lamont as secretary and Jill as Chairman - both with time on their hands - both not being in any other employment - doing most of the work and people are happy to leave them because they are doing the work. But in other organisations I'm involved in the spread is much wider and people are not given the chance to take on that amount of work because then they would have control. I think Allan Lamont and Jill have probably a large amount of control in Dunaverty - you have to have their backing to get things done.'

MR Oh, I think so - and I think 90% of the club are happy to have it that way.

CR I think so - if there was any problem people would come forward and do it.

MR I think the vast majority just want to get on with their acting or producing or whatever and let someone else run the thing. It's just every now and then something crops up that people are not happy about and you have a temporary little spat - which gets through and over as quickly as possible. We're very good at smoothing things over.

CR I don't think I've seen anything at all - I heard - I've heard dark mutterings of problems two or three years ago with a pantomime - but since I've been in the club it's been all sweetness and harmony.

MR We're very good at brushing things under the carpet - though I say that as a joke, it's a very useful thing to be able to do - put things behind you and carry on. You've practically answered my next question. I was going to ask who you thought were the most influential people in the club - and you've said 'Jill and Allan.'

CR Well - it depends what you mean by influence - do you mean influence in running the club or influence in the direction of the club. I don't think the two are the same.

MR No, can you say...?

CR I would say that Jill Middleton and Allan Lamont pretty well run the organisation of the club but I feel the road the club is taking...

MR In an artistic sense?

CR Well, not to sound bland and arty - I would say 'Yes.' Probably more in the hands of the producers - Geoff Horton to some extent and one or two of the more experienced actors.
(Some discussion of names.)

MR Do you think the wishes and interests of the young people are taken sufficiently into account - or do you think the old staggers are running it their way without much consideration for the younger folk?

CR I would think probably the old staggers, as you call them, have control - but I think it would be difficult - the club relies on your presence to keep going. I think if it was left to the younger ones there would be a drop in the standard of the club, and also the club might fall away quite considerably - because the people you want are the people who have time, and these are mainly the people who are later on in life and don't have young families or businesses or whatever.

MR They're not making their careers?

CR Exactly! They're established - they're quite settled down - they have time on their hands.
Having said that - I think my feeling is that there's a few younger people in Southend - if I was in a position of authority in the club I'd be looking to try and drag them in. Not so much people like myself but people from Southend who have been involved on the fringes - the younger ones - because they are the people from the area.
People like David McCallum - he's a local person. Dunaverty draws a lot from the fact that it is local - most people are from Southend.
(Some discussion of possible names.)

MR This bothers me, Charles. This is one of the things I've been worrying about and quizzing people about to see if I could find what the trouble was.
Do you find either the rehearsals or the trips away

dull? I ask this because someone else thought they were.

CR Well I've never been on the trips away so I can't comment on that - apart from the trip to Ardrishaig which I've always enjoyed quite a lot.

Rehearsals: I think the first time I was involved the play was short and we'd a big interval and a cup of tea and a chat, and it was good. The Provincial Lady - because it was so long, we didn't have a break or we'd have been there too long, but once we'd got the words off - it got boring. The play was good, there's no doubt about that, but once you'd heard it two or three times you knew what was coming - I don't think there's much you can do about that - the point I would make is that with a bigger cast, like Harry Mann you could wander around and speak to more people.

MR So that on the whole you find a play with a big cast is better from a social point of view?

CR Oh, I think so - with The Provincial Lady you were off stage with pretty well the same people - every night the same people.

MR The same person said that part of the trouble was that we were all geared to trying to perfect everything - if we spent less time and would settle for a little less perfection?

(Some discussion of possible solutions.)

MR Misha wasn't so exciting as the part you had the previous year.

CR I started off with a very good part - I realised that when I did the second one - but, no, I've enjoyed the parts - mainly I wouldn't like to be stuck in a Jessie Ferguson role of being a wee Glasgow sweetie wife all the time - it would get pretty boring. If I was being paid vast sums of money I would do it - but when you do it for fun - you want a challenge I would think.

MR How would you like to be moving between the two producers - so far you've just been with me, as it happens.

CR Well, I don't really know - I've heard a bit about how Angus produces. I'll find out at the pantomime this year what he's like.

MR He's entirely different from me - and a lot of people prefer Angus' way - they like being told exactly what to do.

CR I don't know, I think people get the best out of me with the carrot rather than the stick - and I think Angus is inclined to use the stick rather than the carrot - and I'll react badly to the stick.
(Some discussion of production methods.)

MR Can you see yourself ever wanting to have a go at producing?

CR When I first started I never thought I would - but you never know - not for a considerable period of time anyway - but I probably would at some point.

MR Can we do more to attract young people? I think I've already said this. But can you think of anything to make it more attractive?

CR Well, I don't know. When I first came to Dunaverty I had no perception of who people were at all. I think you've got a case of, if you like, it's the establishment in Southend that's involved in drama and that might keep some people away. I mean you have the doctor and retired professional people or whatever and they feel that they wouldn't be wanted or that they wouldn't fit in. I can't think that's the case, though, because I think that the people who are involved from all walks of life seem to jell well - there's no question of 'I'm so and so.'

MR I think the only ones who can bring them in are the young ones we already have.

CR Yes, I think the only other thing would be to have some sort of organised open night so they could see for themselves.

MR I've heard it said that organisations have unofficial rules. Not the ones in the Constitution - but things that are just understood. What would you say these were for Dunaverty?

CR That's a good question. I think you are right - you are making me think. I think there's a certain amount of acceptance of the way things are run - perhaps that is the important thing - things have been done this way....since time began. So they continue to be done.

From setting up rehearsals - when are we going to do things - what's going to happen - everything follows a natural progression. Everything has been done before, and it's done again. There's nobody - it's never crossed my mind to say 'Why don't we do it this way? 'When I do say, there's always an answer as to why it's done that way. But probably that's the only unwritten rule - the tradition continues without any challenge at all.

There's no real challenge- there's no move within the club to alter the Constitution or to raise the subscription so that we can do this or that - everything goes on the way it's always been done. There's very little movement for change, but that could be because things work very well as they are.

MR Yes, I think it's a bit of both - I think we are stuck in the mud up to our necks - there's no doubt about that - but also - some of the things we do are the result of much hassle in the past. You know - they've emerged out of some problem - all this fuss about scenery - there have been such rows with other organisations about the scenery, that packing it into the smallest possible space has become a must - if we are going to live on reasonable terms with these other organisations that use the hall, and we've got it to a fine art. Similarly with sweeping up and so forth.
(Back on to the subject of attracting young people.)

MR What would you say, honestly, to warn people off?

CR I really don't think there are any drawbacks - stagefright - but I don't think I would warn anyone off by reminding them we've got the festival - I don't think there's any problem with that - not for me anyway. Depending on your personality you might find it more difficult

MR It doesn't seem to bother people all that much anyway - because David's a very different temperament from you - and it doesn't seem to bother him in the least either.

CR My opinion is - the people who come to the festival in Campbeltown - they're not there to knock you. Even if you're rotten - they're not going to boo you or anything like that. You're not putting yourself on the line. You're putting the cast on the line to some extent, but if things go badly - you've always the producer to blame.

MR Yes - you can always blame the producer! Are there any changes you would like to see?

CR Probably just what I've said. I would like to see more Southend people involved.

MR Southend people rather than Campbeltown people?

CR I don't think it's people like me who are going to make the club - I don't think I have to offer what the club is - what the essence of the club is. That is, living in Southend and having been raised here and whatever that produces. I don't know what it produces, but it produces something, something nice. You can feel it when you come into the hall. It's a village atmosphere that you can't get in a town. You can have a town atmosphere as opposed to a city atmosphere, but as you get closer there's a greater sense of togetherness and reliance. Perhaps more important in the modern world - that sense of reliance....

MR There is a sense of community isn't there?

CR That's really what it is - it's a sense of community I think and without that...

MR The drama itself is not enough - it's the drama plus the sense of belonging to a community?

CR Yes.

MR Do you think this thing of being part of a community is attractive to the people from the town?

CR. Oh, I think so. I think that's probably what it is - you know I came down yesterday to play golf. I came before and one or two people who knew my father said 'hello' to me - but I came down yesterday and I met Angus and his wife and two or three other people that I know and they all asked me how I was getting on and suchlike - and it's nice. It's the same feeling which I get in Machrihanish golf club - which is my community. I think Dunaverty has given me the same feeling - I think that's the important thing - I don't think I'd bother with drama in the town.

MR You enjoy the festival?

CR I get the buzz - from the audience. The main thing

I get from Dunaverty and the rehearsals - what pleases me most - it probably goes back to having a bigger crowd - community spirit - the atmosphere is nice. I can't describe what the atmosphere is but it's nice.

MR It is nice. Is there anything else? Is there anything I haven't raised that would be of interest?

CR I think the only thing I would say to people is - come along and see it - because it's worth seeing - I really do believe that. I've watched the other plays in the town and I think Dunaverty's plays are good..

MR Mind you - we don't always win.

CR Oh no - but even that being said - I watched the plays last year and I thought the one that won wasn't better than Union Riots.

MR I think perhaps, loads and loads of adjudicators have said so, they've tremendous team spirit.

CR I would think that's right - we don't have prima donnas. If you look at the other plays you can pick out. OK we've got our good actors and actresses but I don't think they come across as stars - whereas to look at some of the teams that enter...

MR You think they are carried by their stars?

CR Well the plays have been chosen for the stars - people like Mrs Kerr² or Jess Ferguson who are both very good actresses - but the play is set for them.

MR Chosen to set them off?

CR Its the reaction from the actors there with them - they're almost deferring to them. I don't think there's any question that people who perform with Dunaverty have no desire to reckon that someone is better than them.

MR I think this is Angus - because he's said from the beginning that the chain's as strong as the weakest link and the person who just walks on is as important as the person who's never off the stage.

CR I think that's right.

MR And there's a lot of truth in it - but I think

whether it's true or not - it makes a lot of difference to the spirit of the club.

CR Well, I think it showed in Provincial Lady. David McCallum had a very small part - but his part was vitally important to the play. It gave the play a lift in two or three places where...

MR It badly needed it.

CR Where it needed it and he performed exceptionally well- I think you know my personal opinion that David is an excellent actor.

MR Yes, I think so.

CR But as you say yourself - he's different from me in his attitude outside the play - he's fairly shy and quiet - but in the play he's superb. I think he's a born actor and in his Harry Mann performance last year I think he was brilliant.

MR I'll never forget hearing him talking to you after you'd both played big parts in your first production and you were both agreeing that you'd enjoyed it - but you said 'It's all very well, but I wouldn't like to do it for a living.' And he said 'Oh, but I would.'

CR Yes, I think that's right - I think he could do it for a living. I felt when he performed Harry mann...

MR He was so natural.

CR He was brilliant. He was Harry Mann. I didn't think he got the praise he deserved in Campbeltown - he did get it in Ardrishaig. My part was ranting and raving and jumping about and David's was just sitting and wandering about - a helpless part - and to catch the audience's attention with a helpless part must be very difficult. I really think he could...

MR Mind you- he would have found your part more difficult- you were given parts that suited you.

CR Well perhaps - mainly what I had to do is what I do for a living.
(More of the same.)

Notes:

1. Allan Lamont has died since then and Jill Middleton is spending more time out of Southend since her husband's sudden death. Geoffrey Horton is now Chairman and Ralph Davidson, a much less assertive local man is secretary.

2. Mrs Kerr is now a member of Dunaverty. Charles gives her her title because she taught him in school.

Name: David McCallum Date: 20-7-85
Occupation: Factory worker, Age: 16/17
Role in Club: Actor/stage-crew Joined club: 1979.
Address: Southend(local) Interviewer: Mary Rattray

Excerpts from Interview.

MR David, how old were you when you first played for Dunaverty?

DM Ten.

MR Ten, I thought you weren't much older - what play was that?

DM The Girl of the Golden City.

MR How did you get involved in that - did Angus...?

DM Through the school - Angus asked Mr Henderson in the school for people for the play.

MR And what have you done since then?

DM The Girl of the Golden City,
The Trial of Harry Mann, Sunday Costs Five Pesos
- I forget them all.

MR You were in The Provincial Lady.

DM Aye - I was in Jubilee.

MR That's right - you've been with me most of the time.

DM Aye.

MR Were you in the first pantomime, or were you too young?

DM I was in the last one.

MR Do you enjoy the drama ?

DM Aye - it passes a winter night.

.....

MR Is there anything else you'd like to do that you haven't been given a chance to do?

DM I think I've had a go at everything.

MR Except producing. What did you think of Dunaverty before you joined it.

DM I cannot mind o' it beforehand.

MR You were too young? What do people in Southend who are not in the drama think about the drama?

DM Well...

MR Honest?

DM There's a few folk - when you mention drama and the hall - you get a nasty answer.

MR We seem to be in the doghouse about the hall, I've never quite understood why. I remember going round to the badminton at the time of the first pantomime to make the peace - but we still seem to have a bad name. Have you any idea why it is?

DM I think it's probably because there's a lot of the set left lying - up the back.

MR That's the main problem. We've quite a job keeping young folk - have you any idea why that is?

DM Maybe it's because they haven't a part every year, and there's other things on. I mean - others that was in it go to the Young Farmers and the Rotoract - all different things and probably find the drama as well would be a bit too much.

.....

MR Have you ever found it uncomfortable working with folk old enough to be your grandparents - some of them?

DM No, I don't bother.

MR I thought you didn't. Why do you keep coming - is

it the company, or do you really like drama?

DM The company and the drama as well. Partly at nights in the winter there's not much else on - even though they're (the nights are) cold.

MR Do you think it's fair that the producers get to choose and cast the plays themselves, without consulting anyone else?

DM Yes. Because they've got a better idea what play they're going to do and what kind of people they are looking for.

MR Which kinds of play do you like - or not like?

DM Any real strong drama - I like comedy - or a kind o' traditional play.
That one of Angus' Pen o' my Aunt - I didn't like that.

MR What was wrong with that one?

DM Maybe because it was kind o'...history - and I dinna like history.

MR Oh, dear - history! And we lived through it!

.....

MR Do you like competitive drama?

DM I don't really mind it - I, personally, don't really look on it as competing. I just look on it as kinda going to entertain folk.
Mind you, there's times. Sometimes when you know the adjudicator is there listening and watching for every wee thing - you do get a wee bit uptight - other than that....

MR How important do you think winning is - either to you or to the club?

DM The winning just shows that there's - it lets people in Southend know you're getting somewhere an' all - that you're at a standard. You're no just going to the drama every week and it's the drama and it's there - just when you want to go. It shows there's a standard for drama and you've reached it.

.....

MR What do you think of the way the club is run? It used to be that Angus was the dictator and everyone did what Angus said, and everything was nice and simple. Now we've a committee and two producers and some things the committee decides and some things the producers decide and sometimes we have a whole club meeting. Do you think this works quite well - or do you like some changes?

DM I think it's better to decide things just among everyone - instead of the committee...

MR You don't like the committee?

DM You don't get everyone's views - you only get so many.

MR Did you enjoy going to the divisional?

DM Aye. It was a different environment - among different people. Mind you, I didn't like the adjudicator.

MR No, nobody liked that adjudicator. Was that the only time you'd been at a divisional?

DM No, I was at Irvine with Jubilee.

MR Did you enjoy that?

DM Aye. Mind you the first one I was only away the one day. I went away one day and back the next. The next time I was there the whole time - you're better seeing the whole festival as just part of it.

MR What did you think of the standard at the divisional?

DM There was some not any higher than our own.

Asked if he would like to attend the ceilidhs at Ardrishaig, David replied.

DM Well, it would need to be at the weekend, like on a Friday, before you could, really - in the middle of the week no-one's in the mood because they have to be up for their work the next morning.

MR So unless you were on on a Friday....? Can you think of anything else we could do to liven things up for the younger folk?

DM Unless, I know it's a lot of work - but a pantomime - even if it's only a small production thing - specially for the younger ones - just to encourage them.

MR Yes. I'm beginning to think we'll have to do something like that.

Most organisations - it doesn't matter what they - have rules that are never put into words but everyone understands that if you join that's what's expected of you. Suppose you had a friend who was thinking of joining - what would you tell him would be expected of him?

DM I don't know - well, I know the rules to a certain extent.

MR What would you say they were? Everybody comes out with different ones.

DM Just, you've got to be interested in it and not just go for a carry-on. If you start it - you've got to keep your word and do it to the end. Make sure you're there - not half an hour late.

MR Because folk can't start till everyone's there. The things we thought of - everyone jolly well ought to help to put the stuff away and leave the place tidy and not leave it to the stage crew.

DM Yes, I think they should really - I've got to the stage where I just automatically do it anyway.

MR You've thought of most - some people couldn't think of anything.
What do other young people do - what are the options.

DM Well, the same nights as the drama, Tuesdays and Thursdays, there's sports in St Blaas's hall and a lot of young folk go to it. Then Tuesday night's Young Farmers and a lot of folk go to it.

MR Then there's this Rotoract thing - that's new isn't it?

DM The Rotoract's on a Monday night I think. But it can entail you going in every night of the week if there's anything on. It just helps - it's like the Rotary Club for the young folk.

MR Do you go to it?

DM No.

MR The boys go to the hotels, don't they?

DM Aye.

MR Do the girls go much?

DM No, not really.
Then there's football as well.

MR It won't be on a winter's night?

DM Yes, there's five-a-sides in the Victoria Hall in Campbeltown.

MR They go into Campbeltown for that?

DM And there's darts and pool competitions - there's a whole lot of things.

.....

Note:

At the time David didn't have access to a car, so many of these activities were not available to him. He is now an enthusiastic member of Young Farmers, but one of the rehearsal nights has been changed to Monday to accommodate him and several other local youngsters who have become involved in the drama club this year (1988-89).

Name: Elspeth Lennox

Date 25-7-85

Occupation: Adult Basic

Education, Supervising tutor.

Age: Early thirties.

Role in Club: Not settled

Joined club: 1985

Address: Southend (incomer)

Interviewer: Mary Rattray

MR Elspeth¹, had you ever been involved in drama before you came to Southend?

EL Not at all - I helped with backcloths and things at Peninver.

MR Had you ever been interested in drama - when you were at college or anything?

EL I was very interested. When I first came to Kintyre I thought I would have been involved in drama - but I didn't feel the Peninver club was particularly interested in drawing people into it - if someone had asked me to go I probably would have. It was closed really.

MR Why and when did you come to Southend - what brought you here?

EL To the area? Very simply, just housing - we were trying to buy a house and this is the one we could afford at the time - and I didn't feel the village too closed in.

I think Peninver was socially very closed in and I wasn't very happy there. I felt this was a very much more friendly village and I was feeling relaxed about coming into it.

MR How did you get involved with the drama here. Was it Iain and I?

EL Yes - it took the effort of someone actually asking me if I'd like to go - and Allan came to the door and Linda asked me too.

MR So quite a few people made you welcome.

EL And I did want to get involved in something, so it worked out very well.

MR What was your first impression of the club when you did come?

EL My first impression was that it was very friendly - that people were honestly being friendly towards me, and I felt that, - in fact, the first time I came was about November time and the play was fairly well on²- I saw almost a complete run through of that play and I thought it was better at that stage than it was for quite a few months after that.

MR Yes, it went back.

EL It was really good and I was very impressed with the play and everything.

MR After that we ran into all kinds of problems - Geoff was ill and Elizabeth's mother was dying.

EL I was really impressed that the cast were so - sort of - integrated. They really seemed to be enjoying it and the fact that everyone was so - out of role- and you'd got the doctor and the farmer and everybody all mixing very, very well together.

MR There's nothing since that's changed your first impression?

EL No.

MR What do you think of festival drama?

EL Maybe out of the festival there were two or three plays that I really enjoyed watching - but even if I didn't like the type of plays put on in terms of content I've been quite impressed by the standard - the amateur drama in this area is really very good.

MR What is it that's wrong with the choice of play?

EL I think they're really very superficial - they don't develop character very well.

MR It's very difficult in a one-act.

EL That's probably true - it maybe is that there aren't many plays to choose from.

MR It is a problem - finding a play.

EL It's probably an unfair criticism in some ways because it's probably very difficult to find suitable plays. They tend very much to stick to Scottish farce really. Most of it is Scottish - not that there's any objection to that but I think some clubs tend to stick consistently to Scottish comedy. In fact, Peninver club usually do - but this time they didn't. It was quite an interesting play this year - but before....

MR Peninver have the problem that what the club want to do is Scots comedy and the producer would like them to extend themselves and there's a continual tug-of-war going on. They've done one or two unlikely things. Strindberg is quite ambitious - but you would see why it was a difficult thing for them to do?

EL With the cast...?

MR With the cast you've got.

EL Maybe it's the kind of people who want to do drama - maybe the cast don't want to do the same kinds of play?

MR I think they feel safer - they feel they can do Scots but they're a little afraid of tackling (the classics).
Do you like the idea of competitive drama?

EL No, I don't really - I'm really more interested in creative drama and the drama into dance side of things. It's superb to win the festival - but to me that isn't any great measure - because something like the one you did - well the club did - was so atypical of the festival that it wasn't really measuring...

MR Like with like?

EL I don't think it was - there wasn't really anything to compare with it.

MR How important, do you think is winning - to Dunaverty?
Do you think they take it seriously?

EL Yes, they do - that was my impression. They really do - and yet there is a difference, I think - there are certainly people it doesn't matter to - they just want

to enjoy the winter activities. They have a good time throughout the season - and if they win it's a bonus. There must be a variety of attitudes - it's important to some of them.

MR Do you see yourself getting really involved with the club now?

EL Yes - well I would like to. I think there are certain things that hinder that. I would like to be a lot more involved with the club than I am, but I think being settled in the club is very much related to being settled in the village and being involved with the things that are going on in the village as well - and that takes me, personally, quite a long time to do. I don't find it easy to mix in a group. But it would be a very easy group to mix with so I may get involved more quickly than I would expect.

I tend to stay on the periphery of a group till I know them very well.

(Discussion of what Elspeth might do in the club - and of the shortage of young people)

MR Someone I asked said they thought the club had become very 'establishment' - that we were a very middle class respectable bunch and the young folk couldn't identify with us.

EL That's quite interesting - I suppose it is quite authoritarian in that everything is very unnegotiable - casts are chosen at a set time - there's no debate about what the plays are going to be. In a funny way - I think if I was in a city I'd find that quite intolerable but in a place like Southend I see it as being quaint and as being something that is of the essence of the village. Whereas if I was in Glasgow I would join a much more liberal club - because I wouldn't see it as having any real tradition. I see it as part of an ongoing tradition in Southend, where I think it is something that should be respected and kept going - because it's such an unusual thing really. But perhaps that is something people would react to a bit - if they didn't feel that way about the village. I think village traditions should be kept going.

(Discussion of difficulties of casting -and Elspeth's reaction to going to divisionals - concerned primarily with practical details of the organisation of the trip.)

(Elspeth had been unhappy in Peninver and had found it unfriendly.)

EL its very interesting really, because Peninver had had a really friendly community - they had raised money for that hall, which cost a lot of money. If you speak to some of the older people - they had a fantastic village life when their children were small and the school was open. The school was closed and the pub was opened next door and there was a lot of friction between the actual committee of the hall - the hall almost closed.

Nothing ever happened in it and it's decaying quite badly, really - there's just not anything going on there at all. It's really a very unhappy placethere was no pulling together at all.

Now that - in a way - when I first came here I expected not to relate to things and so I hung back because of that.

ME Your idea was that you were going to live here but your interests were in Campbeltown?

EL And the fact that I'd got a good space in front and a good space out the back and no neighbours - ideal for me.

But, in fact, I haven't seen it that way since I became involved - I haven't found it that way.

MR What differences have you found between the clubs?

EL That is interesting - I think Peninver are almost all young.

(discussion of several older members.)

EL Yes, but there's quite a lot of younger ones and maybe it didn't have - the maturity of the older people - I don't know.

MR Maybe you didn't feel you were a club in quite the same way?

EL There was no cohesion about it at all - they all came from the town, in fact - there weren't any local - there was Donald and Neil and that was it. The rest of them were from the town and there wasn't a history of being established very well.

(Friction with the hall committee had been an important factor in creating an unhappy atmosphere.)

MR And how have you found it since you came here - have you found it easier?

EL I've found it a lot easier, yes - but I'm still taking it fairly easy because I'm not - I still expect things to happen the way they did in other villages. So I think that'll take a while. I think if I'd come here straight from Glasgow, without the intervening bit - I think I'd have integrated very quickly.

MR Do you find that having joined Dunaverty does help in integrating with the village?

EL Very much so - Yes.

MR You can't really separate being a member of Dunaverty from being a member of the village?

EL I feel it's the only way I have time at present to integrate - and the fact that I know Mary Taylor - I don't know the Lamonts so well - but I've got to know Margaret down the road. I would never have seen Margaret, who is my neighbour, if I hadn't gone to the drama - Jill, as well. There are some people I definitely do relate to well - because of the drama. I think my feelings about the community at Southend are very much related to the drama - drama seems to lump people together.

MR How does the drama strike you - we've been over this before, but I want to pin it down - does it seem snobbish or one-class....?

EL It doesn't come over to me that way at all - I would say it cuts across class.

MR It doesn't seem to matter, does it?

EL Well, you've got the doctor really involved in any part he is given and really behind the club and you've got the boy who's just out of school and working in the Jaeger factory and things like that - I don't see it as middle-class.

MR No, David and Geoff get on...

EL Very well, indeed. I think it is a very, very good

evenner - I think it evens things out in the community - I don't see it as middle-class at all - I suppose, if you look at the members - a lot of them are.

MR It's not a thing that seems to have any particular relevance does it?
Once you are in the club - what you do outside seems totally irrelevant.

EL It's interesting if it's seen that way from outside - I hadn't seen it.

MR I hadn't seen it either until someone said - but more have said 'Rubbish!'
I've heard some drama groups described as 'self-consciously 'arty''. Is there any sense in which that could be applied to Dunaverty?

EL I don't think so at all. I think self- consciously arty people are really pretentious - and I don't see that at all within Dunaverty. I don't think people are pretentious. I see exactly what you mean and I know in some clubs it is true that there are people who see themselves as - talented.
I haven't seen one person in that club who has an overinflated image of himself - trying to take over or push themselves.

MR Yes, but they do take it seriously - in what sense?

EL I think it's the upholding of tradition - the people who are really earnest - like Mary Taylor - the ones who have been in the club a long time - they've got a lot more than just the drama club in mind. There is an upholding of a Southend tradition. Maybe there was a lot of tradition that's not still there - the drama club is still there and still going. I do think people see it as being under threat - the traditions.

MR I think there is a feeling that the traditions are under threat. What interests me about that is that the biggest threat is the number of incomers - and yet they don't see the incomers as a threat - they make them welcome.

EL Yes - maybe that's why it has the potential of being ongoing. Because so often in communities incomers are treated with incredible suspicion - in fact - so often it is the incomers taking over everything - they come barging in and take over.

I don't think you'll find anything like that in Southend because there are strong enough people still interested in doing things - it's not as if they were all dying off and the incomers were taking over. There's enough spirit of community, I think, in the place - There's still a lot of people interested in maintaining the activities of the community and it's ongoing.

MR One interesting remark I got - I said something of this to one of them, and she said, 'Oh, but we need them - we need the incomers - we need the new talent.' And I thought how remarkable it was that she should see it that way.

EL Well, I think it is very unusual Mary. I think in most communities it isn't that way. I think they are usually very suspicious of incomers and suss them out. In many ways I'm the incomer who is suspicious - that's the wrong word....

MR Wary - you can't believe it.

EL Yes I think so. I think they are - they really do make an incredible effort to integrate people.

MR You think it's purely this sense of keeping a tradition going that gives them this attitude to drama?

EL I think it's a lot more than that, I think these people have been involved, probably from their youth, in things that have gone on in the village - one of which has been drama - it's part of their lives that they maintain. They go along and they meet the same people every week - it becomes an integral part of their lives.

MR And you think it is one of the things holding the community together?

EL I think it's one of the things. I don't know what else goes on because I haven't been to the rural or the guild or anything like that - maybe the feeling is there as well. But I think the drama is more than being part of a club, of any club - because you've got all the - just the disappearance of normal social roles. You have the breakdown of roles in that they are all given a role within a cast - and it's almost a social therapy in some ways.

MR They give up their normal roles?

EL When they walk in there they're all in a role, the doctor, the teacher - whoever they are. There's quite a range in that group of what their professional roles are.

But they're coming in there and there's not any - I've not felt with any of them that there was any maintenance of that sort of role within the group. Everyone has their own role to play within the group which has no relation at all to what their role in the community actually is.

MR That is true, yes. People like Jill, who is stagemanager. In the club that is what she is - she is stage-manager - full-stop.

EL She is the hierarchy there in that sense. It is just another lot of roles - someone like Geoff would accept whatever part you gave him - or the same with - someone less obvious, like Charles - who will eventually develop a very professional role. Mind you, I can't see it - he's a very natural person. But it's a laying aside of all that and the fact that everyone has an open face to each other in that group - there's no hanging back that you get in normal society - or anyone trying to outdo each other.

MR I think perhaps this business of the producers choosing is quite helpful in that way - because you don't have to push and shove to get a part or hang back pretending to be modest - because it's not going to make any difference. The producer is going to choose regardless.

EL Maybe that is very true - maybe that is why it has that sort of health - maybe if everyone had an eye for their own position - maybe it would be a lot different.

MR They all feel very strongly, I mean - I was trying to sell some democratic ideas. Was it a good thing that the producer had so much authority and so on - and they all said in effect, 'It wouldn't work any other way.' They were all quite adamant.

EL They were probably quite right, actually. Because that is where you would get a lot of resentment building up - if people were pushing themselves forward because they wanted a part or they wanted this or they wanted that - and they would feel badly done by if they didn't get.

MR Angus has built up a tradition ...and he has got them all to accept that the smallest part is as important as the largest - nobody doubts it, they don't just play lip-service to it - they behave as if it really were the case.

You're part of a team, and it doesn't really matter whether you're playing the lead or helping Jill with the scenery. Everyone is a member of the team - and it's the team that wins, or doesn't, as the case may be.

EL I think there's a very obvious lack of pretension in that club, which is very refreshing in the times we're living in - but I think it doesn't exist (in many other places.)

EL I think Southend is a lot healthier, there's not this social pretension - it doesn't matter where your house is - everyone is much more equal - people are very caring of each other - there is a strong feeling of community.

Notes:

1. I had known Elspeth as a child in Lochgilphead, And, more recently, as her counsellor in the Open University.

2. The play we were doing that year was Turgenev's The Provincial Lady.

farming families?

ES Yes, we were mostly farmers - we really were.

MR I think of all the clubs - Peninver was the farmers club?

ES That's exactly right.

(Account of the time Angus MacVicar stood in for Mr Charteris, the Peninver producer - and how how they subsequently persuaded John Bryce to take over.)

MR You did awfully well - there were several years when it seemed you couldn't go wrong at Peninver.

ES That's right.

MR You had some super plays - John had an eye for a play.

(Elizabeth agreed and described John's method and we commented on the skills of Peninver's stage manager and make-up artist.)

ES Yes, well he had all these people - but we never had the extras that you have down here. Margaret Cameron and Janet Ferguson - you've nearly a dozen that you could call on.

MR Did Peninver encourage a lot of people to come along and mix?

ES Yes, we did - but we'd an awful ...You see where Southend scores is that we really are a definite community down here. Peninver was a village - but we were far too scattered and anybody that came in - once the village started to grow - far too many people came in who just weren't interested in village life. They were near the town and would just as soon go into the town for their entertainment and they weren't really interested. You could approach them and they would promise to come and absolutely nobody...

MR Turned up?

ES And of course for those years in the town it wasn't as though we practised in Peninver.

MR So you didn't really have this community feeling?

ES No, but it's a funny thing. We'd a club - it was a lovely club - it was a great club to be in because you could go anywhere with anyone, and there was none of this - men and women - when we were away we were away as a group - you know it really was a lovely atmosphere for years and years.

MR Do you see any differences between Peninver and Dunaverty in that way?

ES Well in Dunaverty - well I really think that's why I joined Dunaverty - because the last time Peninver won, I was the secretary, and we went to Greenock, you know, and I'd done all the work and everything and we went as supporters the day after the team. Now there wasn't that many (in the team) - it was Little Brother, Little Sister

MR I remember it.

ES And we went away - and I don't know what happened, we were staying in the same hotel but we arrived a day later, and we were called, 'the hangers on.' Not supporters, 'hangers on' - and we were treated like hangers on - and it was just terrible, you see.

MR How did that come about - because you'd had a good feeling before that?

ES Well, there were new - I really, genuinely can't put my finger on the exact thing. But there were two plays that year. Margaret McGougan produced a play. The ones John wasn't needing went with Margaret and we got absolutely nowhere and it seemed to be that when we had two producers and two plays - that's funny....

MR It is a tricky thing Elizabeth. It seems to me that Dunaverty handled that one quite well really, but at the time Alastair started there was talk of 'a club within a club.' I think they realised the danger and sort of made a special effort.

ES Yes. You see that's the whole point I'm trying to make, that when you're in Southend they definitely treat the club as a club and you're never two teams really. I mean - it's nice to win, and it's awful nice if it's you that wins - but you're never made...I mean if you go as a supporter you're every bit as important as the people in the play performing - but you see - I don't know what

happened and that was when I decided - Angus had spoken to me for years.

MR Yes, I know he'd been trying to coax you away.

(More about Elizabeth's feelings in regard to Peninver.)

MR You can't imagine that happening in Dunaverty.

ES No that wouldn't happen. But I really think that we are a community down here.

.....

ES Do you not think that the biggest reason for the two teams working is that one producer gets first choice one year and the other the other?

(Amplification of this.)

MR There was a spell, in the sixties, when Dunaverty seemed to be winning everything in sight, year after year. Were you in the drama at that time, not with Dunaverty, with Peninver?

ES Yes, I must have been.

MR How did the other clubs take that?

ES Well, it was very galling - especially if your team was good. They were inclined to say 'Oh, it's only because the adjudicators know Angus MacVicar.' I think that was the other teams' defence - but to be perfectly truthful - with the players they had and the costumes and the type of play that was fashionable at the time - they really were unbeatable.

MR They must nearly have expected to win.

ES But they had - the quality of their players - Morag Grumoli there, and John McKerral.

MR Then all of a sudden it went wrong. At that time you were looking at it from the outside - what do you think happened?

ES Well, you can hardly say - it depends on the players coming in, you know and I suppose clubs suddenly lose - of course Morag went away.

MR They lost Morag and Alf and John Barbour took time off at that time....

ES I really think that must have been when things went off the boil - because it never really came back till Dr Maiden came. It never really took off again for Southend. But you can't put your finger on that - it's something to do with the players - the type of players you've got at a particular time. And Jennifer - you can't afford stars.....

(Discussion of recruiting.)

ES But it's an amazing thing that we should get so many of that type of people (educated and good-natured). In Peninver really it always seemed to be the unfortunate folk we got in (ie unfortunate from the club's point of view). They were all, maybe it was because it was a wee club, but they all felt they had to be prima donnas. You never got a lot of good people in Peninver - but down here, you do.

MR Yes, it's odd. But they are awfully good at making people welcome, aren't they?

ES Oh, they're good and I'll tell you who's the best person who's ever been in the club and she's the same calibre as Angus, and that's Jill.
(Account of Jill's competence and kindness as stage-manager and club chairman.)

MR What do you think of drama - as competition?

ES Oh, aye. I like drama as competition - I think you put far more effort into it. I mean - you would never go to all that effort with costuming and details of sets if it was only for the Summer Show. I really think competition is good. I don't think you could keep a club going —(without it.) I really think it's a big thing - and I do like competition and if you've got the right attitude to competition and don't get too put out when you're beaten - I really agree.

MR Do you mind about winning - is it important to you?

No, I honestly don't think - because at the festival, when I got the good adjudication and I felt I'd done well. - Well, you've no idea the satisfaction. It's hard work and if you can achieve what the producer wants

you to do and what you would love to feel you could do - you know, if you reach full potential in a part - it's a tremendous amount of satisfaction and I think that's far more important than winning.

I mean, it was great to win at Ardrishaig - but the point is - on my performance alone you would never have won.

MR I don't agree with you - but never mind.

ES You know what I mean - you play as a team - I know that. But Geoff and Iain were brilliant that night and nothing would spoil the overall picture - but I think, personally, I would get more satisfaction from doing the part properly as I did at Campbeltown - than I actually did winning in Mid-Argyll.

Mind you - it was lovely to win.

(Elizabeth is referring to my production of The Provincial Lady, which came third in the Campbeltown Festival and first at Ardrishaig. Her own performance at Campbeltown, however, was better than it was at Ardrishaig.)

MR Yes, to me a good adjudication means more than the actual placing - and if you get a bad adjudication and you know he's right...

ES That's it - mind you, there's hope for you if you can listen when your faults are pointed out. I mean a player who can never be told will never achieve anything further. I mean - you'll never grow if you don't take criticism, because an amateur is seldom consistent....brilliant one night and hopeless the next.

ES This play (see above) has been the greatest satisfaction and the greatest achievement that I've ever managed in drama - I've absolutely loved it - and I think this is the type of play - I think quality - I think the longer you are in drama - the more you look for really - but I don't think I'll go back to Angus' type of play happily. Like - when I say Angus' type of play - I mean - Jimmy Scotland.

MR Kitchen comedy and that kind of thing?

ES I don't think I'll go back happily really.

.....

MR But, of course, if we kept the same team we'd end up with a split club again, wouldn't we?

ES Oh, it would be absolutely hopeless - I'll be every bit as fond of the folk I'm with next year.

MR How do you think Dunaverty does keep so many people together - I think there are over thirty active folk at the moment - quite apart from those who are backing up but not actually...

ES I really feel it's the atmosphere of the whole club - there's a friendliness - and everybody's equal. It doesn't matter if they're just shifting furniture or got two words in a play - I mean you're every bit as important - a player is made to feel that he is important - every bit as important as the producers.

MR Does that not happen everywhere?

ES Oh, I don't honestly think so. And I think we're very lucky - though you're a producer too - you see Angus as a figurehead at the top.

MR Yes, oh yes - that's how I see him.

ES He's a lovely man. I mean, Angus is Angus. I always say to myself 'I hope to goodness that Angus lives to be a very old man because where is this community ever going to get another...'

MR Angus?

ES Character like him - I mean - he's a personality - and he just has no side to him. There's a lovely - I don't know what it is - there's nothing you can put your finger on at Dunaverty - because nobody tries to be special - but I think that's the whole point - that everybody's made to feel that they are special.

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