

Jigs, Reels and Hornpipes:
A History of
“Traditional” Dance Tunes of Britain and Ireland

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Abstract

Jigs, reels and hornpipes are a musical genre associated with Britain and Ireland generally described as a type of “folk” or “traditional” music. Scholarly interest in them followed their “discovery” in the late nineteenth century by Antiquarians, some of whom “collected” them in the belief that they represented the remnants of an ancient expressive culture which was originally ubiquitous among Europe’s indigenous populations. This view was perpetuated throughout the twentieth century “folk revival” and persists today among both practitioners and academia. Strong traditions of these tunes in Ireland and Scotland have encouraged the frequent use of the adjective “Celtic” whereby English Morris dances, which use the same genre of tunes, have been described as manifestations of pagan rituals. The notion of the linear evolution of folk music and folk dances since primitive times is often termed “Sharpian”, after its most enthusiastic proponent Cecil Sharp.

No scholarly account exists of the actual history of dance tunes, despite the fact that in folklore studies, the cultural survival theory proposed by the original Antiquarian “ritualists” has generally been discredited. The literature on traditional music is overwhelmingly organized to present information under separate headings for each separate regional “tradition”. It also assumes that the tunes have always been predominantly transmitted aurally (or “orally”), independent of the use of any form of written musical notation. The original folk music protagonists proposed that this genre of simple, divisioned melodies was the culture of the non-commercial, musically illiterate, provincial-living “folk”, as distinct from the metropolitan elite. Later scholars have interpreted “folk” to mean “the working classes”. This assumption remains largely unchallenged and is the central premise of today’s folk arts activities and as well as academic research.

This study presents an explanation of the origin and history of the musical genre of traditional dance tunes such as jigs, reels and hornpipes, by referring to modern and historical music scripts from across Britain and Ireland, and ignoring modern political and administrative boundaries. Circumstantial evidence from both contemporary practice and historical sources is used to contextualize their original purpose. Evidence is presented to suggest that the earliest known publication of English country dances, Playford’s *Dancing Master* in 1651, was not, as is generally thought, a collection of village customs collected from the field, but an “aide memoire” for professional dancing masters. The dances were created for social gatherings of the privileged and influential, from which the working classes were excluded. This culture remained unchanged for centuries. The process of dissemination of these dances and their melodies throughout Britain and Ireland was

achieved over the eighteenth century through the influence of English cultural imperialism and commoditization, involving the dancing master profession, the publishing industry, the theatre, the military, and the increasing popularity of music as a parlour entertainment. Subsequently, the dances and their melodies were adopted by rural and urban working communities. By the nineteenth century, the village fiddler was borrowing from the music scripts of former bourgeois uses. In contrast to most accounts, this history therefore proposes that this widely recognized and ubiquitous (in the folk arts) musical genre of traditional dance tunes was originally an elite culture which was adopted by the working classes, and not the other way round.

Nineteenth century scholars of romanticism reinvented these dance tunes as a topic of antiquarian interest. Since the twentieth century folk revival, this music has continued to be a social uniter and has undergone further commercial commodization. It is also an academic discipline. My proposal is that the distinctive melodic structure of these dance tunes should not be associated with any particular socio-economic class, but instead acknowledged to have been simply inherently connected with social dancing over history. Musically, the genre acts as a skeleton for continued creativity. However, some recent studies and societal preoccupations have been highly influenced by outdated and romanticized ideologies of folklore and tradition. Such beliefs can impede creative agency if applied too literally. Certain conclusions from this historical study are made with the intention that, in the future, inclusivity and encouragement in community music-making may be assured.

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1 Introduction

The topic of this dissertation is the genre of melodies such as jigs, reels and hornpipes, and others including waltzes and polkas, which are elements of the “folk music” culture in Britain and Ireland. Their diagnostic features are that they consist of short, repeated melodic phrases in a constant meter. The melodic line is played in unison on treble instruments such as fiddle, tin whistle, flute, free reed instruments (concertina, melodeon and accordion), banjo, and various types of bagpipes. Stringed instruments such as guitar, cittern or mandolin, or else the melodeon or accordion, may provide chordal texture, and the bodhrán, a single-handed drum of Irish provenance, may also provide percussion. Since this genre of music was traditionally associated with social figured dances, for the purposes of this dissertation, I will henceforward refer to them as “dance tunes”.

As well as being commonly described as “traditional”, the musical genre is also given a variety of national identities. In Ireland it is described as “Irish”, in Scotland it is described as “Scottish”, “Northumbrian” in Northumberland, and outside Britain and Ireland it is more often, simply, referred to as “Celtic”. In England, folk dances with which the tunes are associated are described as having originated “from the village green”. The antics and costumes of Morris dancing, which also use the same dance tunes, are considered to be survivals of pagan rituals. Being types of folk music, they are described as the expressive culture of the lowest socio-economic class, i.e. the indigenous, unskilled manual workers, or the “folk”, amongst which the music is transmitted orally (or “orally”), i.e. without the use of written music.

Folk music is the product of a musical tradition that has been evolved through the process of oral transmission. “Official” definition of folk music¹.

The music was perceived as only produced by artisan and labouring rural people. (Entry for “folk music” on *Grove online*.)²

Technically, Irish traditional music is what folklorists call folk music, meaning a body of orally transmitted, usually rurally based, non-professional, non-commercial repertory created by and for “the folk” (i.e. not the aristocracy). (Hast and Scott 2004:16).

The diagnostic features which define this musical genre are consistently found in folk music played throughout Britain and Ireland. The homogenization of a musical genre amongst a geographically dispersed population would be expected to have arisen through the influence of some common cultural medium. In modern times, this has been seen with radio and television. However, during my eighteen years’ participation in various folk music activities, I

¹ As defined in 1954 by the International Folk Music Council, in *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, Vol 7 (1955), 23. Quoted in Gelbert (2011:2).

² Carole Pegg. “Folk music.” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed September 1, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09933>.

have heard no such cultural medium acknowledged as having been responsible for the dissemination of this older genre of music. The objective of this dissertation is therefore to identify and describe the reasons or mechanisms which resulted in the fact that these melodies are recognizable as a distinctive traditional folk music genre throughout the different regions of Britain and Ireland.

1.1 The social contexts of dance tunes in contemporary life.

Dance tunes exemplified by jigs, reels, hornpipes, waltzes, polkas, mazurkas etc. are played in a variety of social, community and educational settings throughout Britain and Ireland. These activities commonly fall under the generic umbrella term of “folk arts”.

The places where most dance tunes are informally played, shared and learnt, are in “sessions”, or gatherings of like-minded people in convivial settings. Such is the informal and often impromptu nature of a session that it is difficult to find appropriate statistics about them. In the Sheffield region, I estimate there are about twenty sessions per week in public places, generally pubs (such as that illustrated in Figure 1.1), in which dance tunes may be played to a greater or lesser extent. Stock (2004) described one particular session that was held in Sheffield over the years 1999 to 2003. However, it is important to stress that this concerned only one particular group of players and one session, and from my experience, aspects he described were atypical in certain ways.



Figure 1.1. A music session, the Bath Hotel, Sheffield, January 2012.

Dance tunes are also played for social dances such as at weddings or other social occasions, called variously “ceilis”, “ceilidhs”, “barn dances” or “Scottish country dances”, such as that illustrated in Figure 1.2 overleaf. The dances involve the dancers forming complex weaving patterns, or “figures”, which are guided by a “caller” (right of the picture). Typically, the dance tunes in this type of environment are played by a band which is hired for the event.



Figure 1.2. A ceilidh at the Furness Traditional Festival, Cumbria, June 2012.

Finding a way to quantify the number of privately-held events involving these types of social dances is similarly challenging. There is no Union or Federation of approved dance bands from which statistics may be obtained. I found a hundred and thirty bands advertised on one agency website³ and a hundred and sixteen bands on Entsweb under “Barn Dances and Ceilidh Bands”⁴ but bands form and re-form all the time and have different levels of activity.

The dance tunes are also used for performance dances, such as Irish step-dancing which has become a globally recognizable genre due to the success of “Riverdance”,⁵ and the similar, older *sean-nós* dance style of Ireland. There are equally strong traditions of solo dancing in England (such as clogging in Northumberland and Lancashire and stepping in East Anglia) and Scotland (“highland” dancing around cross swords). Other performance dances involve “sets” of five, eight, or more dancers, which combine various step styles with rehearsed and memorized figures. They are collectively termed “Morris dances” and comprise six principal styles: Cotswold, Rapper, Long-sword, Border, Molly and North West. An example of North West (where the sets may have ten or more dancers) is illustrated in Figure 1.3 overleaf. There are four hundred and thirty-eight separate “folk” dance organizations registered with the Morris Federation⁶ and a hundred and seventy three sides with the Morris Ring.⁷ All of these types of dances are performed to dance tunes as described in this study.

³ 'JIGS 'N' REELS': an agency specialising in arranging barn and ceilidh bands throughout the UK for all sorts of occasions, although it includes American hoe-down bands. <http://www.jigsandreels.com/> viewed 07/01/12.

⁴ <http://www.entsweb.ltd.uk/Barn-Dance-Ceilidh-Bands-list2/Musicians-Bands/17/38> viewed 07/01/12.

⁵ “Riverdance” was a performance devised for the seven minute interval of the 1994 Eurovision Song Contest hosted in Dublin on the 30th April 1994. Producer Moya Doherty commissioned composer Bill Whelan to create a short percussive piece that would showcase Irish dancers, singers and musicians, using a chorus line. The traditional elements were augmented with a rock rhythm section of electric bass and drums and a four-piece horn section. Such was its impact, “Riverdance” became a full-length stage production which continues to perform globally today (Hast & Scott 2004:126). It has inspired spin-offs (notably Michael Flatley’s “Lord of the Dance”) and spawned a worldwide craze for Irish dancing and music. Irish step-dancing performances and teachers around the world are advertised in <http://www.irishdancingdirectory.com/> viewed 13/04/13. Children’s dance sides, such as that from the Elizabeth Byrne School of Irish Dance, regularly perform at gatherings in the Sheffield region, performing to dance tunes on recordings by commercial bands.

⁶ Morris Federation website <http://www.morrisfed.org/> viewed 07/01/12.

⁷ Correspondence with the Morris Ring, January 2012.



Figure 1.3. “Silkstone Greens” North West Morris side performing the dance “Top o’ Dodworth Bottom” to the tune “Hunt the Squirrel”, at the St. George’s Day festival in Sheffield, England, April 2010. Photo: Julie Fotheringham.

Dance tunes are also in evidence being played at regional folk festivals or, in Ireland, *fleadhs*. The biggest such festival is the annual *Fleadh Cheoil na hÉireann* which is held at a different location in Ireland each year. They include sessions, and social and performance dances as described above, but some of them also facilitate the tradition of holding competitions in local art forms, including the playing (and sometimes composition) of dance tunes. Increasingly, commercialization of these events means that professional folk bands - not necessarily from the area - are also booked for concerts. Their instrumental pieces are also dominated by dance tunes of this same musical genre. There were an estimated 239 commercial folk festivals planned for the calendar year in 2012, held throughout Britain (England 134, Scotland 67 and Wales 7) and Ireland (Northern 6, Eire 25).⁸ As local folk festivals and *fleadhs* have become more commercial, they have seen greater numbers of visitors who have created an increased demand for workshops teaching so-called “traditional” local cultures, including those involving a particular instrumental skill such as that pictured in Figure 1.4.

⁸ Compiled from the “Living Tradition” festivals listing 2011 / 2012, <http://www.livingtradition.co.uk/festivals/festival-listing>, and “Irish Music Magazine” website listings: <http://www.irishmusicmagazine.com/links/festivals/>; both viewed 07/01/12.



Figure 1.4. Advanced melodeon workshop held at a “Melodeons and More” day organized by the East Anglian Traditional Music Trust, Mendlesham, Suffolk, 20th March 2004. Teacher: Dan Quinn. Photo: Steve Dumpleton.

Finally, dance tunes may also be heard at “traditional” or “folk” themed annual community pageants, either being played by marching musicians (such as Morpeth Northumbrian Gathering) or in conjunction with dancing (such as the Sowerby Bridge Rushbearing Festival, Whittlesea Straw Bear, Abbots Bromley Horn Dance or Bacup Coconut Dance). Figure 1.5 illustrates dozens of Morris sides, as well as other costumed performers, processing through Holmfirth to a cacophony of dance tunes during the town’s Festival of Folk.



Figure 1.5. The procession at Holmfirth’s “Festival of Folk”, May 2012.

In these described social settings, it is a common perception among organizers and participants that the whole basis of the existence and use of these dance tunes is that they are regarded as being “traditional” and “indigenous” to the area. From this, one could be led to assume they have remained immobile and unchanged over a considerable period of time.

Within this framework of upheaval and deprivation, traditional music was maintained within Ireland’s rural heartlands, remaining strongest in those areas where the Irish

language itself retained a vital presence. Equally importantly this inspiring musical vigour evolved as a natural escape valve for communities which passed most of their working week engaged in arduous agricultural labour. *The Rough Guide to Irish Music* (Wallis and Wilson 2001:4).

In many cases, several versions of a traditional tune exist simultaneously, often bearing different titles. Such tunes are mostly very ancient and of uncertain origin. *Northumbrian Pipers' Tunebook* (1985:Introduction, C-35).

These excerpts show how the genre of dance tunes I describe in this study are assumed in popular literature, including modern books of tunes, to originate in antiquity, and are regarded as being the culture of the lowest socio-economic classes.

1.2 Observations and questions inspiring this study

This study began with my questioning the opinion expressed by certain practitioners of this type of music that the written versions of particular dance tunes were traditional to a particular location, such that to alter them in any way would render them inauthentic. I was already aware that dance tunes could be played in different ways by different people, and I also I knew the same tunes were being played in different parts of Britain and Ireland, such that to suggest a tune was traditionally “Northumbrian”, for example, was not necessarily true. These observations, coupled with my curiosity about why the different repertoires were evidently homogenous musically, inspired me to undertake this study.

The following example illustrates this. I learnt a tune called “Peacock Follows the Hen” from a record which was an anthology of dance tunes called “Up the Town” (Rubber Records, 1980). On the record it was played on the recorder by Andrew Fitzpatrick of “Wynters Armory” in the form I have written below (Figure 1.6).

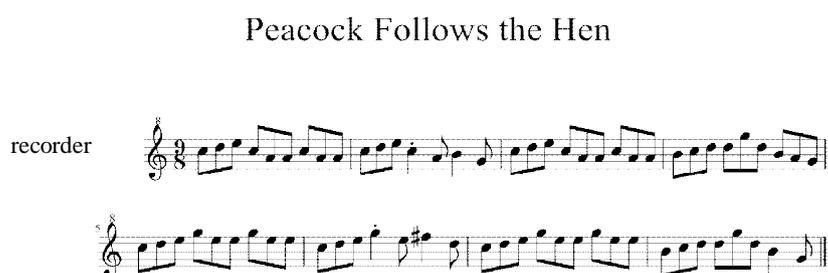


Figure 1.6. Version of “Peacock Follows the Hen” which I learnt from “Up the Town” (Rubber Records, 1980).

When I played this tune on the northumbrian smallpipes for a lesson, I was told I was playing it “wrong”. By “wrong” the teacher meant it differed from the version printed in “the book”. “The book” turned out to be *The Northumbrian Pipers' Second Tune Book*, and the relevant melody is Figure 1.7.

THE PEACOCK FOLLOWED THE HEN



Figure 1.7. "The Peacock Followed the Hen". Source: NPS (1991:21, C-37).

Although the melody differed in only minor rhythmic details, it was not explained why a version of a tune played on a commercial recording with Northumbrian credentials was "wrong" as opposed to the version in the book. I then noticed that other tunes from the so-called "Northumbrian tradition" were also found in other tune-books from other locations. One example was "Friendly Visit" which is in the *Northumbrian Pipers' Tunebook* (Figure 1.8) as well as in O'Neill's *Dance Music of Ireland* (Figure 1.9).

FRIENDLY VISIT



Figure 1.8. "The Friendly Visit", a hornpipe from the Northumbrian repertory. Source: NPS (1985:43, C-35).



Figure 1.9. "The Friendly Visit", a hornpipe from the Irish repertory. Source: O'Neill (1907:154, C-149).

With the exception of the addition of slurs in the former, these two versions are identical, which suggested that there may have been a relationship between the two involving the copying of written music. It also seemed counterintuitive that this tune could be regarded as part of the repertory of traditional music in both Northumbria and Ireland, since in most other cultural aspects the two places have no other obvious connection. However, one possible theory suggested to me was that the similarities were due to Irish migrant labour to the Tyneside dockyards⁹.

⁹ Pers. com. Dave Shaw, August 2002.

I then observed that in cases such as “Friendly Visit”, where the same tunes were played in different places, they were played in very different ways. I illustrate this through the example of a tune called “Chasing the Hare” which was taught by Martin Hayes at a workshop on traditional Irish-style fiddle music during Feakle Folk Festival in Co. Clare in June 2010 (Figure 1.10).

Chasing the Hare as heard from Martin Hayes



Figure 1.10 “Chasing the Hare”, as taught by Martin Hayes, June 2010.

I recognized this tune to be a variant of “Hunt the Squirrel” (Figure 1.11) which is often played in Sheffield sessions, as well as by Morris dance sides, and is the tune being played for the dance pictured in Figure 1.3.

Hunt the Squirrel



Figure 1.11. Hunt the Squirrel, as played by the band for “Silkstone Greens” North West Morris side (notation distributed by team, source unknown).

I made a similar observation at the “International Uilleann Piping Convention” in Derry / Londonderry in 2012. Uilleann piper Blackie O’Connell performed elaborate and highly ornamented versions of two dance tunes, “Madame Bonaparte” and “Jockey to the Fair”. Blackie learnt these tunes by ear in his native Co. Clare,¹⁰ but I recognised “Madame Bonaparte” to be in the Northumbrian pipers’ repertoire because it is in *The Northumbrian Pipers’ Society Tunebook* (1985:47, C-35). “Jockey to the Fair” is the tune played for the Hexham Flag Dance by the “Lizzie Dripping” dance side in Sheffield,¹¹ and it is also mentioned

¹⁰ Blackie O’Connell learnt these tunes from his mentor Pat Broderick, who also played the Great Highland Pipes, or, “Bagpipes” as they are often known in Ireland. Pers. com November 2012.

¹¹ This dance was created by the “Hexhamshire Lasses” dance side, and adopted by the Lizzie Drippings side (with permission) <http://www.lizziedripping.org.uk/dances.html> viewed 05/11/14.

in the Thomas Hardy novel *Far from the Madding Crowd*.¹² Both Martyn Hayes and Blackie O'Connell had been playing tunes which they had imagined were part of the "Irish traditional tune repertory", and both were surprised to learn that these tunes were also known in England. I was therefore interested in the fact that, as these examples demonstrated, there were obvious commonalities between the repertories from England, Ireland and Northumberland (and Scotland, as evident from other examples to be presented later), but that these commonalities are generally unappreciated within the traditional music scene themselves. In fact, the very performance of such tunes by such traditional musicians serves to reinforce the perceptions of the listener or learner of the tunes' local provenance, at the expense of appreciating that these tunes also exist elsewhere.

As mentioned in the case of "Peacock Follows the Hen", some players and teachers prefer to play the melodies absolutely literally as written. However, I also noticed that most experienced players, whether performing, participating in sessions or playing for dancing, spontaneously include embellishments, ornamentations and variations to the melodies which differ each time the tune is played. This improvised heterophony is almost universal among experienced players, since the reprised nature of the melodic phrases would otherwise sound too repetitive and be boring. Consequently, if transcribed, every written version would be unique.

As well as these variations and ornamentations, certain stylistic characteristics will make a tune sound, to informed "folk" audiences, as if it comes from a particular region. For instance, although the fiddle (i.e. violin) is the most common instrument used to play dance tunes throughout Britain and Ireland, it may be played very differently in different places, with varying speeds, and with differing types of stresses and ornamentations. In Scotland, tunes such as "The Laird O' Drumblair" (Figure 3.18) would be played very fast with liberal use of the "spiccato" (off-the-string) style of bowing. In Donegal, the fiddle style is similarly fast with syncopated bowing and double stopping, but the Clare style is slower with more complex, subtle ornamentation as indicated in Figure 1.10. In England, the fiddle playing style incorporates more of a stately bounce with clear gaps between notes. Similarly, with the melodeon, any tune played for English Morris dancers, such as "Hunt the Squirrel" (Figure 1.11), is also played crisply with minimal cross-rowing (especially in East Anglia where one-row melodeons are common) and "vamping" of the bass chords. In Ireland, where the instrument is called an accordion, the same tune will be played much faster and fluidly, with cross-rowing common, and tied bass chords. Playing both these instruments, I found that many of the stylistic variations often heard are facets of the instruments themselves, since

¹² The hero, shepherd Gabriel Oak, attends a country fair to look for work. "Some merry men were whistling and singing by the corn-exchange: Gabriel's hand, which had lain for some time idle in his smockrock pocket, touched his flute, which he carried there. Here was an opportunity for putting his dearly bought wisdom into practice. He drew out his flute and began to play "Jockey to the Fair" in the style of a man who has never known a moment's sorrow. Oak could pipe with Arcadian sweetness, and the sound of the well-known notes cheered his own heart as well as those of the loungers. He played on with spirit, and in half an hour had two or three shillings' worth of coppers." (Hardy, 1874:46).

they each encourage the use of certain grace notes and chords. They also each lend themselves to certain keys better than others, particularly to the self-taught player.

Tunes also become associated with particular regions when they are played on certain instruments which are commonly identified with that geography. Blackie O'Connell's intricately ornamented style of playing "Jockey to the Fair" on the Uilleann pipes rendered it very "Irish" sounding, as opposed to the unadorned, "punchy" style in which it is normally played on the fiddle or melodeon in England. However, the geography itself does not determine the playing style. I have observed how inspirational players are associated with certain embellishments and ornamentations which are widely imitated, and that when they move to different locations, their inspiration moves with them and influences new communities of players. There are also many players who have chosen to play in a "regional style" far removed from their place of residence. The playing style is a facet of personal choice, cultural influences and instrument, rather than of place.

As in the example of "Hunt the Squirrel", the same tunes will often be known by different names depending on location. Sometimes a name will evoke a local landmark or be in a regional dialect. In these cases, it is likely the tune will be known as something else elsewhere. Even if the names are the same or similar, the inclusion of tunes in published tune books or on commercial recordings, almost all of which are region-specific, tend to reinforce their supposed regional origins by association.

I have explained that tunes have different names and are played differently by different players. Given this and the perceived ancient provenance of the genre, I still found it remarkable that so many tunes were common to different places. This is one of the attractions in specializing in this musical genre. Being able to recognize a sizeable number of tunes (as well as understanding the musical genre and being able to predict the rhythms and chord progressions) means that a versatile player will be made welcome in folk music events anywhere across Britain and Ireland. For learners, there are some tunes, such as "Soldier's Joy", "Harvest Home" or "Irish Washerwoman", which are known absolutely everywhere. However, given that the genre is supposed to be "traditional" and originated before modern communications, transport and broadcasting technologies, I wanted to understand the reasons for their observed ubiquity.

I did not believe that specific tunes, or indeed the characteristic musical genre itself, were capable of spontaneously appearing in geographically isolated regions. I suspected the explanation was some kind of historical cultural medium which had sufficient influence and endurance to reach every corner of Britain and Ireland, from Dorset, to the West of Ireland, to the Shetland Isles. My expectation was that this cultural medium was something to do with the shared political and social history of Britain and Ireland prior to the latter's partial

independence in the 1920's. My objective was therefore to study the reasons for the uniformity of this musical genre across both Britain and Ireland. In order to do this, in contrast to the more common approach of modern studies of traditional dance tunes, I decided to treat these countries as a single entity for the purpose of my study.

1.3 Literature review

Initially, I consulted the literature concerned with the origins of the traditional dance music genre in order to find out how it originated and why it is structured as it is. I noticed that the "official" definition of folk music as given by the International Folk Music Council (now the International Council for Traditional Music) includes the statement that:

The term [folk music] can be applied to music that has been evolved from rudimentary beginnings by a community uninfluenced by popular and art music.¹³

It was the mention of these "rudimentary beginnings" which interested me, along with the premise stated in other definitions that folk music, even under alternative names such as "traditional music", was a music category quite distinct to other music styles because it was associated with an aural means of dissemination as opposed to being dependant on either literate or recorded means (Gelbert 2011:3,4). The concept of its origin as a stylistically homogenous entity which evolved in a linear fashion, sometimes varying, sometimes being de-selected, but traceable back to an original form and without having undergone any locational changes, has been described as "Darwinian". This term was first applied in the context of English folk song by Cecil Sharp in 1907 (Porter 1993:62). I found this expectation to be core to most discourse on traditional dance and music. For instance, George Emmerson in his *Rantin' pipe and Tremblin' String: A History of Scottish Dance Music* (1971) described "traditional tunes deriving from a common germinal melodic idea" and the "canon of germinal melodic ideas from which all genuine folk-song derives" (Emmerson 1971:13,15). Presumably, this common melodic idea was what Bruno Nettl¹⁴ was describing in his *Folk and Traditional Music of the Western Continents* (1991:39-48, as having a strophic form with diatonic intervals, seven-tone scales, particular modal arrangements, and an "iso-metric" nature (i.e. dominated by a single metric pattern).

As for the date of its origin, Emmerson (1971:11) stated that "the characteristic native music of the constituent parts of Britain and Ireland was well established by the twelfth century". Nettl suggests a similarly ancient origin in the following extract referring to the folk dances of the wider Europe:

¹³ Journal of the International Folk Music Council (1955), Volume 7, p23.

¹⁴ Emeritus Professor of Musicology, University of Illinois <http://www.music.illinois.edu/faculty/bruno-nettl> viewed 24/11/14.

The dance seems to be the one area of culture in which European trends are similar or closely related to those in other continents. Possibly this means that the older layers of European culture, those which antedate the introduction of Christianity and stem from a time when the European folk cultures would have been classed as primitive or non-literate, have remained present in the dance more than in some other aspects of culture....Gertrude Kurath made a survey of European folk dances and divided the vast array into several types, according to the form and style of dancing...circle, longway (line), and quadrille (square) dances, according to the formation used by the dancers. The point is that each of these forms is found all over Europe, and that similar dances are performed in areas and countries with sharply contrasting cultures. (Nettl 1990:53).

Hugh Ripon¹⁵ also published an account of the origins of early dances in *Discovering English Folk Dance* (1975), which suggested that the variants of Morris dances which are discernable in performances in England today were attributable to cultural and tribal differentiators arising from the *Völkerwanderung* (migration period) of Europe which occurred over the third to sixth centuries C.E.

The origin of these dances is unknown. Written records before the late eighteenth century are scanty and the systematic purging of dances of their pagan religious content by Christian or secular powers has not helped matters. However, the English ritual ceremonial dances have equivalents world-wide ...[examples from Europe to Japan].... The similarities are that these dances are almost all exclusively danced by men and all pre-Christian in derivation, within Europe, many dances and customs still displaying striking elements of pre-Christian belief. There is now little doubt that the regional differences in ritual ceremonial dancing in England coincide with particular areas of settlement after the departure of the Romans, by Celt, Jutes, Angles, Saxons and Scandinavians. Each wave of settlers brought their own inherited interpretation of the ritual ceremonial dance and it is vestiges of these that have come down to us today. (Ripon 1975:21-22).

These extracts imply that the original forms of dance were inherent throughout Europe and hence potentially they were of anthropological significance.

I consulted the folk music literature looking for evidence of instruments which may have been played at this time. I reasoned that the development of the dances would have been synchronous to music. Consequently, any surviving evidence of the instruments used may inform our understanding of the nature of these dances. A dance devised in accompaniment to drums, for example, would be different to that associated with a quieter instrument such as a harp which is an instrument whose muted tone would not have been conducive to the synchronized movement of many pairs of feet. Some accounts suggested that the role of song, particularly "call and refrain", was central to the early history of dance. Many authors including Nettl (1960:61) suggested that the dances originated as communal dance-songs performed around a tree, involving ring dance refrains which were known as "carols" or "ballads". Emmerson (1971:2-8), in the context of the early Scottish dance tune tradition, also suggested labour or work songs ("waulking" or boat songs during mundane activities)

¹⁵ Hugh Ripon was Public Relations Officer of the English Folk Dance and Song Society, and Joint Editor of the Society's magazine "English Dance and Song", from 1960 to 1968. http://www.shirebooks.co.uk/authors/Hugh_Rippon viewed 29/11/14.

had also influenced the form of the dances, and he also suggested “*puirt-a-beul*” (or “tunes from a mouth”) had relevance. Emmerson was one of many authors to draw attention to the clear association of dance tunes with Scottish balladry, particularly the “border ballads” associated with eighteenth century lowland Scotland. This is due to the many coincidences of the names of the ballads with dances.

Looking at the Scottish Lowlands and England, we see evidence as early as the fifteenth century of the development of a variety of communal dances involving simple figures being performed to instruments playing the tunes of popular songs. These were the rural dances which came to be called country dances in sixteenth century England. The Scots and Irish are later seen to call their social dances “reels” (Emmerson 1971:6).

Emmerson refers to early sources such as *The Complaynt of Scotland* (1549)¹⁶ as proof of this. These “border ballads” used an old verse form called “Standard Habbie” which consisted of six lines, of which the first, second, third and fifth lines had four beats and rhyme, while the fourth and sixth lines had two beats and rhyme.¹⁷ Robert Sempell of Renfrewshire (c.1595-1659) was one of the first to use it, following which it was elaborated on by poets Allan Ramsay (1685-1758), Robert Fergusson (1750-74) and most famously by Robert Burns (1759-96). Consequently, it is sometimes known by the alternative title of the “Burns Stanza”.

Bertrand Bronson (1957, 1959 and 1958-72) undertook statistical analyses of the structures of folk song melodies, in which he quantified the distribution of their meters, the number of their phrases, and the positions of their accented notes and cadences. His scheme has been criticized for its failure to account for spontaneity and the limitations of the modal system he used (Porter 1993:72) but nevertheless, he concluded that the number and variety of song melodies were more limited compared to the variety of ballad lyrics. Bronson only analyzed melodies of a certain data set, (which could simply be indicative of the “border ballad” germinal “root”), and crucially for me, he did not consider dance tunes. Nevertheless, given the recognizable affinity between border ballads and dance tunes, it might be expected that there was some relevance between his study and my aim. There is no convincing historical narrative to account for the synergies between border ballads and the dance tune genre found throughout Scotland, England and Ireland, so I was therefore unconvinced by Emmerson’s attempts to ascribe a linear evolution from ballad to dance tune. Secondly, from my experience, I argue there are distinct differences between the two repertoires, not least the fact that the melodies of dance tunes overall are more predictably

¹⁶ A radical political book published in Paris anonymously intended to mock the planned marriage between King Edward VI of England to Mary Queen of Scots.

¹⁷ “Standard Habbie” is named after Robert Sempell’s most famous verse, “The Life and Death of the Piper of Kilbarchan: or The Epitaph of Habbie Simpson”. <http://digital.nls.uk/broadsides/broadside.cfm/id/14468> viewed 17/08/14.

similar in their melodic structure than song. I was therefore convinced that dance tunes warranted their own study and I did not consider Bronson's research to be relevant.

The literature also suggested that there has been much more variety over history in the structure of song melodies than was accounted for in Bronson's work. The *sean nós* style of Gaelic singing is just as recognizable as a folk culture, but this is melodically and rhythmically much more complex than the "border ballad" style, and has no known association with dance. According to Breathnach (1996:27), recent folk music studies have not identified Scots-type labour songs in Gaelic society. In addition, it would be expected that English-language songs of the "border ballad" genre would be a historically recent introduction to Ireland. Such as my research went, there had evidently existed a spectrum of folk song styles in Medieval times, ranging from symbollic to the melismatic, as would be expected given the diversity of languages and customs. A simple "linear evolution" or correlation was therefore unconvincing without some kind of process of cultural transmission.

I then consulted a variety of literature sources¹⁸ on topics such as archeology, iconography and early literature, for any other information on pre-Medieval forms of music-making and dance. Breathnach (1996:2-7) mentioned references to harpers in ancient legend, suggesting that the harp or *cruit* was the main instrument of the nobility affiliated with the centres of Gaelic learning and culture, and that players of the *píopaí*, or wind pipe (which were not the modern bagpipes), were, according to an eleventh century poem, regarded as being of an inferior profession. Music-making was mentioned in several of the Early Irish law tracts, such as the *Senchas Mor*, which dated as far back as the sixth century C.E. As stated by Breathnach, they alluded to the high status of the musician which was inevitably a harper. The narrative Gaelic manuscripts collectively known as the "Irish Sagas" date from the seventh century, although since they frequently corroborate similar fables which were first documented by Roman authors of the second century Gauls, they are considered to be widely circulated sagas of much older provenance. They also mention musical motifs repeatedly. For instance the ninth century epic tale of *Fráech* (a Connaught hero in the Ulster Cycle of Irish mythology) the fable "*Táin Bó Cuailnge*" (the Cattle Raid of Cooley), there is a triad of "rejoicing music", "sleeping music" and "lamenting music".

There are Saxon equivalents to the Irish legends. The best known in England is the saga *Beowulf*. Horn (2010) describes a rounded wooden stringed instrument (now defined as a "round lyre") which was unearthed at the Sutton Hoo Saxon burial site on the Suffolk coast which dates from about 600 to 650 C.E. The instrument was termed a "*hearpe*", and, according to Horn, to date, at least fifteen "*hearpes*" have been found at various sites in England and Germany from this period which shared the same essential characteristics.

¹⁸ Including *Garland Encyclopaedia of World Music Online* (Rice et al 2000).
<http://glnd.alexanderstreet.com.eresources.shef.ac.uk/View/331919> viewed 02/10/11.

Since the Sutton Hoo *hearpe* has six strings, Horn suggested they were tuned to a pentatonic scale (five notes of the scale plus the octave note). On the manner in which it was played, Horn suggested that it was symptomatic with *Beowulf*, therefore suggesting it was played along with the poetry, either as short interludes or else used to reflect its various moods, actions and atmosphere.

The only clue to the musical culture I found of the Pictish society which occupied Scotland in pre-Medieval times, was that of a harper carved into the Dupplin Cross, a ninth century stone cross originally from Perthshire which is now in the National Museum of Scotland.¹⁹

Finally, I referred to interpretations of the writings of a Norman knight, Gerald of Wales (or Geraldus Cambrius), who authored two accounts written in Latin, of music-making among the indigenous populations of Britain and Ireland in the early years of Norman rule. Translated excerpts have been quoted by various authors including Rice et al (2000) and Emmerson (1971). In his treatise "*Descriptio Cambriae*" (1194), Geraldus describes polyphonic singing, and in "*Topographia Hibernica*" (1188) he mentions the use of the *cithara* (lyre) and the *tympanum* (dulcimer) in Ireland, the *cithara*, *tympanum* and *chorus* (*crwth*, a bowed string instrument) in Scotland, and the *cithara*, *tibia* [pipe] and *chorus* in Wales.

These sources all provide clues as to the nature of music-making in various parts of Britain and Ireland in pre-Medieval times. I drew two conclusions. One was that the harp family was the most prominent instrument from the evidence available to us today, and the second was that not one of the sources contained any description or illustration of dancing.²⁰ Nowhere in *Beowulf* is dancing inferred or mentioned. As Emmerson (1971:9) observed, Geraldus Cambrius does not mention any dancing. There is no known iconography depicting dancing anywhere in Britain or Ireland. Whilst *Grove Music Online* seemed to imply, in common with Nettl's expectation, that dance was present in pre-Medieval Ireland as in Europe, it also admitted that no information about it was known in Ireland.

Traditional dance has always been intimately connected with traditional music in Ireland, but there is no information on the nature of Irish dancing (*damhsa* or *rince*) until recent centuries, although it seems to have resembled European dance in general.²¹

The lack of information on dancing in Ireland is reiterated in other literature on Irish traditional music, such as Breandan Breathnach's *A Comprehensive Study Examining the*

¹⁹ <http://www.ancient-scotland.co.uk/site/81> viewed 20/02/11.

²⁰ Two dancers and a lyre player are depicted in a religious manuscript, the "Canterbury Psalter", which is dated to c. 700 C.E. and is now in the British Museum. This represents a biblically inspired motif rather than vernacular custom. (Emmerson 1971:3).

²¹ White, Harry and Carolan, Nicholas. "Ireland." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed September 1, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13901>.

Basic Elements of Irish Folk Music and Dance Traditions (1996), Gearoid Ó hAllmhuráin's²² *Pocket History of Irish Traditional Music* (1998) and Helen Brennen's *The Story of Irish Dance* (1999), as well as Emmerson (1971:2).

History has left no account of dancing in pre-Norman Ireland... there was no native Irish word for dancing. The two common words for dancing, *rince* and *damhsa* (derived from the English "rink" and French "danse") were not used in Irish until the late sixteenth century. (Ó hAllmhuráin 1998:13)

At this point in my literature search, I began to wonder if figured dances had existed at all in pre-Medieval times. Certainly, all three of these books on Irish traditional music proposed events over history during which the import of dances into Ireland had occurred. Ó hAllmhuráin described, variously, "Norman imports" (from the 1100's), the English and Scottish colonizations, the influence of the English theatre, and finally, sheet music dating from the late 1700's:

A huge repertoire of airs and dance tunes serve to index the centuries of exchange between Ireland and Scotland...by the end of the eighteenth century traditional musicians in Ireland and Scotland shared an abundant crop of reels, many attributed to known Scottish composers. "Bonnie Kate", for example... was first published as "the Bonnie Lass of Fisherro" around 1760. It was composed by Daniel Dow, a fiddle player from Perthshire. (Ó hAllmhuráin 1998:68-9).

Breathnach (1996:57,60,61) stated that "country dancing spread from England into Ireland" and that the hornpipe came from England in about 1760. He also suggested that the 9/8 hop or slip jig was not historically peculiar to Ireland, being found in England too, and he quoted an opinion that the jig arrived from Italy (Breathnach 1996:57,59). As well as similar comments to the above, Brennan (1999:22-3,26) suggested that the most influential agents in the spread of dance innovations in the eighteenth century were the dancing masters who, in common with their counterparts in Europe, were instrumental in developing individual dance skills (stepping). They also taught the fashionable group dances, including the introduction of the quadrille and cotillion from France into Ireland in the early nineteenth century, which were to "sweep the country" and penetrate every county by the late nineteenth century, despite pockets of local opposition. She also suggested that Irish migrant labour to, for example, the cotton mills of Lancashire was the reason that "stepping" was also a shared "common heritage" of the Western Isles, the east coast of Scotland, and several English counties.

Similar accounts of various dance types being introduced across Scotland were described in J.F and T.M Fletts' *Traditional dancing in Scotland* (1964). This book was derived from information obtained from interviews held in the 1950's with elderly former dancing masters.

²² Chair of Québec and Canadian Irish Studies at Concordia University, Montréal, Canada. <http://drgearoid.wordpress.com/> viewed 22/11/14.

In it, reels were described as being familiar to every district of Scotland and in all classes of society, including the isolated crofting regions where they were often the only dance known. As a consequence, they were considered to be indigenous to Scotland. However, country dances were stated to have been introduced by the English in about 1700 as a dance of the upper classes and by 1775 were widespread throughout the Lowlands, but they only reached the Highlands and Western Isles in about 1850 where by 1880, they were still termed “modern dances”. The “square dance”, or “quadrille”, was brought from Paris by the upper classes in 1816 after end of Napoleonic wars and adapted into dances called “The Lancers” or “The Caledonians” by the mid 1800’s. Finally, “circle dances”, particularly the polka, were introduced from the continent in the early to mid-1800’s. Subsequent introductions were the common or highland schottische (1849-55), the “polka mazurka”, “la varsovienne” (1853) and the “pas de quatre” (or barn dance) which was introduced from the United States in 1890 (Flett 1964:2-6).

Emmerson (1971) is principally a detailed description of the Scottish dance music tradition as established over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from sources of written music and other biographical and contextual accounts. His description of the tradition before the eighteenth century was inconsistent. Mainly, this is because he seems to be transposing evidence for the “archetypal Scottish reels, strathspeys and highland flings” of the eighteenth century, into earlier centuries, despite the absence of evidence.

By latter half of the seventeenth century, what we now call the “Scottish measures” – in quadruple rhythm - was regarded in England as the characteristically Scottish kind of tune. There is no hint of this style of tune in the sixteenth-century remnants.... We have to wait for the seventeenth-century manuscript collections... The jig, however, is the most widespread of British dance rhythms, even if the Irish have made it their own and may even have created it. The triple-time hornpipe, on the other hand, isassociated with the pastoral regions of England. (Emmerson 1971:20-1)

But these are inconsistent with another excerpt:

Judging from examples of sixteenth century country dance tunes (English, Scots and Irish) collected by Chappell (1893) the prevailing folk dance rhythm south of the Highland line²³ was 6/8, 9/8 and 3/2. (Ibid..p.18).

According to Emmerson, reels and jigs were referred to in literature as dance tunes in the late 1500’s, but there were no records of the tunes, only the survival of the verse structures. He quoted any written sources mentioning song titles that he recognized as later Scottish traditional dances. However, this is not evidence that the dances originated in Scotland. For instance, *The Complaynt of Scotland* (1549) also includes dances named “Robin Hood”

²³The “Highland line” was an imaginary line envisaged by Emmerson (1971:13,18) separating the “Celtic” Gaelic-speaking culture of the Highlands to the north west from the “Germanic” English-speaking culture of the Lowlands to the south east.

(evidently English) and “Base of Voragon”, which Emerson interpreted to be “Basse [danse] of Aragon”. A poem called “Cockelbie’s Sow” which is thought to date to approximately 1450²⁴ also included names of dances recognizable in “various parts of Europe” such as “Orliance”, which is found in a fifteenth century dance book from France²⁵ (Emmerson 1971:11,12,18). Other English sources that Emerson cited as containing later Scottish dances, were Playford (a music publisher in London in the latter seventeenth century), musicians of English King Henry VIII, and Elizabethan (sixteenth century English) literature. Overall, Emerson defined the Scottish dance tradition comprehensively from 1700 onwards, but his attempt to define any particular “Scottishness” to a dance tradition before this date in history served to enhance, rather than negate, evidence that they were present at earlier times in England and the continent. By not considering the aspects of dissemination described by Flett (1964), Emerson’s account was contradictory and conjectural.

Emmerson was also typical of several accounts of Scottish and Irish folk music traditions in which the presence and history of folk traditions from other parts of Britain were completely ignored or understated. An example is the quotation:

The English had many folk musicians of distinction, but they had no tradition of the kind prevailing in Ireland and Scotland, or for that matter, Wales... (Emmerson 1971:8).

Jan Ling²⁶ makes a similar omission in his *A History of European Folk Music* (1997), which described jigs, reels and hornpipes to be the dances of Ireland, except he omitted any acknowledgement that these dances also existed in both Scotland and England.

The dance itself [jig] has many steps and turns, all of which are performed with very difficult jumps. Ireland has come to stand out as its main centre.... Ireland was also important to the development of the hornpipe, and the Irish hornpipe has a profile of its own. The reel is regarded as a medieval dance. It came to Ireland in the late eighteenth century... (Ling 1997:194, citing *The New Grove Dictionary of Music*).

Similarly, Richard Carlin²⁷ in his *English and American Folk Music* (1987) mentioned only Ireland (and, despite the title, not England) in his brief description of traditional dances. Also in the Ethnomusicology shelves of Sheffield University Library, was the *Rough Guide to World Music*. This was primarily concerned with publicising contemporary commercial artists and

²⁴ The poem is part of an anthology of poetry compiled in 1595 by a George Bannatyne (1545-1609) who was an Edinburgh merchant (Lynch 1991:213). The “Bannatyne Manuscript” is held in the National Library of Scotland.

²⁵ “Orleans” is in the instruction manual, *Sur l’Art et instruction de bien dancier*, c.1496, by Michel Toulouse. Emmerson (1971:18).

²⁶ Professor of musicology at the University of Gottenburg, Sweden. <http://www.goart.gu.se/contact-us/staff/jan-ling/> viewed 24/11/14.

²⁷ Executive Editor for Music at Pearson Prentice Hall, U.S.A. <http://www.harpercollins.com/cr-104833/richard-carlin> viewed 21/11/14.

lacked any musical analysis, but it mentioned traditional dance tunes only in the chapter on Ireland and gave no indication they are found in England, or Scotland. The *Rough Guide* series is renowned for factual accuracy²⁸ but in this case, if read in isolation, a distanced reader could acquire the misconception that traditional dance tunes were a culture unique to Ireland, and that “Irish music” was synonymous with “traditional dance music”. I noticed such examples of literature are often written overseas. Ireland has been extremely successful in promoting its traditional music culture abroad but this may have encouraged an unrepresentative perception to be formed overseas that the traditional music culture of Britain is wholly imported from Ireland. Overall, I found that many sources which were available to ethnomusicologists were sometimes brief and over-generalised, and contained information gaps and inconsistencies when compared with the detailed information available in the more specialist literature.

There is, nevertheless, a sizeable volume of literature dedicated to English Morris dancing. I consulted Forrest (1997), Corrsin (1997) and Chandler (2002). Nineteenth century Morris dancers and musicians are well represented, as is speculation about the origin and meaning of the Morris dance. Marsh (2010) also contained additional detail about the persecution of Morris dancers in the seventeenth century. However, tangible facts and inferences about the music played for Morris in the years before Sharp published his field work in 1911, are scarce, and I found no relevant information which was useful to my research. Once again, despite statements in both academic and popular literature that Morris dances originated in prehistory, I searched in the specialist literature, and failed to find any suggestion that Morris dances existed before the fifteenth century. The description by Hugh Ripon that I quoted earlier could not be substantiated by any corroboratory facts contained in this specialist literature.

All this so far seemed to corroborate the suspicions that I was forming that there was no such thing in prehistory as folk dances involving the melodies we recognize today, and instead the culture evident today appeared later, and had a more dynamic history. The commonly held perception in folk music literature that the dances were “static” cultural artifices which had remain unchanged since pre-Medieval times therefore was not substantiated upon detailed examination. It seemed as if it was not unusual for types of dances to arrive into various regions from elsewhere and to be assimilated to the extent that even within a relatively short time, they had become regarded as being archetypal and even indigenous. I did, however, find this concept was the topic of discussion in relation to origins of folk songs. Folk song collector A. L. Lloyd suggested in the 1950’s that England’s road network was extremely effective in disseminating songs (Campbell 2012:89) which explained their appearances in different places. Harker (1985) also highlighted the role of the railways

²⁸ The *Rough Guide to Irish Music* (Rough Guides, 1991) is also quoted in a review of the *Encyclopedia of Music in Ireland*, as reviewed in *Ethnomusicology Forum* (Vo. 23 No. 3, pp.445-51, December 2014).

(both construction and use of), and in relation to earlier times, he referred to the wandering (Medieval) minstrels, hawkers of the written song sheets (whether broadsheet ballads, chapbooks or small song books or “Garlands”), itinerant singers and balladeers, and showmen in seasonal fairs and festivals including Mummers and the “fit-up theatres”. Studies of specific song melodies over history have also been published by Gilchrist (1932, 1941), Thomson (1975), Darlington (1992, 1995) and Dennant (2013). Finally, Peters (2014) and Grant (2014)²⁹ have also highlighted the role played over the twentieth century of radio, television and commercial bands in the popularizing of certain well-known folk songs today, namely, “The Wild Rover” and “Auld Lang Syne” respectively, as did Darlington (1992) in respect of the “Trumpet Hornpipe”.

Harker’s chief aim in highlighting these methods of song dissemination was to support his challenge of the very existence of folk music at all, asserting that it really only originated as a fabricated “bourgeoisie culture” which was created cynically by the “literate, urban classes” and misrepresented on behalf of the “true working classes”. Georgina Boyes’ *The Imagined Village* (1993) dented folk music orthodoxy further by questioning the validity of the rose-tinted portrayal of bucolic, rural, idyllic English village communities, in which Morris sides as promoted by Sharp were pagan rituals dating back to antiquity. The self-contained village community, as Raymond Williams (1973) had suggested, had been far from reality in England since the seventeenth century. Together with Hobsbawm and Ranger’s (1986) discussion on the invention of traditions, and Ronald Hutton (1996) who re-examined the origins of some specific customs, these scholars collectively represented the “revisionist” stance. They challenged the validity of the concept of “folk music” as an unadulterated expression of the viewpoint of the true working classes.

Harker (1972, 1985) and Boyes (1996) based their arguments on the premise that those individuals who collected and described folk songs (and dances) in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, had deliberately doctored the “true” folk music for their own purposes, or, as Harker put it, “promoted their own bourgeois nationalist ideologies”. Harker and Boyes’ arguments were constructed from their recognition of discrepancies and misrepresentations in the cataloguing of songs and music by the enthusiasts who founded the Folk Song Society, its successor the EFSS, and various affiliated regional “folk” societies. Harker’s criticism also extended to publishers of Scottish and English songs dating back to the seventeenth century. Such a reactionary stance made it inevitable that the foundation of Harker’s and Boyes’s arguments would be similarly intensely scrutinized. For instance, Harker was accused by Bearman (2000, 2001, 2002) of misrepresenting his own data for his own ideological reasons, and Boyes’ factual accuracy was questioned by Heaney (2003) (although Heaney’s comments in turn are questioned by Ridgewell 2004).

²⁹ Paper presented by Morag J Grant entitled “Should auld acquaintance be forgot” Scottish and global renderings of Auld Lang Syne in the late twentieth and early twentieth centuries” presented at a conference Understanding Scotland Musically, University of Newcastle, 20-21 October 2014.

Meanwhile, the reputation of Cecil Sharp in particular, which was particularly challenged by Harker and Boyes, was defended by Mike Yates (former editor of EFDSS *Folk Music Journal*) and Vic Gammon (1986) amongst others. There is lengthy discourse on this topic in the literature as presented, for example, by Pickering (1990) and Porter (1993). As these discussions were overwhelmingly centred on folk song, and generally lacked musical analysis, I did not originally consider this topic relevant to my study and my research was launched independent of this debate.

Much of the more specialist literature on traditional music I read was overwhelmingly defined according to modern political boundaries. This is also true of the structure of *Grove Music Online* and *Garland Encyclopaedia of World Music Online*, in which relevant information on dance tunes is distributed amongst different articles addressing traditional music separately for Ireland, Scotland, Wales or England. The topic is therefore very much approached in precisely the opposite way as the Europe-wide generalization preferred by Bruno Nettl, whose following excerpt demonstrates that too much generalism surpasses the ability to make any useful conclusion:

Most of the European styles are rather similar to each other. And on the whole, those that are geographically close to each other are also the most closely related in terms of musical style. (Nettl 1990:38)³⁰.

I also noticed a tendency to try and attribute dance types, such as “reel”, “hornpipe”, “polka” etc. to a particular region. I observed this with *Grove Music Online*, whose contributing authors included those associated with folk music organizations, such as Francis Collinson³¹ (articles on the reel, and Scottish traditional music), and Margaret Dean-Smith³² (articles on the jig and the hornpipe) despite the following statement that:

Until the early nineteenth century the terms jig, hornpipe and reel were used interchangeably, as none of them was a distinct form in either style or rhythm.³³

Based on both my own observations as well as some of the accounts already described, these attempts to ring-fence the regional traditions according to dance type did not stand up to scrutiny. The excerpts I quoted earlier, which hinted of jigs, reels and hornpipes all having had dynamic histories of introduction and adoption, matched my own observations

³⁰ Nettl bases his account over just two pages under the sub-heading “British (and British-American) Fiddle Tunes” and included, as examples, just one “British-American fiddle tune”, one “Dutch folk dance tune” and one “Swedish polska”.

³¹ Francis Collinson (1898-1984) was the first musical research fellow at Edinburgh University’s School of Scottish Studies in 1951, and collected Scots and Gaelic songs over the 1960’s and 1970’s. Source: <http://www.efdss.org/news/newsld/128> viewed 13/12/14.

³² Margaret Dean-Smith (1899-1997) was Librarian of the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library from 1945-1950. Source: <http://maryneal.org/object/6158/> viewed 20/05/13.

³³ Dean-Smith, Margaret. "Jig." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed September 1, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14307>

which were that the observed ubiquity of certain tunes was perhaps a facet of modern community habits rather than indigenous culture. Overall, I felt that accounts which focussed on the attribution of particular dance types to various locations obfuscated the wider question of the origin and history of the genre overall.

Finally, I encountered several references to a so-called “Celtic” / “Germanic” cultural distinction:

In Britain and Ireland, the Celtic and Germanic traditions widely intermingle in varying proportions although the two cultural streams are discernible. Emerson (1971:13).

Seeing other references to these “Celtic” and “Germanic” cultures (including in *Grove Music Online*) I explored the literature explaining their background and rationale.

The “Germanic” moniker seemed to be traceable to the German ethnocentrism which characterized early literature on folk music, as discussed by Bohlman (1998), Corrsin (2001) and Gelbart (2011). It originated from the first coining of the concept of “Volkslied”, or “folklore”, by Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) in 1773. Herder, however, developed this concept as a result of his admiration of a book of poetry which was attributed to a third century Scots Gallic bard called “Ossian” (Gelbart 2011:66,102). This so-called “Ossianic poetry” was hugely popular throughout Europe at the time of its publication, and was to influence both the Europe-wide Romantic movement and the Gaelic revival. However, as Gelbart (2011:241) pointed out, “Ossian” was entirely fictitious, as it is now thought to have been invented by the Scottish poet James Macpherson in 1760 to popularize his poems. Nevertheless, Herder wrote that he considered “Ossian” as the “northern” counterpart to Homer and suggested that the Germans were part of this Northern heritage and that the Scots and the Celts were ancestrally German. This may explain the startling use of the term “Germanic peoples” by Nettl (1990), who used it to mean “the British, including the Scots and Irish, the Scandinavians, and the Dutch and the German-speaking peoples of Germany, Austria, most of Switzerland, and other areas in Eastern Europe” (Nettl 1990:57). The extracts I have referred to in his book are from a Chapter called “The Germanic Peoples including the “Scots” and Irish” and an example of his use of the term follows:

We should avoid the conclusion that the style of Germanic music goes back to the time when all Germanic peoples were one and spoke one tongue, and the equally erroneous assumption that the Germanic-speaking peoples possess a psychic unity ... whatever musical similarities are found are due almost certainly to cultural contact in more recent times, that is, from the early Middle Ages on. (Nettl 1990:58).

Whilst I quote this as an example of Nettl’s unorthodox way of describing these populations which speakers of Celtic languages in particular would question, I also observe that it also

contradicted Nettl's previous statements suggesting that the musical similarities were due to cultural contact "from the Middle Ages on".

Another facet of Germanic ethnocentrism which has influenced folk music studies was the significance afforded to an account of tribal sword dancing, by Tacitus, a first century Roman scholar. Tacitus envisaged tribal ceremonies in the land north of the Roman Empire (which he never visited) which was known to the Romans as "Germania". Tacitus' treatise, *Germania and Agricola*³⁴ was a crucial source of reference for Karl Müllenhoff (1818-1884) in his explanation of the sword dances he described being performed at locations in continental Europe in the 1870's (Corrsin 2001:33,20). From his linking of the two, Müllenhoff proposed the concept of cultural continuity ("Kontinuität") which assumes that all such dances dated back unchanged to pre-historic times. The idea that ancient mythology was directly manifest in contemporary folk customs was developed further by Wilhelm Mannhardt (1831-1880) and other German, Austrian and Scandinavian scholars in the early twentieth century. This, then, seemed to explain the origins of the ritualistic aspects of the accounts by Bruno Nettl, Hugh Ripon and in *Grove Music Online*, with Nettl also drawing on the Germanic-centric approach of his academic predecessors. It is important to note that this promotion of the relevance of prehistoric ritual ceremony seems to have derived from unsubstantiated inferences made in a single written excerpt which is now widely thought to be apocryphal.

The apparent antithesis to the "Germanic" culture (if Emerson is to be believed) is the "Celtic" culture. The word "Celtic" was originally coined in 1707 by a linguist as an adjective to describe common aspects of the Gaelic spoken in Ireland and the Scottish Highlands and Islands, along with Welsh and Cornish spoken in Wales and Cornwall respectively.³⁵ The coincidence of Scotland and Ireland being the locations of both Celtic languages as well as vibrant traditions of dance tunes, is regarded as significant in some literature, particularly that which regards the culture as being only Irish or Scottish. So-called "Celtic music" is amalgamated with wider aspects of "Celtic cultures" in academic literature on ethnomusicology, as well as popular literature, such as Ripon quoted above³⁶ or, for

³⁴ The following is from Blakeney (1908). The account reads: "Their public spectacles boast of no variety. They have but one sort, and that they repeat at all their meetings. A band of young men make it their pastime to dance entirely naked amidst pointed swords and javelins. By constant exercise, this kind of exhibition has become an art, and art has taught them to perform with grace and elegance." In nineteenth century Germany, this was regarded as being a literal and accurate historical account. Corrsin (2001:34,5) and Winder (2010:20-2) both state the contemporary consensus of thought which is that Tacitus' objective was an indirect criticism on the degenerate, corrupt and over-sophisticated elements of imperial Rome, of which Tacitus disapproved, by contrasting Rome unfavourably with the "noble savagery" of the "German" tribes, i.e. the populations living beyond the Roman regions of influence and whom the Romans were famously unable to subdue. Several passages are reportedly uncannily similar to a style of literary ethnography dating from earlier Greek models, with many phrases seemingly lifted directly from identifiable Greek writings of other "barbarian" peoples.

³⁵ The term celtic in its linguistic sense was used in 1707 by Edward Llyud in his *Archaeologia Britannica: an Account of the Languages, Histories and Customs of Great Britain, from Travels through Wales, Cornwall, Bas-Bretagne, Ireland and Scotland*.

³⁶ Incorrectly, as "waves of settlements by Celts" pre-dated and not post-dated the Romans. Davies (1999).

example, Hast & Scott (2014).³⁷ “Celtic music” was unheard of in the traditional music scene in Britain and Ireland before the genre’s transformation into a commercial commodity over the last thirty years or so. It is now exploited by professional players to increase their market share abroad.³⁸ Some British Universities also offer courses in “Celtic Studies” which includes consideration of the local traditional dance tune culture. I therefore consulted some literature with “Celtic” and “Music” in the title;- Sawyers’ *Celtic Music A Complete Guide* (2000), Reiss’ *Tradition and Imaginary: Irish Traditional Music and the Celtic Phenomenon* (2003) and Stokes and Bohlman’s *Celtic Modern: Music at the Global Fringe* (2003). The “Celtic Fringe” represents the regions of Europe within which Celtic languages are still spoken; Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Brittany and Catalonia (and even Cornwall is included although its language has now died out). These languages are, however, mutually indecipherable. Cultural cohesion between these geographies is feeble compared to that with their parent nations, where relevant. I found this literature to be largely imaginative and romantic in vision, cultural and contemporary in focus, and anthropological rather than musical in approach. An example is Stokes and Bohlman³⁹ which begins with a discussion on “Celtic mysticism” and the rejuvenation of Arthurian Britain (Stokes and Bohlman 2003:1-26). This literature provided no particular insight into the history of the dance tunes or why they are now associated with these regions and seemed to be promoting an imaginary, anachronistically named “Celtic super-culture” which was only a fabricated academic concept. Whether inspired by perceived geographical affiliations or a proven common historical origin, the justification of the use of the Celtic moniker in respect of dance tunes was not demonstrated in any literature I could find, nor recognizable from my personal experience, nor supported by any archaeological, iconographic or literary accounts that I read. I concluded that these so-called “Celtic” regions have been amalgamated into a single study discipline through tenuously fabricated concepts I did not consider plausible or representative. It was as allegorical as the so-called combined “Germanic” culture.

Traditional folk music practitioners of my knowledge do not hold any importance to either the “Celtic” or the “Germanic” monikers, although national and regional identities are frequently defended. The outlooks of these musical communities are represented in periodicals published by special interest societies. These are intended for, and written by, actual players and dancers. These may be societies representing players of specific instruments, such as

³⁷ The “Celtic Age” is frequently referred to in populist publications. For instance, in Hast & Scott’s *Music In Ireland: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture* (2004), Chapter 2 which is titled *Historical Continuities: Music, Dance and the Making of a Nation*, and begins with a map of “Celtic Ireland” in the approximate year A.D. 800.

³⁸ Martin Hayes, a recording artist and fiddler from Co. Clare, currently living in Seattle, [says] “If somebody sees my fiddle case on an airplane, and asks me what I play I say “Celtic music”. If I were to say Irish music he likely wouldn’t know what I was talking about”. Reiss (2003:146).

³⁹ Philip V. Bohlman is the Mary Werkman Distinguished Service Professor of Music and the Humanities at the University of Chicago, and Honorarprofessor at the Hochschule für Musik, Theater und Medien Hannover, Germany. <http://music.uchicago.edu/page/philip-v-bohlman> viewed 25/11/14. Martin Stokes is King Edward Professor of Music at the King’s College London. <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/artshums/depts/music/people/acad/stokes/index.aspx> viewed 25/11/14.

the Bagpipe Society, Na Píobairí Uilleannn and the Lowland and Border Pipers' Society, or else advocates of regional traditions, such as the Royal Scottish Country Dancing Society (RSCDS), the Seán Reid Society, the Folk Music Society of Ireland (now discontinued), the English Folk Dance and Song Society (EFDSS), and the Early Dance Circle. I found some useful analytical articles on dance tunes or their sources in these publications, such as the following which informed this study: Rowlands (2009) and Tose (2009a,b,c) in the Bagpipe Society magazine *Chanter*, Woods (2009) and Shepherd (2011) in the EFDSS magazine *English Dance and Song*, Darlington (1992, 1995), Dennant (2013) in *Folk Music Journal* also published by EFDSS, and Donnelly (2002) and McLeod (2002) in the *Seán Reid Society Journal*. Many players are now associated with tertiary educational establishments such as the School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh, the Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies at Glasgow University, Aberdeen University, the Irish World Academy of Music and Dance at Limerick University, and Sheffield and Newcastle Universities. These institutions sponsor papers in further journals such as the *Journal of Irish Music and Dance*, *Scottish Studies*, *Ethnomusicology Forum* and the *Yearbook for Traditional Music* (formerly the *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*) which is published by the International Council for Traditional Music. All of these journals, however, tend to publish regionally-focused papers defined by modern administrative or political boundaries, and even down to the microcosms of villages and individuals. Within them, I did not find any papers concerned with questions connected with the uniformities of the musical genre across different regions.

In summary, my literature search revealed no coherent, detailed or authenticated theory explaining the origin of the traditional dance tune genre, why the dances and their music are structured as they are, and why they are now so commonly thought of as traditional across different parts of Britain and Ireland. In some accounts, I found suggestions that there was a dynamic aspect to dances being introduced and spreading across countries. However, overall, there was no literature with the appropriate level of legitimacy, in both detail and geographic scope, which could answer my question about why there are such evident commonalities in the traditional dance tune genre throughout Britain and Ireland.

The dance tunes themselves have been published continuously since the seventeenth century, and further unpublished manuscripts continue to be discovered and catalogued by enthusiasts and folk scholars both on-line and in print. Dance tunes from older and much more fragile sources have been collated and republished in interpretative anthologies by scholars such as Davison and Apel (1949), Sabol (1959, 1978), Fuller-Maitland and Squire (1963), Evans (1967) Andrews (1969), Barlow (1985), O Sullivan (1993) and Fleishmann (1998). Additionally, opportunities for first hand study of the original documents have been recently exponentially increased thanks to the availability on-line of library collections and databases. Some on-line databases are sponsored by local authorities, societies or Universities, but others are entirely the work of enthusiasts. In addition, of course, are players' tune-books

which have never been out of print, and continue to be published in response to the current heightened interest in playing traditional music. My study does, after all, seek to explain the reason for the similarities of tunes I observed being played today. Having identified from my review the lack of any existing literature which could answer my question, I therefore decided to start afresh and focus my study specifically on the dance tunes of Britain and Ireland as found written down in their original, primary sources.

1.4 Methodology

My methodology was inspired by an article published in *Chanter*, the magazine of the Bagpipe Society, by Dave Rowlands (2009) which chartered the history of a particular dance tune called "Tripping up the Stairs". Rowlands compared versions of the tune as it appeared in various historical documents dating back to 1748. From these, he described the tune's travels across Britain, Ireland and further afield, and drew attention to the fact it had undergone changes in key, modality, meter and name over this period.

Following Rowland's example, I compiled histories of several other dance tunes from my own repertoire. Some I knew to be popular and relatively widely-known throughout much of Britain and Ireland, such as "Soldier's Joy", "Black Joke" and "Princess Royal". I also chose less popular tunes, since understanding why some are less well travelled than others would also be informative. The tunes whose histories particularly informed this study included "Peacock Followed the Hen", "Seven Stars", "Because He Was a Bonny Lad", "Farewell to the Dene / Friendly Visit", "Hunt the Squirrel", "Leshley's March", "Morgan Rattler", "Andrew Kerr", "Oswestry Wake", "Rakes of Mallow", "Yellow Haired Laddie" and "Maggie Lauther".

An example of the summary from one of my researched tune histories is presented in the table overleaf. This table lists all the versions of "Hunt the Squirrel" that I identified from historical primary source documents.

Date	Name of Collection containing a Written Version of "Hunt the Squirrel".		Place of Publication	Figure in this study	D/A/M/C
1709	Playford V1 E14	The Dancing-master: Or, Directions for dancing country dances, with the tunes to each dance, for the treble-violin. The fourteenth edition, containing above 350 of the choicest old and new tunes now used at court, and other publick places. The whole work revised and done in the new ty'd-note, and much more correct than any former editions.	London	Figure 4.1	D-15 / D-156
1713	Playford V1 E15	Dancing-Master: Or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance for the Treble-Violin. The Fifteenth Edition, containing above 350 of the choicest Old and New Tunes now used at Court, and other Publick Places.	London		D-16 / D-157
1716	Playford V1 E16	As above.	London		D-17 / D-158
1718	Walsh	The Complete Country Dancing Master, particularly those performed at the several Masquarades	London		D-281
1721	Playford V1 E17	Dancing-Master.;The. Vol. The First. or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance for the Treble-Violin. The 17th Edition, containing 358 of the choicest Old and New Tunes now used at Court, and other Publick Places.	London		D-18 / D-159
1728	Playford V1 E18	As above.	London		D-19 / D-160
1731	Walsh	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1731	London		D-286
1735	Walsh	The Complete Country Dancing Master, particularly those performed at the several Masquerades	London		D-301
1760	Walsh	The Complete Country Dancing Master, particularly those performed at the several Masquerades (4 th ed)	London		D-302
c.1710-1750	Holmain	Unpublished manuscript from Dumfriesshire			M-72
1783	Clement Weeks	Unpublished manuscript from New Hampshire, US			
1789	Cushing	Unpublished manuscript (written for German flute) from Connecticut, US			
1912	Sharp	The Sword Dances of Northern England Book II	London	Figure 5.28	A-168
1922	Sharp	Country Dance Tunes Part 6	London		A-145
1984	Raven	1000 English Country Dance Tunes	W Yorkshire	Figure 1.9	C-45
2003	Kirkpatrick	John Kirkpatrick's English Choice (variant called "Hunting the Squirrel, P38-9).	W Yorkshire		C-21

Principal source: http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/HUN_HY.htm viewed 22/04/12 and verified from original source documents where possible.

I compiled this and the other tune histories from tune books in my possession, from the resources of the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library,⁴⁰ and from the Internet. Three Internet sources which contained particularly useful information regarding the various appearances of dance tunes over history, were "Fiddler's Companion"

⁴⁰ Located at Cecil Sharp House, London, where the English Folk Dance and Song Society (EFDSS) is based.

<http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/index.html>, "Musical Traditions" <http://www.mustrad.org.uk/> and "Folkopedia" (http://folkopedia.efdss.org/Tune_Index) (all accessed on dates between 2010 and 2013).⁴¹ Certain discussion forums for folk music enthusiasts were also important sources⁴² although as their contents were unmoderated, all information obtained from them required verification by checking primary sources wherever possible. When I was unable to obtain this verification, I have made this clear.

Three internet portals were invaluable in their capacity as databases allowing the searching for, and location of, specific tunes. Of these, the most useful was the Colonial Music Institute (CMI) website <http://www.colonialmusic.org/>. This contains two databases compiled by Robert M. Keller. The first is "*The Dancing Master, 1651-1728: An Illustrated Compendium*"⁴³ which is fully indexed and searchable, with links to facsimiles of every page. The second is "*Dance Figures Index: English country dances*"⁴⁴ which lists publications containing instructions for country dances, although no music or facsimiles are provided here and have to be located from elsewhere.⁴⁵ The third is Folk Archive Resource North East (FARNE, <http://www.folknortheast.com/>) which also combined useful search functions for tunes with facsimiles of the original documents. Other websites I consulted are cited in the references and appendices.

While collating various versions of the dance tunes, I found that many of the primary source documents which contained the tunes were also available to view on the Internet. Portals such as British Library Archive and Manuscripts <http://searcharchives.bl.uk> and the Wellesley College Library http://archive.org/details/Wellesley_College_Library gave access to facsimiles of the original documents, as did Gale "Eighteenth Century Collections Online" (ECCO), a database accessed via Sheffield University MUSE. The "Gallery of Historic Dance and Tune Books", launched by the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library in August 2012 (<http://library.efdss.org/cgi-bin/dancebooks.cgi>.) and the Village Music Project (VMP) website <http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/pcroom/BLcat.htm#>⁴⁶ was also useful for

⁴¹ After the completion of my study I also found this resource:

http://folkopedia.efdss.org/wiki/List_of_historical_tunebooks,_some_of_which_are_available_on_the_internet

⁴² <http://www.thesession.org> (describes itself as concerned with "mostly traditional Irish music"), <http://forum.melodeon.net/index.php>, and <http://www.mudcat.org> ("an online community of musicians, historians and enthusiasts that collect and discuss traditional folk and blues songs, folklore and lyrics").

⁴³ Source: <http://www.izaak.unh.edu/nhltmd/indexes/dancingmaster/>. The reproduction of some of the dances from this source is quite poor. Alternative facsimiles of the dances from the first edition are at http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/playford_1651/. The locations of other (non-indexed) scanned facsimiles of various editions are indicated in Appendix 3.

⁴⁴ Source: <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/Index.htm>. Each item includes guidance on the dance figures, but does not include the music. It was compiled by of the Colonial Music Institute, Annapolis, Maryland, and created and published March 25, 2006, © 2006.

⁴⁵ The Website "Regency Dances Org" <http://regencydances.org/sources.php> also provides links several collections included in both Appendices 3 and 4.

⁴⁶ Considered by VMP to be a 'work in progress' and last updated on 09/12/08. <http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/pcroom/BLcat.htm#>.

examining the contents of further source documents through the transcription of the tunes in ABC format. It also contained a list of source documents collated by John Adams over five days' work on the British Library catalogue, extracting all the items identified by a search on the words country dance. No titles, music or facsimiles are included at this source but the originals could often be located from elsewhere.

Once I had catalogued a reasonable number of dance tunes and examined the primary source documents from which they came, I found that the latter could be categorized into four types according to their purpose, format, and ages. I therefore segregated my documents into four lists. Each list represents an Appendix, numbered 1 to 4. For ease of identification, I use the abbreviation C, M, D, A to denote the cross-reference for each of the documents so that each one may be easily referred to and linked to the appropriate appendix. Documents referenced with "C" denotes modern collections (Appendix 1), "M" is for unpublished manuscripts (Appendix 2), "D" is for country dance publications (Appendix 3) and "A" represents antiquarian tune-books (Appendix 4). The modern collections listed in rows 1 and 2 of Appendix 1 would be C-1 and C-2 for example. These CDMA references are in the right hand column of the example tune history above. It is my research into, and descriptions of, the distinguishing features of the categories of tune-books listed in each of these four Appendices in turn which has guided the structure and approach of this dissertation and informed my findings.

With some exceptions, the categorization of most of the primary source document references into the appropriate Appendix was made based on their title and other circumstantial evidence and may require re-categorization upon further investigation. Some of these records appear more than once, either within Appendix 3 or else in both Appendices 3 and 4. To prevent inadvertent deletions, I decided not to attempt to combine these duplicate entries. Where identified, they are referenced in the text as D-23 / D-455 for example. I also observed that the dates assigned to some documents by the ECCO database differ to those dates assigned to them by the CMI or VMP websites. I have not attempted to correct these.

The on-line resources enable different versions of the same dance tunes to be easily identified despite having different names. They also allow the historical primary source documents to be easily located and checked, often for the first time, since some of them were digitized and uploaded during the period of my research. Without the Internet, these tasks could not have been achieved without years of searching in libraries. These facilities continue to expand making the timing of this study particularly opportune.

1.5 Overview of Chapters

In chapter 2, I describe the role that notated music plays today in the dissemination and alteration of tunes, in order to justify why I used them for my research. I illustrate this by using examples of written tunes commonly played from contemporary tune-books published from 1968 onwards (listed in Appendix 1) and the Internet.

Having made a case for the relevance of music scores in meeting the objectives of this study, in chapter 3, I describe some of the historical manuscripts I examined while researching my tune histories. These unpublished hand-written manuscripts, or copy-books, date from the late seventeenth century to the mid-twentieth century and are listed in Appendix 2. From their contents, known biographical information of their compilers, and the frequency with which the same dance tunes are present in manuscripts from different places, I concluded that the majority of these dance tunes had been copied from pre-existing written sources. This practice may be equated with contemporary methods of acquiring dance tunes.

In chapter 4, I examine the published books of country dances which I suggest were some of the sources of dance tunes used by the people who compiled the hand-written manuscripts. Those I have identified are listed in Appendix 3 and were published between the dates of 1651 and 1827. They consisted of single-line melodies with choreographies for figured dances. As there is no evidence of any “countryside” origins for these tunes, I also propose an alternative theory for the term “country dance”, and I also describe scores dating back to the fifteenth century which were the original forms of this genre of melodies.

In chapter 5, I describe the final category of tune-books that I identified during my research of tune histories, and use them to explain how the dance tunes were gradually “antiquarianized” over time. This is a term I use to describe how the genre came to be considered to be of ancient origin and the tunes “traditional” to particular locations. This process may be traced through the gradual change in purpose of the published tune-books. By the early twentieth century, the collections were fully “antiquarianized” and the dance tunes were described as “ancient”, “primitive” and “traditional”.

Finally, in chapter 6, I discuss some reasons why scholars from the twentieth century onwards described the tunes using terms such as “Irish”, “Celtic”, and “of the folk”. I demonstrate how the outmoded ideologies behind these beliefs continue to exert their influence over both participants and scholars of folk music.

I illustrate this study with examples of dance tunes which may be heard in sessions or other folk arts activities in the Sheffield region and beyond. I have taken my examples from sources

listed in the four Appendices described. Conventional literature sources and Internet sources are cited in the bibliography. Of these, where reference texts were read on a Kindle or the Internet and page numbers were absent, only the chapter numbers (Ch.IX etc.) are given.

1.6 Summary of Chapter 1

The objective of this dissertation was to challenge, through original research, theories concerning the history of the musical genre of traditional dance tunes of Britain and Ireland which I felt were unconvincing. These theories, prevalent in both popular and academic circles, assume that the genre originated as “common melodic idea” which was ubiquitous among pre-Medieval societies throughout Europe. I identified inconsistencies in the literature, and I suggested these may exist because the topic has not been studied before with Britain and Ireland as a single entity. I therefore began my study by ignoring modern administrative and political boundaries, and approached my research using primary sources of written music from all regions of Britain and Ireland.

2 The Role of Written Music in the Transmission of Dance Tunes

The received wisdom is that folk music is transferred from person to person without the use of written music. I will argue that this may not be entirely representative. I demonstrate the importance of the role that written music plays nowadays amongst traditional players. Using my observations, I justify my approach in using historical written scores in order to derive my history of this musical genre.

2.1 Methods of Learning Dance Tunes

Many written accounts describing traditional dance tunes as types of folk music assume that learning by ear is the way in which they were always transmitted.

Folk music is the product of a musical tradition that has been evolved through the process of oral transmission. The factors that shape the tradition are: (i) continuity which links the present with the past; (ii) variation which springs from the creative impulse of the individual or the group; and (iii) selection by the community which determines the form or forms in which the music survives.⁴⁷

Folk music: Music originating among the common people of a nation or region and spread about or passed down orally, often with considerable variation.⁴⁸

The tradition is largely an oral one, with tunes being handed on from player to player in performance. (O'Connor 2000:171).

This oral tradition and the passing of song and melodies from singer to singer and musician to musician by way of impromptu sessions or jams is a recurring theme in the history of Celtic music. (Meluish 1998:26).

However, from my experience, I suggest that it is not entirely accurate to assume that oral transmission, i.e. learning tunes by ear, is the *only* method used. Some experienced players pick up well-known tunes "by osmosis" after a few hearings, and a very small proportion of players do not read music at all. However, many equally experienced players do not learn by ear. In any case, in the sessions, it is considered bad form, irrespective of the musician's ability, to attempt to play along to a tune before it is adequately fluent or entirely committed to memory. Instead, new tunes are acquired by making a note of their name, looking them up either in published collections or, nowadays, on the Internet, and then practicing to proficiency at home. Similar observations were made in the description of a Sheffield session by Stock

⁴⁷ "Classic" definition of folk music by the International Folk Music Council (IFMC 1955: 23) as quoted in the definition of "folk music" in *The Oxford Companion to Music*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed September 1, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e2609>. Also quoted in Myers (1993).

⁴⁸Source: <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/folk+music> viewed 19/05/13.

(2004). The form of music referred to for this process is usually standard musical notation, although I have noticed that players in Ireland more commonly rely on the “ABC” system of notation.⁴⁹ Players also swap scores. Fifteen years ago, this was by sending out photocopies of sheet music in the post but now, this is by email. Tape recorders and newer technologies as described in Keegan-Phipps (2013) have also been used to record tunes, and whilst this does not involve written music, the point I am making is that that learning tunes requires much more work by the player away from a session than is often realised by an observer. This fact can be overlooked in accounts describing traditional music sessions where the author has assumed that all tunes have been transmitted among players solely during their interaction in sessions accessible to the public.

Presumably connected to the assumed predominance of oral transmission, I have encountered the term “lateral diffusion” to describe the spread of a certain melody to different locations.⁵⁰ This is that someone makes up a tune and it simply spreads apparently like a rain shower across otherwise impassable distances, even leaving voids in between. Given the limited social mobility of the working classes prior to the twentieth century, I believed that historically, this process was unlikely to have occurred. I was also aware that nowadays, certain tunes become popular for reasons quite unrelated to simple neighbourly transferal. Instead, their spread will be stimulated by the influence of popular individuals, the promotion of a particular tune-book, or a well-known recording. I therefore began by outlining the ways in which dance tunes are learnt by traditional music players today. In doing so, I also considered the factors which may influence their selection and popularity.

2.2 The Written Representation of the Dance Tune Genre

In chapter 1, I suggested that the dance tune genre is remarkably homogenous throughout Britain and Ireland. However, whilst the dance tunes share certain diagnostic characteristics, I have noticed how the various written forms of any particular tune can vary under different circumstances. Some musical features tend to remain unchanged but others alter significantly. I present examples of tunes from contemporary dance tune collections (Appendix 1) and the Internet to illustrate these observations and suggest some reasons for them.

The diagnostic characteristics of the dance tune genre may be described as follows. The melodies have simple tonal structures with a home pitch or tonic, and intervals of five tones

⁴⁹ For instance, at least two prominent Uilleann pipers performing at the “International Uilleann Piping Weekend” in Derry / Londonderry in November 2012 could not read music and relied wholly on ABC notation.

⁵⁰ Forrest (1999:7-8) in relation to how a Francis Peck, writing in 1740, was responding to trends in antiquarianism, says “[Peck] initiated the general search for ways and means for the “folk” to act as vehicles for the transmission of “folk arts” across Europe, working on the assumption that such arts always existed in a particular socioeconomic plane and tended to diffuse laterally between similar classes in different regions, rather than vertically between different classes”. The “diffusionist principle of centrifugality” has been developed in the study of folklore to explain the existence of similar cultural traits in widely dispersed societies. (McCormick & Kennedy White 2011:442).

and two semitones making up a scale. They are based upon the reprise of a limited number of easily memorized melodic units which are most commonly made up of strains of eight bars (measures). Each strain, or part, is repeated at least once. Most dance tunes are in binary form, i.e. comprise two parts, in which case they are played AABB and are 32 bars long. The melodic range of the B strain often rises above that of the A strain. However, some have more parts with three or four being most common (AABBCC or AABBCCDD) as shown in Figures 2.4 and 2.14 below. The number of bars in each part can often be the same, but a significant proportion of melodies have B parts which are longer. For instance, "Princess Royal" (Figures 4.8, 5.1 etc.) has eight bars (A part) followed by twelve (B part), and "Black Joke" (Figure 4.10, 4.12 etc) has six bars (A part) followed by ten (B part).

Although a large proportion of melodies are in the major or minor modes, unlike classical music, other modes are common, particularly Mixolydian, and less commonly Dorian, Aeolian and Phrygian (Tose 2009a, 2009b, 2009c). These are often termed "modal" melodies. The melodic range is generally limited to two octaves at a maximum which can be played on a fiddle in the first position, or the first and part of the second register of whistles and certain bagpipes. The most common keys are G major, D major, D minor, A minor, E minor, D Mixolydian, A Mixolydian and C major.

The tunes have constant meters ("isometric") and tempo throughout. The meter may be either "duple meter" (two subdivisions of each primary beat) or "triple meter" (three subdivisions of each primary beat), and within this they may be "simple" or "compound" depending on whether they have two or three beats dividing the bar. The meters correspond with different dance steps, each meter being suited to a particular combination of "travelling steps" or "hesitation steps"; a hop or skip etc. Melodies with the same meters are generally grouped together to make a continuous "set" for the dancers to complete a choreographed dance without changing the step. Typically, the melodic phrases each last for a figure and their cadences are the signals for the dancers to change to the next figure. When playing for processions or solo dancing, there is no limit to the number of same-meter melodies that can be assembled together, although when playing for group dances nowadays the assemblages are generally just two or three melodies long, which last about four minutes in total.

Among today's players, the meter defines the type of tune and how it is referred to, whether a "jig", a "reel" or a "hornpipe". Many contemporary tune-books listed in Appendix 1 group their tunes according to meter as an aid to selecting tunes to group into "sets". For instance, tunes in duple meter will be grouped together. The most common type of duple meter tunes are 4/4 "reels" such as Figure 2.1 overleaf.

BECAUSE HE WAS A BONNY LAD



Figure 2.1. “Because He Was A Bonnie Lad”, a reel from the Northumbrian repertory. (NPS 1985:10, C-35).

Other common duple meter tunes are 2/4 “polkas” (such as Figure 2.11), and 4/4 “marches” such as Figures 3.7 and 3.14. However, in reviewing these tune-books I observed a surprising amount of ambiguity as to how the meter of tunes are classified and represented. For instance, reels can sometimes be written in 2/2, such as “Mrs Hubbard’s Reel (Callaghan 2007:37, C-7) and sometimes the same tune may be represented in both 2/2 and 4/4 time (such as “Speed the Plough”, Callaghan 2007:49, C-7).

The most common type of triple metre dance tunes are 6/8 “jigs” such as Figure 2.2, as well as Figures 1.10 and 1.11.

Musical notation for the jig 'Drummond Castle'. The title is centered at the top. Below it is the website 'www.celticharp-sheetmusic.com'. On the left, it says 'www.alisonvardy.com' and 'Track #2b of CD - Harping On'. On the right, it says 'Traditional Scotland' and 'Arr. Alison Vardy 1997 SOCAN'. The notation is in 6/8 time, with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). It features a melody on the top staff and a bass line on the bottom staff. There are repeat signs and a first ending bracket labeled 'A'.

Figure 2.2. “Drummond Castle”, a jig from the Scottish repertory. (Internet source).⁵¹

Many jigs are in 3/2, in which case they are called “single jigs” to differentiate from the 6/8 “double jigs”, and there are also 9/8 “slip jigs” and “slides” in 12/8. Other types of triple meter are 3/4 “waltzes” and 3/4 “mazurkas”, the latter having the emphasis on beats 2 and 3.

It is with hornpipes where most ambiguity is seen. In general, hornpipes have a lift, or dotted note, to accompany a step and a hop. However, their meters are may be represented as either 3/2 or 4/4. For instance, in *O’Neill’s 1001* (C-149), sixty-eight per cent of the hornpipes

⁵¹ Source: <http://www.celticharp-sheetmusic.com/celtic-harp-sheet-music/harping-on/05.htm> viewed 02/08/12.

are in 4/4, such as The “Friendly Visit” (Figure 2.3), and the remaining thirty-one per cent as 3/2.



Figure 2.3. “The Friendly Visit”, a hornpipe from the Irish repertory. Source: O’Neill (1907:154, C-149).

Another example of a 4/4 hornpipe is “Princess Royal” which I have referred to throughout this study. However, in English and Northumbrian tune-books hornpipes may also be written as 2/2 or 3/2, such as in Figure 2.4. Reels such as “Because He Was a Bonnie Lad” (Figure 2.1) may also be played as hornpipes.

Old Lancashire Hornpipe, 1st setting

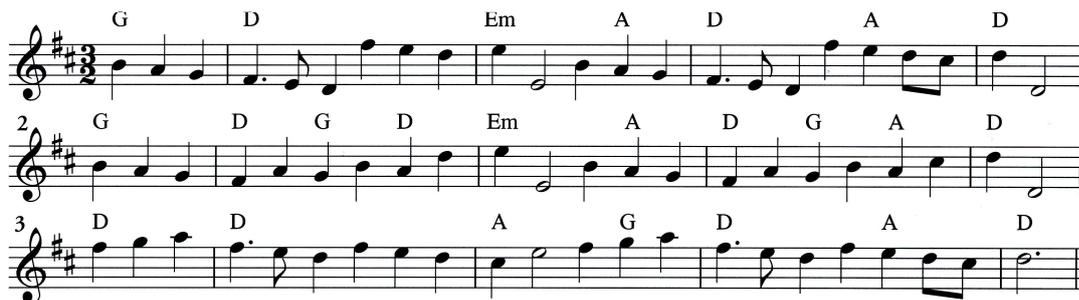


Figure 2.4. “Old Lancashire Hornpipe”. (Offord 2008:38, C-42).

The 3/2 versions are generally termed “triple hornpipes”. Hornpipes are also occasionally written in 6/4, such as a close variant of Figure 2.4, “Reed House Rant” from Callaghan (2007:78, C-7) which is a modern transcription of Figure 3.10. In Scottish tune books, “hornpipes” again may be written in either 3/2 or 4/4 time, but may not be described as such, being called instead “other tunes”, even though they will be identical to acknowledged hornpipes in tune books from elsewhere.

The tune-books also include further sub-types of tunes according to their meter, such as the Scottish variant of the march which contains “snaps” called the “strathspey”, the type of reel in Northumberland called a “rant” and the specific type of polka from the Sliabh Luachra region of Ireland. Also in Ireland, hornpipes with a slower “lift” are called “set dances”, and faster jigs in 9/8 are “slip jigs” or “hop jigs” (such as “Peacock Follows the Hen”, Figure 1.6 and 1.7), and jigs in 12/8 are “slides”. Smoother versions of waltzes are known as “pieces”. Other types of dance tunes may be described as “quadrilles”, “schottisches”, “quick steps”, “long dances” and

“Scotch measures”, but may be found written in various meters. Some tunes may also be found represented as both jig and reel, such as “I’ll gan Make You to Fain Follow Me” in Gow’s *Complete Repository* Book 1 (1799, A-69) reprinted by Llanerch Press (1988, C-73).

I described in the previous chapter how tunes of specific meters have been attributed to certain regions, such as “jigs” being “Irish”, “reels” being “Scottish” and “hornpipes” being “English”. In reviewing contemporary tune-books collections from Appendix 1, (and from my general experience), there is certainly a preference for reels in the Scottish repertoires, slip jigs and slides in the Irish repertoire, and hornpipes in Northumberland and England, but it is a mild preference rather than an exclusivity, and in fact all meters are well represented within the repertoires of each of these regions. Indeed, Figures 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 are all examples of well-known dance tunes representing regional repertoires which contradict this generalization. It may be argued that this mixed distribution is a result of the mutual exchange of tunes between the countries in recent times. However, fourteen percent of the melodies in *Gow’s Complete Repository* (A-69) which was first published 1799-1806 and is the “backbone” of today’s “Scottish” tune repertory, are jigs in 3/2, 6/8 or 9/8 time. Thirty-four percent of the dance tunes in *O’Neill’s 1001* (compiled in 1907 and commonly acknowledged to be the basis of the current “Irish” traditional tune repertory) are reels in 4/4 time. Similar statistics may be compiled from modern tune books of Appendix 1. It therefore seems that on the basis of both modern and older repertoires, there is no compelling justification for jigs, reels and hornpipes to be described as, respectively, “Irish”, “Scottish” or “English”.

I stated in chapter 1 that players will incorporate their own variations and ornamentations to tunes, and these will vary each time it is played. The written form of the melody from which the tune is learnt is used as a guide or skeleton from which the player can interpret the overall melodic structure, rather than it acting as a blueprint for literal recital. Having said that, I present an example of a dance tune which I suspect was notated directly from a video and posted on the internet. The melody itself is isometric and normally written as such. However, it is commonly used for a Cotswold Morris dance called a “jig” in which the dancer executes controlled high leaps, with the entertainment being how long he can stay in the air. The musician has to stretch the meter of the tune to match the footfall of the dancer. This is called a “slow”. Figure 2.5 illustrates how the transcriber missed the point of the musician following the dancer, and notated these “slows” precisely.



Figure 2.5. “Dearest Dickie” (Internet source).⁵²

This concludes my summary of the diagnostic features of the musical genre of dance tunes. I have provided some substantiation to the misgivings I stated during my literature review, in that the predominance of jigs, reels and hornpipes cannot be linked to location. In addition, the distinction between these differing meters cannot always be ascertained for certain specific tunes due to their being both played and written in inconsistent ways. Although written scores feature prominently in today’s traditional music scene, they are used by players only as guides or sketches for acquiring and recalling the overall melodic structures of dance tunes, and are rarely used as literal scores by experienced players.

2.3 Tunes Transcribed from Older Musicians

Anyone who has learnt to play dance tunes in a community with a vibrant local culture of folk music will have been made aware of the contributions of local player-composers regarded as being exemplars of “the tradition”. Their legacies are multifaceted. They include the increased playing of certain instruments within their immediate communities, together with the overall raising of playing standards. They may have had their own musical compositions incorporated into the local repertory (or, as is generally said, “entering into the tradition”). Whilst recordings of this generation of players have been available since the early twentieth century, I maintain that an important part of the process by which their legacies have been passed on to subsequent generations is the presence and use of transcriptions of their music. This is because so many tunes attributed to these players are found in modern tune-books such as

⁵² Victory Morris Music 2012: <http://www.victorymorrismen.org.uk/victory/Members/Victory%20Music%202012.pdf> viewed 15/02/14.

those listed in appendix 1. I present examples of tunes associated with two such players obtained from tune-books to illustrate how the written form of the same tunes can vary, despite their comparatively recent, and traceable, histories.

Billy Pigg (1902–1968) was a prolific composer and distinctive performer of the Northumbrian smallpipes. An example of his tunes, which he rarely wrote down, is “Archie’s Fancy”. The first version, Figure 2.6, was transcribed posthumously from a recording of his playing, by a sub-committee of the Northumbrian Pipers’ Society.



Figure 2.6. “Archie’s Fancy”. (NPS 1985:46, C-35).

Figure 2.7 is later transcription of the same tune by others. It differs from the 1985 version through the addition of staccatos (for example in the third, fifth and sixth bars of the first phrase) and the use of grace notes rather than a trill (prallprall) to represent ornamentation, such as in the fifteenth bar. These differences are subjective and are an example of how different transcribers have chosen to notate the same tune, possibly even from the same recording.



Figure 2.7. “Archie’s Fancy”. (Schofield and Say 1997:23, C-83).

The second example is of uilleann piper and whistler Willie Clancy (1918–1973). Players of uilleann pipes use varying degrees of ornamentation or embellishment which involve the use of one or more grace notes. The roll is a group of three grace notes which decorates a note. Crans, which are unique to the uilleann pipes, are groups of two, three or four grace notes which are used to decorate the bottom and second notes of the chanter only, such that no two grace notes are sounded consecutively. The single grace note is also popular to either

emphasise an accented note, or to separate notes of the same pitch and add a lift to the music. Uilleann pipers deploy varying quantities of ornamentation, but Clancy's approach is depicted in the examples of "Garret Barry's Jig" below. Clancy reportedly learnt this tune from his father, who in turn had it from blind itinerant piper Garrett Barry (1847-1900). Figures 2.8 and 2.9 are different versions of the same tune, which has been transcribed twice by the same person from different recordings of Clancy's playing.

59 Garrett Barry's Jig



Figure 2.8. "Garrett Barry's Jig". (Mitchell 1993:64, C-78).

36 Garrett Barry's Jig



Figure 2.9. "Garrett Barry's Jig". (Mitchell 1993:49, C-78).

Assuming a consistency in the method of notation on the part of the transcriber, this demonstrates how two different written versions have arisen due to the variable ornamentation that was typical of Clancy's playing, including in his choice of ornamentation.

These examples demonstrate how slightly different transcriptions of the same tunes may be derived and may be heard being played. This is partly due to the players' use of ornamentation and variation, and partly due to subjective decisions made by the transcribers.

These differences are relatively minor and involve changes to rhythm and ornamentation which do not significantly alter the melody.

2.4 The Influence of Commercial Bands and Recordings

Many players nowadays, particularly from places lacking a perceived “unbroken tradition” of local player-composers, have acquired much of their repertory from bands and individuals who played professionally and made studio recordings from the early twentieth century onwards. I have observed how such artists and their recordings have encouraged certain tunes to be commonly played today, and they have also influenced the ways in which tunes are played, what they are called, and where they are thought to come from.

From the 1920’s onwards, the recording and broadcasting industries enabled the playing of some players such Willie Clancy and Billy Pigg to be heard by many more people than would have been possible before. The styles and repertoires of many fiddle players in Ireland owe a lot to two fiddlers from County Sligo, Michael Colman (1891-1945) and James Morrison (1893-1947), thanks to vinyl recordings they made following their emigration to America in 1914 and 1915 respectively. In the 1960’s, players such as fiddler Sean McGuire (1927-2005), The Doonans and Uilleann piper Leo Rowsome (1903-1970) toured extensively and were often featured on the radio. This explains how Irish tunes such as “Madame Bonaparte” were known by Billy Pigg,⁵³ which in turn explains the inclusion of such tunes into the *Northumbrian Pipers’ Society Tunebook* (1985, C-35).⁵⁴ The “Trumpet Hornpipe” occasionally pops up in sessions and its form of playing is consistent with that identified by Darlington (1992) to have been popularized by a popular 1950’s radio programme.

My observations about certain tunes played in sessions and my questioning of those who play them, informs me that certain commercial folk or folk-rock bands that were active in the 1970’s and 1980’s, were particularly influential in shaping the tune repertoires played by today’s (more mature) players. These were: The Albion Band, Fairport Convention, the Old Rope Band, the Late Night Band, Steeleye Span, The Chieftains, Altan, Planxty, De Dannan, The Bothy Band, The Wolf Tones, the Battlefield Band, Capacaille, Runrig, Silly Wizard, Tannahill Weavers, Coelbeg, Boys of the Lough, The High Level Ranters and Lindisfarne. These bands played older dance tunes and also wrote new ones in the same style. Whether old or new, the result was that certain dance tunes have become popular among a wider dance tune-playing community than would otherwise have been expected. For instance, the Chieftains included on their album *Chieftains 3* (1972, Claddagh) a tune called “Sonny’s Mazurka” which was

⁵³ This tune has been associated with an Irish piper, James Gandsey (1767-1857) of the Sliabh Luachra region, who was the son of a soldier in Ross Castle and blinded by smallpox. He served as Lord Headley’s Piper and was known as “the Killarney Minstrel”. Source: <http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/MAD.htm> viewed 29/08/13 (not independently verified). In the early 1800’s, the Irish were political sympathisers with France in the hope that Napoleon might aid the cause of Irish independence.

⁵⁴ Adrian Schofield and Julia Say, pers. com. September 2013.

composed by Johnny Doherty (1900-1980), a travelling fiddler from South Donegal (McNevin 1998:32, C-32). This tune would not have achieved its current level of popularity without the intervention of a band of such stature.

The next example demonstrates not only how quickly a recently composed tune can be made popular by commercial bands, but also how it can be altered quite fundamentally and deliberately. “The Plane Tree” (Figure 2.10) is a jig which is often heard in sessions in Sheffield, having been made popular by the recordings of the Late Night Band in the 1980’s.

The Plane Tree



Figure 2.10. “The Plane Tree”. (Internet Source).⁵⁵

Figure 2.11 is a polka but has the same recognizable melody. It is generally acknowledged to be the original version of Figure 2.10 and was reportedly composed in 1981 by French traditional musician Jean-François (“Maxou”) Heintzen.⁵⁶ It was originally named “Mominette” by its composer but has since acquired a variety of names⁵⁷ and has now been adopted by “Boggarts Breakfast” Border Morris side in Sheffield. Both versions are equally popular in some Sheffield sessions.

⁵⁵ Source: <http://www.thesession.org/tunes/display/4990> viewed 05/01/2013.

⁵⁶ <http://abcnotation.com/tunePage?a=www.thursdaycontra.com/~spuds/tunes/couple/NobelFranz/0000> viewed 01/06/11.

⁵⁷ Social media sources (not verified) suggest the tune was brought to the UK by Michel Pichon when he was playing with Paul James of Blowzabella, and thereafter included as “a new French Schottische” in the first Blowzabella tune book. It was also re-named “Schottische à Bethanie” by Gary Chapin.

Schottische a Bethanie Chords

Trad ar. Luca Celano. <http://bellowsandstrings.blogspot.com/>

Figure 2.11. “Scottische a Bethanie”, aka “Mominette”. (Internet Source).⁵⁸

Whilst commercial bands have introduced many such original and recently composed tunes into the repertoires of today’s players, a sizable proportion of their tunes are older and were obtained from pre-existing written sources. For instance, the Chieftains are acknowledged to have obtained many of their tunes from O’Neill’s *Dance Music of Ireland* (or *O’Neill’s 1001*, 1907, A-149). The artists on the influential album *Morris On* (1972, Island Records), including John Kirkpatrick and Richard Thompson, derived many tunes from early twentieth century tune-books published by the English Folk Dance and Song Society (EFDSS). Again, the bands are just as likely to make alterations to these tunes. “Out on the Ocean” has been recorded in A major on the Boys of the Lough album *Sweet Rural Shade* (1988, Lough Records), but is more commonly played in G major, as did Planxty on their album, *The Woman I Loved So Well* (Tara, 1980), which is as it appears in *O’Neill’s 1001*. “Princess Royal” is usually played in a major scale as heard on *Morris On*, which I have identified to a written version dated 1910 (Figure 5.29). However, before this date, written versions of this tune were always in a minor mode, as described in subsequent chapters. Spiers and Boden included a minor version of the tune on their CD *Tunes* (2005, Fellside recordings) and consequently it may now be played either way in Sheffield sessions. Similar changes are also made when adapting dance tunes to songs and vice versa.

Finally, I observe that the recording of the same tune by different artists associated with particular geographic regions will result in the tune being simultaneously adopted into different “regional traditions”. A tune called “Reed House Rant” was recorded by Northumberland smallpiper Pauline Cato on *New Tyne Bridge* (Tomcat Music, 2005) which she sourced directly from a historical manuscript from the Newcastle area (Figures 3.9 and 3.10). However, this tune is better known as “Old Lancashire Hornpipe” (Figure 2.4) thanks to its inclusion by the Albion Country Band in their record *Battle of the Field* (Island Records, 1976). Its popularity (under the latter name) has been more recently raised in Sheffield sessions due to

⁵⁸ Source: <http://bellowsandstrings.blogspot.com/2010/05/schottische-bethanie.html> viewed 13/11/11.

its inclusion on Spiers and Boden's *Tunes*, and now its Northumbrian connection is not commonly appreciated. Players learning tunes from recorded sources will use the version and name corresponding to that of their source. This is a demonstration of another process by which the same tunes may become inadvertently "owned" by different regions.

These examples illustrate how, even within living memory, commoditization of the music via recording and broadcasting industries could result in the popularization of certain tunes at locations separated by large distances. Also described were the altering or re-naming of tunes by bands or commercial players, and the adjustment, either inadvertently or conveniently, of the origin (and even composer) of a particular tune. Due to the popularity of certain bands and the reach of the broadcasting media, these changes could be very rapidly adopted by the wider playing community and be evident at completely different parts of the country among people who have never met.

2.5 Tunes in Instrumental Tutor Books

Many people learn dance tunes while learning to play instruments. There is a correspondingly healthy demand for instrumental tutor books. I provide an example of how the detailed form of a dance tune can change when it is adapted for a different instrument other than that for which it was originally written.

In Figure 2.12, "Garret Barry's Jig" is now written for learners of Irish style fiddle. It differs from the previous examples through the use of alternative types of ornamentation which are used by fiddlers as opposed to pipers. The G in the first bar still has a roll indicated although it is represented in a different way. The second bar has dropped the cuts, but the fourth bar has a cut which is characteristic of Irish fiddle playing, compared to the slide and triplets of Clancy's version. The instructions stress that different ornamentation is not only common but expected to be played each time through.

Garret Barry's Jig

This jig in G is a popular jig with uilleann pipers. Some possible variations are given below.

Ex. 72

Ex. 73 Here are two variations of bar 1:

Ex. 74 The last bar of the first part could be

This produces a cranning effect similar to uilleann piping.

It is the norm to vary ornamentation each time you play a part. In the second part you can put in a run, so bar 10 would be

Ex. 75

This places a little more emphasis on the first note of a run.

Ex. 76

Another nice variation typifying the piping style is in bar 4 of the second part. Aim for separate bows eventually, so as to copy more effectively the chanter on the pipes.

Figure 2.12. "Garrett Barry's Jig". (McNevin 1998:47, C-32).

This source is typical in that it does not specifically identify the origin of the tune (although on this occasion the name helps), nor the musician (Clancy) who popularized it. Without the explanation beneath the title, someone using this book might assume this was simply a "traditional" tune for Irish fiddle, and in contentious situations, they may even argue that this is more "correct" than a version written for the uilleann pipers or even another instrument.

2.6 The Role of Music Workshops Today

Music "workshops", where people pay to attend lessons on traditional music skills, have become, amongst a section of the playing community, a key method by which dance tunes are learnt.⁵⁹ They are a modern phenomenon, and the distinctive influences they have on the popularization of certain tunes and the creation of local repertoires are only recently being recognized. In Ireland, the workshops generally follow the "listen and copy" method, such as the one where "Chasing the Hare" (Figure 1.10) was taught. Whilst particular attention is

⁵⁹ Overheard during a Folkworks workshop, Darlington, 2002: Tutor: "What sort of tunes do you play?" Answer: "whatever is taught in workshops".

given to the ornamentation technique, the basic melodies are taught by ear and are intended to be used as skeletons for individual improvisation, albeit using certain rigid rules. If music is handed round afterwards, it may have been written by the tutor in ABC format, in which case it lacks ornamentation detail and will be the tutor's version which will invariably vary from another person's.⁶⁰ In England, it is more customary to teach tunes directly from photocopied scores, or more recently, shared weblinks.⁶¹ Here, as already mentioned, it is not uncommon for the tunes to be treated as being absolutely literal, and to be played accurately with not the slightest deviation, addition or subtraction as I described in relation to learning "Peacock Follows the Hen" with the Northumbrian Pipers' Society. However, I now demonstrate that the very process of adapting a tune for instructional purposes can not only alter it, but can extinguish knowledge of its original source and purpose.

Figure 2.13 is a tune handed out for a workshop held by the Northumbrian Pipers' Society in 1999.



Figure 2.13. "The Clumsy Lover". (Photocopy of unknown source).

This tune was distributed as it is presented, without any indication of its composer or original course. This meant the class was ignorant of its original form or composer and gained the impression it was a "traditional" Northumbrian tune. In fact, it was composed for the Great Highland Pipes by contemporary piper Neil Dickie in the format shown in Figure 2.14.

⁶⁰ "ABC" notation was the written form used at workshops run by the Boghall Music Centre, Lisdoonvarna, Co. Clare, June 2002.

⁶¹ For instance, the "Sheffield Traditional Fiddlers' Society" website <http://www.sheffieldfiddlers.org.uk/index.htm> viewed 01/02/15.

The Clumsy Lover

Hornpipe

Neil Dickie



Figure 2.14. "The Clumsy Lover". (Internet source).⁶²

Comparison of the two versions shows that the version for the workshop had been transposed from the original key of A mixolydian to G mixolydian. The original's mixolydian mode arises through the use of the flattened seventh (G natural), for instance in the third bar, as befits

⁶² <http://www.lunix.at/Bagpipes/Tunes/PDF/Hornpipe/The%20Clumsy%20Lover.pdf> viewed 10/04/14. This tune has become a favourite of Great Highland Pipe bands around the world. A brief Internet search has identified it among the repertoires of the Ballycoen Pipe Band, the Buffalo Caledonian Pipe Band, 78th Frasers Highlander Pipe Band, Polkemmet Pipe Band, and the Strathclyde Fire & Rescue Pipe Band. It has been recorded by for example by Coelbet on their album *An Unfair Dance* (1993, Greentrax).

highland pipe chanter tuned to the key of G. In Figure 2.13, minor changes to the melody have been made in order to avoid that equivalent note, which would have been F natural. This is because the more common seven-keyed northumbrian smallpipes do not have F natural keys. The number and complexity of the variations have also been reduced for the benefit of the learner players. As well as showing how a melody has been adjusted for teaching purposes, it is also an example of how the lack of information about its origin, in this case composed by a living person, could result in its being erroneously regarded as being older than it is, i.e. to be “traditional”. It is not known the extent to which the workshop tutor was aware of the tune’s origins as the topic was not discussed.

2.7 Modern Tune Book Collections

In researching my tune histories, I noticed that tunes are constantly being re-printed in ever more tune-books whose numbers have been proliferating over the last thirty years. According to the website <http://thesession.org/>, “Hunt the Squirrel”, which I showed in chapter 1 to have dated from 1709, has been included in thirty-one tune-books. “Sonny’s Mazurka”, possibly as little as fifty years old, is in two hundred and fifty-six tune books. “The Clumsy Lover”, a modern composition as described, has been added to three hundred and forty-two tune-books and “Calliope House”, another modern composition, has been included in one thousand, one hundred and forty-six tune-books.⁶³ (These numbers increase every time the website is checked; last checked 15th April 2013). As these examples suggest, I observed that there is no correlation between the ages of tunes and the number of appearances they make in print. It is not so much their age which influences the number of times they are printed, but their popularity due to being performed and recorded by commercially successful bands. The greater the success of the band playing the particular tune, the more likely that tune will be re-printed in yet further tune-books (with or without the appropriate acknowledgements).

The majority of contemporary tune-books do not provide any information about the origins of tunes. An example is a tune-book by Dave Townsend (C-51) which is popular particularly in southern England, for players of melodeon or fiddle. It includes a number of tunes which were composed within living memory by traditional players from the previous generation, notably East Anglian musicians Lewis “Scan” Tester (1886–1972) and Oscar Woods (d.1984). However, the tunes are presented without acknowledgement of either composer or origin. Intermingled with these, are several tunes which I know from my research to be of much older provenance, such as Figure 2.15, whose earliest written version I have traced is from 1756.

⁶³ “Calliope House” was written by Dave Richardson of the Boys of the Lough on their album, *Open Road* (Topic, 1984). According to the band’s official website, (<http://www.boysofthelough.com/index.htm> viewed 10/02/13) the tune has been included in a million recordings and was featured in “Lord of the Dance” and the TV programme “Sex and the City”. The tune was originally written in E minor for the mandolin, but despite its popularity, fiddlers and flautists find it easier to play it in D minor and both keys have been heard in the Fagan’s pub session in Sheffield (over the period 2010 to 2013).

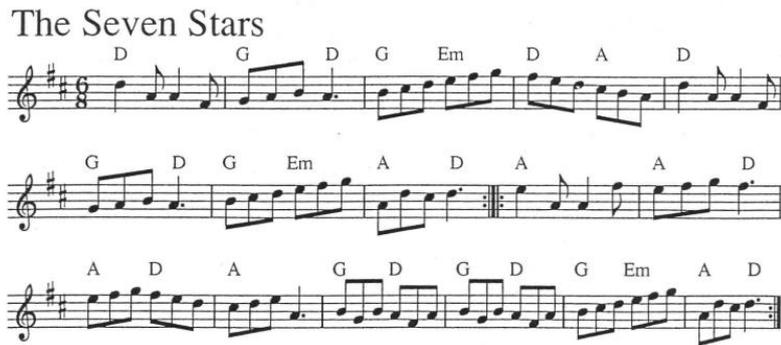


Figure 2.15. “The Seven Stars”. (Townsend 1993:32, C-51).

Another tune-book which also mixes old and new is that of John Kirkpatrick (C-21) which contains tunes selected for the melodeon. Kirkpatrick specifies that some of the tunes were collected from rural musicians in the twentieth century, some were recorded from unspecified sources, and a number he got from “the infinite number of collections of ... dance music that poured out of the English printing presses from the mid seventeenth century until the nineteenth”. However, Kirkpatrick does not specify which tunes come from where.

Conversely, Barry Callaghan’s tune-book, *Hardcore English* (2007, C-7) is almost uniquely more informative because he cites a number of historical sources for each tune. For instance, he presents “Seven Stars” (Figure 2.16) with accompanying information giving the historical documents in which it has been identified. This index allows these historical documents to be located and examined directly.

Seven Stars (Moon and Seven Stars)
 Widely popular, then and now: J. Jackson, Harrison, Winder, Hardy, Vickers, and Leadley, as Grand Parade. Popular in USA after the revolution: in many MSS 1784-97.



Figure 2.16. “The Seven Stars”. Source: Callaghan (2007:64, C-7).

Callaghan does not, however, specify the particular historical source of his chosen version of each tune, seemingly choosing the most commonplace one from his personal experience.⁶⁴

The modern tune-books certainly empower today’s players to add ever more tunes to their repertoires, although the tunes’ provenances are generally not given. Callaghan’s contribution was uniquely inspirational and informative for my study.

⁶⁴ In fact, this version of “Seven Stars” is the same as the version from *Northumbrian Pipers Society* (1993:19, C-38), where it is stated to have been found by Led Jessop in a collection of country dances published by Rutherford’s *Compleat Collection of 200 of the Most Celebrated Country Dances*, vol. 1, dated 1756, P11, (D-191). A variant of this tune is also found in Aird’s *Selection of Scotch English, Irish and Foreign Airs Vol 1:4* (dated 1788 (A-11) which differs through having a triplet in the first bar, and the name “Moon and Seven Stars”. It is this latter version which is replicated in the Harrison and James Winder manuscripts, both dated c.1835 (M-69 and M-126).

2.8 The Internet

The Internet is an important resource for finding and learning dance tunes. It is generally used for the researching of a new tune to learn once it has been heard, liked, and a note made of its name. The websites which are the most popularly used for this are “The Session” (<http://www.thesession.org/>), “Folk Tune Finder” (<http://www.folktunefinder.com/>) and “ABC notation” (<http://abcnotation.com/>). These websites all provide access to the notation, as well as linked Midi files and often ABC format. This user-friendly availability of both aural and written versions of the tunes makes it generally much easier to locate a particular tune than, for example, wading through one’s own shelf of tune-books or piles of loose sheet music, and as a result, it is becoming increasingly commonly used instead of tune-books. However, the increased reliance on the Internet also means that the number of different versions of each dance tune has exponentially increased. I now examine the implications.

An Internet search for “The Seven Stars” immediately located two versions, Figures 2.17 below and 2.18 overleaf, which differ from any known written versions I found in modern tune-books, albeit through comparatively minor features. In Figure 2.17, the fourth note is A instead of F, whereas Figure 2.18 (again with “Moon” in the title) is the only version I found which has a rest in the second and sixth bars. The provenance of neither version is known, partly because the origins are unacknowledged by their source websites but also because they do not match any older written versions I have found. I suggest they represent two examples which are both transcriptions from recordings by different players, and as such, they may both be unique.

Seven Stars



Figure 2.17. “The Seven Stars”. (Internet source).⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Source: <http://www.thesession.org/tunes/display/1857> viewed 24/12/11.

Moon And Seven Stars, The

England

The image shows a musical score for the tune "The Moon and Seven Stars". It is written in G major (one sharp) and 6/8 time. The tempo is marked as 220. The score consists of three staves of music. Above the notes, several chords are indicated: D, G, D, G, A, D, G, D, G, A, D, G, D, G, A, D. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests and a repeat sign in the second staff.

Figure 2.18. "The Moon and Seven Stars". (Internet source).⁶⁶

These two examples from the Internet illustrate how easily tunes acquire minor differences when they are transcribed directly from players. This is an illustration of the observation I made earlier that when tunes are notated from players, the number of different written versions possible is theoretically infinite. However, as seen in Figures 2.17 and 2.18, such differences are minor and do not alter the fundamental structure of the tune, nor prevent one person playing their version along with another who plays a slightly different version, or either player applying spontaneous ornamentations and variations.⁶⁷

2.9 The Propensity for the Names of Dance Tunes to be Changed

The example of "Seven Stars", as well as "Hunt the Squirrel" in chapter 1, are two examples of dance tunes known by different names. This is quite common, and may be attributed to the fact that players tend to be much better at remembering the tunes than their names. If tune names cannot be recalled, approximations may be used,⁶⁸ or they may be re-named by regular playing companions for convenience.⁶⁹ Tune names will also interchange with dances.⁷⁰ Most commonly, a tune may be erroneously named after a place it was heard,⁷¹ or else after the person heard playing it.⁷² Linguistic misunderstandings can also be a cause.⁷³

⁶⁶ Source: "Folk Tune Finder" website <http://www.folktunefinder.com/tune/51320/> viewed 24/12/11.

⁶⁷ The versions in Figures 2.15 and 2.18 also have different chordings. These are a matter of personal preference and such guidance is generally ignored by all but the novice player.

⁶⁸ For instance, a tune whose name could not quite be recalled by a player in the Hillsborough Hotel session (Sheffield) in 2010 became known as the "The Sheep Tune" but was in fact "Lamb Skinnit".

⁶⁹ A set of two jigs comprising "The Rolling Wave" and "Out on the Ocean" re-named "The Wet Set". Jeff Sachs, the Grove, Hunslet, Leeds, 2004.

⁷⁰ The tune "The Road to Lisdoonvarna" accompanies the dance "Rose of Rochester" in the "Lizzie Drippings" dance side, so the tune itself has been erroneously referred to as "Rose".

⁷¹ A tune I have encountered in Irish sessions called "Old Favourite" is named on Kathryn Tickell's "Debatable Lands" (Park Records, 1999) as "Kilfenora".

⁷² "Sonny's Mazurka" is also variously known as "Johnny Doherty's Mazurka", "Donegal Mazurka", "The Irish Mazurka", "The Old Donegal Mazurka", "Sonny Brogan's Mazurka", "Sonny's", "Charlie Lennon's Mazurka" or "Tommy People's Mazurka. Source: www.session.org (viewed 01/01/12).

Nevertheless, once a tune is played, intuitive players will instinctively join in whatever name (if any) they know it by. During this study, I have been impressed how resources available on the Internet can enable different versions of the same tune to be quickly identified, even when they have utterly unconnected names.

2.10 Summary of Chapter 2

I have presented examples of notated dance tunes from the modern tune-books in Appendix 1 and the Internet in order to describe some of the processes by which modern players learn dance tunes. I have used this to infer how certain dance tunes themselves were transmitted from person to person and to different locations. I have described how experienced players express their personal styles by making minor melodic alterations to the tunes, and I have also given examples showing how other adjustments may occur, such as through the process of learning and teaching music.

These observations now lead me to propose that tunes such as “Seven Stars” could only have remained recognizable over appreciable periods of time (two hundred and fifty years in this case), if notated music was an important part of its history. This is based on my observation that the learning of tunes from written notation is of significance among traditional players. If musical notation is not relevant in the history of dance tunes, and these tunes were only ever passed from person to person by ear, I would suggest that the older ones such as “Seven Stars” would have altered beyond recognition over the considerable periods of time concerned. I have also suggested how commoditization also influences the popularity of certain dance tunes and could even be alternative explanations for the observed “lateral diffusion” process. This, as well as my conviction that written music is an important resource within the playing community, informed the approach I chose for my study.

⁷³ The tune “O’Farrell’s Welcome to Limerick” is often innocently referred to by English-speakers by an obscene Gaelic phrase, which is traced to a mischievous comment by the uilleann piper Seamus Ennis during a broadcast on RTÉ, and has in turn resulted in the clean translation achieving wider recognition as “The Good Wife” or “The Choice Wife”. John Kirkpatrick’s “Jump at the Sun” is called “John Patterson” in France and Quebec.

3 Unpublished Handwritten Manuscripts Containing Dance Tunes

In the previous chapter I explained why I thought the consideration of written music notation was relevant to researching the history of traditional dance tunes. I introduced Callaghan's *Hardcore English: A Collection of 300 Tunes from English Manuscript, Recorded and Aural Sources* (2005, C-7), which is one of very few modern tune-books to refer to historical versions of its tunes. According to Callaghan's introduction to his book, it is intended to represent "an authentic repertoire of working village musicians playing for local traditional dances". The tunes are referenced to "traditional musicians' manuscripts" which he states are "the key to resources which will enable you to follow up all the versions [of tunes]" (Callaghan 2007:7). Callaghan's source materials are nearly all historical, hand-written manuscripts, which were originally intended for private use rather than publication. A significant source of his referenced manuscripts was the Village Music Project (VMP) website.⁷⁴ This describes itself as a "music project primarily interested in the traditional social dance music of England", whose intention is to "fill a gap in the ethnomusicological research spectrum" by making available the music which was written down by the local musician(s) who played the music which formed "an integral part of life in the villages and towns of the world", playing for "social occasions, religious festivals, community ritual and celebration".

I therefore began by reviewing the manuscripts which were referenced in Callaghan (2007) and the Village Music Project (VMP) website. I then widened my search to other websites which are also portals to either facsimiles or transcriptions of tunes from other such historical manuscripts. I tried to ensure they were as representative of the entire study area as possible. They included "Folk Archive Resource North East" (FARNE), "Irish Traditional Music Archive" (ITMA), "Music of North West England" (MNWE), "The North East Folklore Archive (NEFA)", "Irish Music Collections On-Line", the "National Library of Scotland" (NLS) and the English Folk Dance and Song Society (EFDSS). I observed that whilst these websites are all preoccupied with a particular geographic region (generally associated with the source of funding), relatively few of the more popular dance tunes from today's repertory that I chose to research were restricted to any particular region. The manuscripts I reviewed are listed in Appendix 2. This is not a definitive list of all historical, hand-written manuscripts, but simply those that informed my study, together with their locations, sources, format, and origins (where known).

⁷⁴ <http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/aims.htm> viewed 16/02/13. This is an on-line repository of melodies transcribed into ABC format, from original or photocopied manuscripts mainly in private possession.

On examining a representative number of manuscripts, I decided they fell into three categories according to their purpose and use. I term these categories “domestic”, “military” and “professional dancing master” and I describe them in turn in this chapter.

3.1 “Domestic” Manuscripts

I call the first category of manuscripts “domestic” because they seem to have been collated by people who played instruments as a hobby. Although dance tunes constitute the greatest proportion of melody types, there are others such as carols, songs, music hall and minstrel songs, excerpts from ballad operas and classical pieces.⁷⁵ The tunes were collected for leisure purposes, perhaps for family use, or for community events. Their compilers may have received incidental fees, but they essentially earned their livelihoods by other means. My review of these manuscripts allowed me to draw conclusions about the compilers’ motives and the sources of their dance tunes.

Some of the dance tunes in the manuscripts were undoubtedly transcribed from street players or beggars. For instance, John Malchair’s manuscript, compiled between 1760 and 1792 (M-90), contains “The Grand Duke of Tuscany’s March” and “Minuet Della Cour” “as played by a Savoyard on a barrill organ in the streets at Oxford November 31 1784”, and the page shown in Figure 3.1 is an unnamed tune described as “from the singing of a poor woman and two feral children Oxford May 15 1784”.



Figure 3.1. Portion of Page 42 from John Malchair’s manuscript (1780’s, M-90).⁷⁶

⁷⁵ For instance, Joshua Jackson’s manuscript (M-82) contains romantic verses (“Mays Eve”), comical songs (“In the British Lion”), catches and part songs. The manuscript of Welsh fiddler Alawon John Thomas (1752, M-113) contains the accompaniment the song as “Ay Hyd y Nos” (“All Through the Night”), the twelfth movement of Handel’s “Water Music”, and popular songs of the London theatres and the ballad operas (Meurig 2004, C-76). John Moore’s manuscript (M-94, book 1) contains the melodies for the songs “Oh dear what can the matter be” and “How Sweet in the Woodlands”.

⁷⁶ Source: EFDSS <http://library.efdss.org/cgi-bin/dancebooks.cgi> viewed 15/09/12.

John Clare (1793-1864) also documented how he learnt some of his tunes from gypsies (Deacon 2002:30). Unfortunately he did not specify which tunes these were, but Figure 3.2. is an example of one of the tunes from his manuscript.

37 Rakes of Mellow * similar to Rakes of London, tune 103

Left as in the MS with irregular time.



Figure 3.2: Rakes of Mellow from John Clare's manuscript (M-43). (Deacon 2002:322).

There were seven prominent manuscript compilers from Ireland who notated tunes from players over the nineteenth century, particularly the 1840s to 1860's (O'Sullivan 1958:80-3).⁷⁷ They are Edward Bunting (1773-1843) (M-39), William Forde (c.1795-1850) (M-59), John Pigot (1822-71) (M-100), Henry Hudson (1798-1889) (M-76), George Petrie (1789-1866) (M-99), James Goodman (1828-1896) (M-64), and Patrick Joyce (1829-1914) (M-83). Many of their tunes are known to have been swapped and shared amongst them. One example is Figure 3.3, which Hudson originally titled "Seán Mac Diarmada, Carolan" (the name was changed by O'Sullivan 1958, A-150).



Figure 3.3. "John MacDermott" from Henry Hudson's manuscript (M-76). (O'Sullivan 1958:147, A-150).

Variants of this tune also appear in the manuscripts of both Bunting (this time titled "Plangsty Dermot, by Carolan") and Pigot (O'Sullivan 1958:253). As suggested in the previous chapter, the existence of many versions of a tune is typical of it having been transcribed on different occasions by different people, probably from different players. The original source of this one seems to be reasonably consistently attributed to the Irish harper Turlough O'Carolan (1670-1738).⁷⁸ Carolan is associated with lively, straightforward

⁷⁷ Bunting, Petrie and Joyce published some of their collected dance tunes within their lifetimes. As this chapter is about unpublished manuscripts, these are described in chapter 5.

⁷⁸ According to O'Sullivan (1958:28-9), Turlough O'Carolan (approved shortened form Carolan) was born to a Gaelic Irish family and his father was earning a living as a blacksmith, the family possibly being Irish chieftans having fallen on hard times thanks to the civil wars and forfeitures of the early 1600's. Carolan was taken in as a ward to an Anglo Irish Protestant land-owning family, the MacDermott Roes of Alderford, in Co. Roscommon, who then

melodic compositions in 6/8 meter with either regular or irregular lengths of parts (O’Sullivan 1958:94,80)⁷⁹ and tunes attributed to him are found in the manuscripts of all seven of these Irish manuscript compilers as well as further afield. For example Carolan’s “Bumper Squire Jones”⁸⁰ is included in an early manuscript (dated 1752) compiled by a Welsh violinist named Alawon John Thomas (M-113).

Carolan was unsighted so his tunes have survived in the manuscripts compiled by other players. Tyneside fiddler and reputed “bon vivant” James Hill (c.1811-1853)⁸¹ was another well-known player and composer, whose tunes are found in numerous other manuscripts other than his own. He is assumed to be musically illiterate and he was particularly renowned for composing hornpipes, an example of which is Figure 3.4.



Figure 3.4 “The High Level” [Hornpipe] (Anon. 1840-60, M-9).⁸²

arranged for him to be taught the harp following his blindness from smallpox. His legacy was a sizable canon of melodies written for the amusement of the MacDemott Roes and other owners of the “Great Houses” (both Protestant and Catholic families) as well as in Dublin City.

⁷⁹ It is often stated, e.g. by Petrie (1855, A-157) and repeated in many popular books such as Hast and Scott (2004:23), that Carolan was “the last” of the ancient Gaelic bardic class of harpers, who adapted to incoming Anglo-Protestant fashions by composing dance tunes in the standard meters. However, O’Sullivan (1958:15) implied that the conventionalised, consonantal rhymes of the bardic order had died out after the Cromwellian Settlement (1642-55). Instead, the music of Carolan’s time had replaced the ancient bardic forms. It was a form of poetry in which each line of the verses consisted of fixed number of accents and stresses, arranged according to a definite pattern; i.e. “popular metered poetry”. For those tunes where the range exceeded the human voice, Carolan is thought to have intoned the words of poems while playing the harp. (O’Sullivan (1958:91). Many sources also state that he was heavily influenced by the Italian baroque style of Corelli (1653-1713).

⁸⁰ Two anecdotal accounts survive describing this tune’s composition by Carolan in honour of Thomas Morres Jones (d.1769), of Moneyglass House, in Co. Antrim (Suillivan 1958:247-8).

⁸¹ James Hill, whose precise livelihood is obscure but is generally described as a publican, was the best known of the fiddlers of Tyneside and was known as the “Paganini of hornpipe players”. He was active at a time when the hornpipe attained immense popularity following its origins as a stage dance in the latter eighteenth century to accompany step-clogging. This passed into popular culture, becoming a craze in public houses, dance halls, racecourses and markets. Although Hill is not thought to have collated manuscripts himself, the number of his original compositions is now thought to be approximately 40 to 50. They were invariably named after the places he knew (“Hawk” after a pub, and “Beeswing” after a racehorse) and the city around him (“High Level Hornpipe” after the new railway bridge crossing the Tyne). Sources: <http://www.folknortheast.com/learn/biographies/james-hill> viewed 01/11/12, Dixon (1987, C-66) and NPS (2005, C-80).

⁸² This is from an anonymous manuscript dated 1840-1860 (known as “John Baty 8” in the Chantry Bagpipe Museum) Source: FARNE: <http://www.folknortheast.com/archive/detail.asp?id=M0202301> viewed 05/08/13.

There are many other variants of this and other James Hill tunes in a number of Tyneside manuscripts, such as that of John Nichol in the late nineteenth century (M-96).⁸³ As with the example of Carolan's previously, the existence of many variants of a tune is typical of when it is well-known and has been transcribed independently, such as by these different manuscript owners.

Some manuscripts from England were connected with village bands whose activities are well understood nowadays thanks to familiarity with the works of novelist Thomas Hardy (1840-1928). Hardy was the third generation of a family to play in the band in the village of Stinsford, near Dorchester.⁸⁴ The band played for social or barn dances at Christmas, wedding celebrations and church services.⁸⁵ Shepherd (2011) suggests that Joshua Jackson from North Yorkshire was similarly involved in a duet or small band as the tunes in his manuscript (1798, M-82) are written in several parts, with some only present as second or bass parts. Woods (2009:12-4), in his review of manuscripts believed to have been written by members of the village band of Widecombe in Devon (M-5), describes how the band was evidently called upon to provide a similar range of duties.

Many of these manuscripts include an appreciable number of melodies with a martial flavour. This is by virtue of their names, and the predominance of the major mode and the 4/4 march step. Whilst marches were, of course, not dances, their isometricity and the coincidence of their appearances in most modern tune-books and players' repertoires justifies their inclusion in my study. For instance, one of the most common and well-known tunes down the years is "Soldier's Joy" which was in many of the manuscripts I reviewed, such as the version in Figure 3.5. This version is consistent with the melody widely recognized amongst players today.

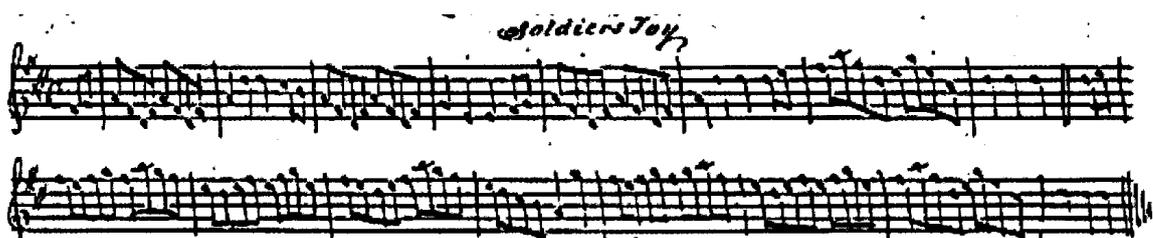


Figure 3.5. "Soldier's Joy" from the Rook manuscript (1840, M-102).⁸⁶

⁸³ <http://www.folknortheast.com/archive/detail.asp?id=M0100801> viewed 12/02/12.

⁸⁴ The village band is immortalized in novels such as *Under the Greenwood Tree* (Hardy 1872) and *Far from the Madding Crowd* (Hardy 1874), as well as his poems: "Friends Beyond", "A Church Romance: Mellstock c.1835", "The Rash Bride", "The Dead Quire", "To My Father's Violin", "The Choirmaster Buried", "The Fiddle" and "Seen by Waits".

⁸⁵ In Hardy's short story "Absent-mindedness in a Parish Choir" he tells how the band, dozing off in the sermon, when suddenly roused, began playing "Devil among the Tailors" instead of the evening hymn.

⁸⁶ Source: <http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/musicfiles/rook/> viewed 06/08/13.

Another example of a march from the Widecombe manuscripts is Figure 3.6.



Figure 3.6. "March in Castle Cary", from one (unspecified) of the nineteenth century manuscripts from Widecombe (M-5). (Woods 2009:13).

Woods (2009:13) suggests that the fact that such a large proportion of the Widecombe tunes has such a military flavour is paradoxical, since the village was never a military centre and neither fiddles nor bass viol (for which the manuscripts were written) were used for marching bands. Another such military tune, "The Duke of York's March" is in several manuscripts including that of John Moore (b. 1819) (M-94) (Figure 3.7), the Browne family (c. 1825, M-37), Lawrence Leadley (M-86, C-75), Joshua Gibbons (M-62, C-95) and Joshua Jackson (M-82).



Figure 3.7. "Duke of York's March" from John Moore's manuscript (M-94)⁸⁷

Again, none of these manuscript owners had any occupational connection with the military. Wood (2009) suggests these marches would have been useful for providing jaunty background music for village fetes or festivals. Hardy also mentions "Soldier's Joy" in *Far*

⁸⁷ Source: EFDSS <http://library.efds.org/cgi-bin/dancebooks.cgi> viewed 15/09/12.

from the *Madding Crowd* to be one of the tunes played for a barn dance after the heroine's marriage to a military officer,⁸⁸ so it seems they were widely used in community life.

The manuscripts of one village band have a standard of musical literacy approaching that of classical musical scholarship. The band was known as the "Larks of Dean" and was group of Baptists from Rossendale in Lancashire active between the 1740's and 1860's.⁸⁹ Whilst most of these manuscripts contained sacred music, there is one volume which contains dance tunes. This was compiled in the mid 1830's by James Nuttall (M-98), the son of one of the group's founders. Chris Partington⁹⁰ observes that it has the hallmarks of a professional copyist and includes primo, second and bass parts, suggesting that Nuttall was classically trained and cognisant of the mainstream classical composers, as it also includes ten pieces by Handel and Mozart (such as "Handel's Water Piece", "Mozart's Grand Waltz" and "Mozart's Twelfth Mass"). There are also apparent tributes to Paganini;⁹¹ such as "Paganini's Manchester Set 1 to 4" which are four tunes stated to be for quadrilles (two in 6/8, two in 2/4). However, another, "Paganini's Hornpipe", (Figure 3.8) is a unique variant of the ubiquitous "Soldier's Joy" (Figure 3.5).

Paganini Hornpipe. JNu.04
Soldier's Joy-(fish), aka. JNu.04

England



Figure

3.8.

"Paganini Hornpipe" from the Nuttall manuscript (1830's, M-98).⁹²

⁸⁸ Hardy used tune names to reinforce his narratives and they are all in his manuscripts (M-68). For instance, in *Far from the Madding Crowd*, the hero plays "Jockey to the Fair" on his flute when he is waiting for employment at a country fair. Another tune played at a wedding dance was "Haste to the Wedding".

⁸⁹ Gallery Music website on the Larks of Dean: Source <http://www.psalmody.co.uk/articles/Seymour94.html> viewed 24/10/12.

⁹⁰ Writing on the Village Music Website http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/info_files/nuttall_j_info.htm viewed 24/05/13.

⁹¹ Paganini toured Britain and performed in nearby Manchester in 1832. 14 January 1832: Paganini comes to Manchester". Quote: "The virtuoso violinist leaves the Guardian's critic lost for words". From the "The Guardian: from the archive blog", source <http://www.guardian.co.uk/theguardian/from-the-archive-blog/2011/may/06/newspapers-national-newspapers1> viewed 01/11/2012.

⁹² Source: Village Music Website <http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/abc/nuttall.abc> viewed 01/11/12. Converted from ABC using <http://www.folkinfo.org/songs/abconvert.php>

The first three bars of the A part is recognizable as the version of “Soldier’s Joy” in Figure 3.5. However, it differs from the fourth bar onwards. The reason is unknown. It might be Nuttall’s attempt at superimposing a Paganini-type playing style onto what was evidently (from its presence in so many other contemporaneous manuscripts) a popular and well-known march.

In contrast to Nuttall, many other manuscripts suggest their compilers were not musically educated but were instead enthusiastic learners who improved over time. For instance, Henry Atkinson (manuscripts dated 1694 onwards, M-18) began by explaining to himself the note values, tunings for the violin and bowing instructions. Marsh (2010:212) observes how in the earlier pages, there are frequent smudges and errors, note values are confused, key signatures are misunderstood, bar-lines are often missing or wrongly placed, and time signatures generally absent. However, later tunes are re-written in much improved format. This is demonstrated through two versions of “Reed House Rant”. Figure 3.9 represents one of his first attempts at noting the tune, and Figure 3.10 is from later on in the manuscript where his understanding of musical notation has improved. The tune is the same as “Old Lancashire Hornpipe”, Figure 2.4.



Figure 3.9. “Reed House Rant” from page 6 of Henry Atkinson’s manuscript (begun c. 1694, M-18).⁹³



Figure 3.10. A later version of “Reed House Rant”, on Page 137 of Henry Atkinson’s manuscript, (M-18).⁹⁴

⁹³ <http://www.folknortheast.com/archive/detail.asp?id=R0100602> viewed 10/02/12.

In Figure 3.9, the treble clef is drawn in the archaic style common in the seventeenth century, combining 'g' with 'd', and there is no time signature. In Figure 3.10, there is a time signature but it is the archaic form of **C3i** for 6/4 and the use of tied notes has been adopted. These features are consistent with the developments in printed musical notation at the time, and suggest that Atkinson was keeping abreast of them.

Another likely learner was Robert Berwick (1788-1849) who is known to have been a pupil of the celebrated Northumberland smallpiper John Peacock (see pages 152-3). An example of a tune from Berwick's manuscript is Figure 3.11.

74. Andrew Kerr



Figure 3.11. "Andrew Kerr" from Robert Bewick's manuscript, c.1840. (M-30). (Seattle 1998: No.74, C-84).

This tune is a much simpler version of that found in an earlier printed collection (Figure 5.10). This may reflect the fact that Berwick had limited skill as a learner, perhaps necessitating its adaption accordingly. Since Figure 5.10 was written for the fiddle in the key of D, it might also have been transposed to G specifically for the northumbrian smallpipes which lacked the low D key. Such changes illustrate the same strategy I described previously in the context of "The Clumsy Lover".

The dance tune melodies in these manuscripts are in a wide variety of meters.⁹⁵ In most cases, they are in simple binary form; AB or AABB. However, there are also examples where dance tunes have been lengthened through the addition of variations. A manuscript which is almost entirely composed of such lengthened melodies is that of William Dixon from Northumberland (M-56), which was compiled over the years 1733-8. One of his tunes is "Berwick Bully" (Figure 3.12). In the original manuscript, the tonic is F and there are no accidentals, making it F Lydian. It has been transposed by Seattle to G Lydian for the benefit of modern players.

⁹⁴ <http://www.folknortheast.com/archive/detail.asp?id=R0113701> viewed 10/02/12.

⁹⁵ For instance, Henry Atkinson's contains 80 tunes in common time, of which 4 claim to be marches, 3 bourrees, 1 Gavot, and 1 pibroch: 56 tunes in 6/4 of which 6 claim to be jiggs, 2 trots, 1 minuet, and 1 march; 51 tunes in 3/4 of which 7 claim to be minuets, and 1 saraband; 11 tunes in 3/2 of which 1 claims to be a hornpipe, and 1 round; 10 tunes in 9/4 of which 1 claims to be a jig, and 1 country dance; 1 tune in 6/8 which claims to be a jig (Chris Partington, on VMP website http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/info_files/atkinson_info.htm).



Figure 3.12. “Berwick Bully” in the William Dixon manuscript (1733-8, M-56). (Seattle 1995:77, C-86).

This is a longer version of “The New Road to Berwick” from Atkinson’s manuscript (M-18) dated thirty years earlier (Figure 3.13).



Figure 3.13. “The New Road to Berwick” from the Atkinson manuscript (1694-5, M-18).⁹⁶

Apart from the addition of parts and relatively minor melodic changes, the most striking difference is the apparent change in modality due to the absence of accidentals in Dixon’s version. The tonic is in F in both versions, but Seattle (1995:96) suggests Dixon omitted the accidentals deliberately in order to fit the tune to bagpipes, thus changing its original modality from F Ionian to F Lydian. However, I suggest that the omission may simply be a facet of carelessness or comparative unfamiliarity with written music. It is not uncommon for

⁹⁶ <http://www.folknortheast.com/archive/detail.asp?id=R0112301> viewed 14/04/13.

players nowadays, myself included, to note down familiar melodies in a similar way, i.e. lacking accidentals, in order just to be able to recall them at a glance.

A review of the lives and occupations of the manuscript owners, where known,⁹⁷ suggests that the majority were born into, or entered, the middle classes. Despite having varying degrees of musical literacy as I suggested, they were educated, they owned instruments, and had the leisure time to learn to play them. Henry Atkinson (1670-1759), son of a yeoman, became a successful coal trader in Newcastle.⁹⁸ The family of Joshua Jackson (b.1763, manuscript dated 1798, M-82) owned farmland and operated a corn mill, and his relatives included sheriffs, bailiffs, aldermen and mayors in the nearby town of Ripon (Shepherd 2011:22). Matthew Betham (1797-1863) whose manuscript (M-29) is dated to 1815 as proposed by VMP, and the Browne family (manuscripts M-35 to M-38) which are dated by VMP to 1788-1850, are all thought to have been wealthy landowners in Cumbria. Robert Bewick (1788-1849) (M-30) was the son of successful Newcastle engraver, Thomas Bewick. Shropshire-born John Moore (b. 1819, M-94) ran a nursery business. In Ireland, John Pigot (1822-71, M-100), the son of a prominent statesman from Co.Cork, was a barrister and amateur poet (O'Sullivan 1958:80-1), and there were two Anglican Clergymen: the Rev. Robert Harrison of Cumbria (manuscript compiled c. 1820, M-69) and the Rev. James Goodman (1828-1896, M-64) of Co. Cork, who was also Professor of Irish at Trinity College Dublin. Henry Hudson (1798-1881, M-76) was a dental surgeon from Dublin. Some were professional musicians: German-born John Malchair (1739-1810, M-90) trained as a chorister at Cologne Cathedral, and by his teens he was teaching violin and playing in the Three Choirs festival. The period over which he compiled his manuscripts coincided with his tenure as leader of the "Oxford Music Room Band". William Forde (M-59) was a flautist and musicologist from Cork who, as well as collecting tunes, also gave lecture-recitals on the music of other countries (O'Sullivan 1958: 80-81). One, Thomas Hardy, the son of a Dorset stonemason, achieved literary fame as stated earlier. Another, John Clare (1793-1864, M-43), was the son of a labourer in Northamptonshire and lived an impoverished life, but is now celebrated as a poet.⁹⁹ Of those whose circumstances I have ascertained, only George

⁹⁷ No original study has been done on the lives of any manuscript compilers. The biographical information presented in this chapter is solely derived from cited references which in turn were obtained from census records and other archive material. Information on Matthew Bentham, the Browne family, George Henry Watson, John Clare, John Miller, James Nuttall and the Winder family is from the VMP website. Biographical details of Henry Huntlea, John Malchair and John Moore are from the on-line "Gallery of Historic Dance and Tune Books" launched by the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library in August 2012; <http://library.ehdss.org/cgi-bin/introdancebooks.cgi> viewed 21/10/12 Joshua Jackson's life and manuscript is taken from Shepherd et al (2011). Information on Henry Atkinson and his manuscript is from Marsh (2012:211) and FARNE. Information on John Clare is from Deacon (2002) and the John Clare Society website <http://johnclaresociety.blogspot.co.uk/> viewed 13/10/12. Information on James Goodman is from Shields (1998) and O'Sullivan (1958). O'Sullivan (1958) also describes the other Irish collectors, Henry Hudson, John Pigot, Edward Bunting, William Forde, George Petrie, and Patrick Joyce. Information on Thomas Bewick and William Vickers is from Seattle (1988).

⁹⁸ Henry Atkinson was wealthy enough to contribute towards the founding of a charity school in 1709. When he died in 1759, he was described in the local newspaper as a man "whose Character in publick and private Life has left his Memory an Honour to Trade and exemplary to all" (Marsh 2010:211).

⁹⁹ And "rural activist"; BBC's "Countryfile", broadcast 5th May 2013.

Henry Watson (1859-1944, M-121) appears to have had a more artisan livelihood, having been a Norfolk labourer and brick-maker.

The most interesting finding was that the number of tunes the manuscripts contained which were common to more than one manuscript, was higher than the number which were unique to any particular manuscript. Sometimes the melodies differ between manuscripts in their details. I have proposed some reasons for this, with musical aptitude and literacy probably probably responsible for some of the simplifications present such as the omission of accidentals. Manuscripts from Ireland and Tyneside tend also to contain many slightly different versions of these same tunes, suggesting they were popular and widely played.

However, otherwise, many of the tunes are remarkably consistent from one manuscript to another, which is surprising given they are from a wide variety of locations. For instance “Black Joke” is found in manuscripts as far apart as Lincolnshire (Joshua Gibbons, 1823, M-62) and Cumbria (John Rook, 1840, M-102). “Rakes of Mallow” (Figure 3.2) is found in Shropshire (John Moore, c.1840’s, M-94) and Northamptonshire (John Clare, 1820’s, M-43). “Speed the Plough” is in Northamptonshire (John Clare, 1820’s, M-43), North Yorkshire (William Calvert, 1820, M-41), Cumbria, (Robert Harrison, 1820, M-69), West Yorkshire (George Spencer, 1831, M-109) and Newcastle (William Lister Hall, mid-nineteenth century, M-67). These consistencies are also evident when comparing manuscripts of different ages. “Morgan Rattler” as found in Sussex (Aylemore, 1796, M-20), North Yorkshire (Joshua Jackson, 1798, 82) and Kent (William Mittel, 1799, 93), is still recognisable to the later versions as found from Lincolnshire (Joshua Gibbons, 1823, M-62), Cumbria (Robert Harrison, c.1815, M-69) and Northamptonshire (John Clare, 1820’s, M-43).

I suggest that these similarities are explained through the tunes having been copied from common written sources, and I propose these were published tune-books. Some manuscript compilers leave us proof. For instance, John Clare’s letters describe how he copied from such books during his visits to Drury’s shop in Stamford (Deacon 2002:303). Similarly, John Malchair, in his manuscript, not only gives the published sources of his tunes, but also explains how he modernized the form of notation from the archaic form in his source to what we now recognise as modern.¹⁰⁰ The more one looks, the more the tunes in the manuscripts can be located in pre-existing publications. The version of Carolan’s “Bumper Squire Jones” from Alawon John Thomas’ manuscript (1752, M-113) could have been copied from “Bumper Esquire Jones” printed in a tune-book reportedly published in

¹⁰⁰Malchair’s notes show that a significant proportion of his tunes were copied from various editions of the Playford *Dancing Master* series (described in chapter 4) and he is precise and correct with these references. Examples are “Oswestry Wake” (mentioned in chapter 6), “Hey Boys, up we go” and “Astrop Wells” (see Figure 3.1). With the latter, he states that “in the Edition of 1695 this tune has six crotchets in a barr insad [sic] of Nine, this mistake is common in the early practice of Barring Music”. His notes also identify other printed sources of his copied tunes. Many were from the Aird series (1788-1801, A-11 to A-16, which is described in chapter 5), such as “Linky Lanky”, “Sweet Mally” (both p89) and “Le Jupon Rouge” (p101). He also refers (p.25) to other sources such as *Mr Gibbons collection of Scotch tunes*.

London between 1745 and 1750, namely, *Thurmoth's Twelve English and Twelve Irish Airs*, (A-189) (O'Sullivan 1958:247, A-150). The alternative scenario is that this violinist from Wales travelled to Ireland and learnt the tune by ear, which I believe is less likely. Many of the dance tunes can be traced back to the Playford publications of the late 1600's (which I describe in the next chapter) such as "Leshley's March" from Atkinson's manuscript (1694/5, M-18) which is the same as "General Leshley's March" from Playford's *Musick's Delight* (1666). John Moore's manuscript contains "Cheshire Round" (from Playford's *Dancing Master*, 1701, reprinted seven times until 1728) and "Mad Moll" (Figure 4.2) (from Playford's *Dancing Master*, in eight editions dated from 1698 (D-151) to 1728 (D-160). Alawon John Thomas' manuscript contains "Bili Bylero" which is a variant of "Lilli Burlero" from Playford's *Dancing Master*, 1690, reprinted ten times until 1728 (D-160).¹⁰¹ Even the title of Hardy's novel about his village band, *Under the Greenwood Tree*, is the name of a dance in Playford's *Dancing Master* published in 1679 (D-7/147) and re-printed several times until 1728 (D-160). I therefore suggest that the copying of tunes from pre-existing published tune-books is the most convincing explanation for the presence of most of the dance tunes in the unpublished "domestic" manuscripts I reviewed.

In addition, the explanation for the assemblages of dance tunes in these "domestic" manuscripts is that they were comprised of tunes that their owners liked and aspired to play. Their owners had differing incomes, interests, objectives, and levels of ability, and their scripts were for personal use, or else for their role in bands which were essentially voluntary. In attempting to identify any overarching "tradition" defining these manuscripts, I suggest their motives are the same today. The nature of the tunes depends on the skill of the player, the instrument(s) they play, their personal preferences, who they know or have known, and whether they play for a band or other purposes. Overall, a blend of personal and social circumstances determines the choice of tunes, then and now. As for the sources of the tunes, it is the inclination of the player, and their available resources which determines the repertory. Tunes which appear in a printed book distributed by a publisher will have been copied down by players in widely separated locations who will have never met. The motives of, and methods used by, the players who compiled these historical "domestic" manuscripts are synonymous with practices followed today.

3.2 "Military" Manuscripts

The second category of manuscripts is those linked with the military. I was particularly interested in these given the presence of marches and other tunes with martial names described in the context of "domestic manuscripts". The Village Music Project (VMP) identified two manuscripts to have been owned by people who, Chris Partington suggests,

¹⁰¹ As "Lilliburlero", this was the theme tune for the BBC World Service from at least 1989 until 2008.

were of officer rank and possibly in charge of regimental music.¹⁰² As this occupation was sufficiently distinct to those who compiled the “domestic” manuscripts, I have considered them as a separate topic.

The two manuscripts I considered (described and transcribed by VMP) were owned by a Benjamin Cooke, compiled around 1770 (M-52), and a John Miller, compiled between 1799 and 1801 (M-92).¹⁰³ No biographical detail is currently known for either, but some of Benjamin Cooke’s manuscript contains parts for two voices suggesting, again, he was either copying or composing for a band.

Both manuscripts contain a higher proportion of marches than the “domestic” manuscripts. Cooke’s contains twenty-one out of sixty-two, and Miller’s contains one hundred and seventeen musical items of which twenty-six are common time marches and eleven are 6/8 marches. I have previously argued the relevance of military marches to today’s “dance tune” repertoire and another demonstration of this is with “Duke of Cumberland’s March” from Cooke’s manuscript (Figure 3.14). This tune, under the name “Studentenmarch”, was recorded by Brian Peters on his CD *The Beast in the Box* (Pugwash Music, 1998). He learned it from folk musicians from Denmark.¹⁰⁴ Brian was unaware of its appearance in Cooke’s manuscript, nor the fact that it might have had anything to do with the Duke of Cumberland.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Steve Campbell owns an anonymous manuscript which he dates to around 1810. He proposes it was the property of a member of a regimental mess band. Steve Campbell, pers. com. April 2010.

¹⁰³ Source: http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/info_files/cooke_b_info.htm (Cook) and http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/info_files/miller_j_info.htm viewed 02/02/12.

¹⁰⁴ Brian Peters (pers. com. November 2012) understood this to be a seventeenth century Dutch tune, and also noticed its similarity to a tune called simply “A March” in the Watts manuscript (M-122). The name “Studentenmarch” (not necessarily the tune) has also been used for a revolutionary marching tune from Prague which I have not explored further.

¹⁰⁵ The Duke of Cumberland was Prince William Augustus (1721-1765), the younger son of King George II. He was a military commander and was involved in several campaigns over the period 1726 to 1757. He is most famous for his role as the leader of the Williamite forces who defeated the last Jacobite Rebellion at the Battle of Culloden (Inverness) in 1746. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.eresources.shef.ac.uk/view/article/29455?docPos=6> viewed 10/11/13.



Figure 3.14. “The Duke of Cumberland’s March” from Benjamin Cooke’s manuscript, (c. 1770, M-52).¹⁰⁶

Other marches in the Cooke manuscript have names like “The Wiltshire March”, “The Gloucestershire March” and “The Oxfordshire March”. Many of Miller’s are simply called “March” or “Quick Step”, or else have names associated with regiments such as “13th Regt. of Light Dragoons March”, “Tipperary Militia Quick March” or “Slow March 34th Regt”. As with the example above, many other names of marches are connected with military heroes; such as “Sir John Ligonier’s Trumpet March” and “Capt. Hood’s March”.¹⁰⁷ One can conclude these melodies were intended to be played for the infantry to march to.¹⁰⁸

Chris Partington¹⁰⁹ suggests Miller may have served in the Black Watch in Perth, and the fact that he also wrote comments on his manuscript such as “Strabane May 12th 1800” (a jig called “The Heymakers”), “Stranorlar Barracks” (a slow march) and “Londonderry” (a quick step) suggests he was serving in the north of Ireland over the period that he collated the manuscript. If so, this means the manuscript is a fascinating glimpse into the lives of the

¹⁰⁶ Source: Village Music Project website, http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/info_files/cooke_b_info.htm viewed 11/10/12. ABC notation transcribed using <http://mandolintab.net/abcconverter.php>.

¹⁰⁷ Sir John Ligonier is identified by Chris Partington of VMP as a Huguenot who escaped from France aged seventeen in 1697, joined the Dragoons in 1702 under Marlborough, was Colonel of a “splendid Regiment of Irish Dragoons” by 1720, fought with distinction in the continental wars of the mid eighteenth century, and became progressively Viscount, Commander-in-Chief, Earl and finally Field Marshal by 1766. The same source observes that there are at least four distinguished Capt. Hoods of around the right period, all of whom were related and all of whom went on to achieve high office in the Admiralty, admirals etc. Source: http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/info_files/cooke_b_info.htm viewed 15/05/11.

¹⁰⁸ The films “Waterloo” and “Barry Lyndon” (both 1970) both have scenes in which the infantry marched long distances to the sound of bagpipes or fife and drum, playing marches including the well-known “British Grenadiers”, whose origin is described in chapter 5.

¹⁰⁹ http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/info_files/miller_j_info.htm viewed 24/05/13.

Scottish battalions sent to Ireland following the Irish rebellion of 1798.¹¹⁰ However, many of the tunes in these manuscripts have names evoking earlier conflicts, primarily those of the Jacobite Rebellions.¹¹¹ For instance, the tunes “Boyne Watter” and “Drogheadia Militia Slow March”, both of which are in Miller’s manuscript, undoubtedly refer to the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 which was one of the first major battles of the Jacobite conflict.¹¹²

As introduced in the context of “domestic” manuscripts, Partington highlights that several clues in John Miller’s manuscript, such as his incorrect noting of keys, suggest his musical knowledge was basic. There are also many notes and corrections in both his hand and others’, suggesting this was very much a working document. Occasional tunes may have been composed by his colleagues, such as “Collon Campbell’s Quickstep” (no. 5) “by M.G.” and “Aldriges Hornpipe” (no. 70) “by Morgan”. The book’s title is the handwritten “John Miller his book of tunes for the Fyfe”, suggesting he was in the fife and drum band which accompanied the marching troops.

As well as marches, both these manuscripts also include what are likely to have been dance tunes genuinely intended for dances,¹¹³ as well as other types of melodies, including songs, carols, hymns and other instrumental pieces.¹¹⁴ This suggests these military musicians were expected not only to play for the marches, but to provide the music for other aspects of their lives, including worship, and for entertainments such as reviews and mess balls.

These two “military” manuscripts contain many more marches and quicksteps than the “domestic” manuscripts. From their names alone, it may be deduced that some of their tunes originated from the preceding century, although others were newer and possibly even

¹¹⁰ <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/294143/Irish-Rebellion> viewed 05/04/12. Moody and Martin (2001:169-175)

¹¹¹ The Jacobite Rebellions date from 1688, when Catholic King James VII of Scotland (James II of England) was deposed and replaced by the English by his Protestant son-in-law, the Dutch ruler, William III (“of Orange”, as were termed the heirs to the House of Orange-Nassau, the rulers of the Netherlands). They were rival claimants to the British throne which, furthered by their descendants, were born out by a hundred and ten years of conflict, fought firstly mainly in Ireland (Moody and Martin 2001:169-175) and subsequently in Scotland in the 1700’s.

¹¹² The Battle of the Boyne in 1690 was one of the first battles of the long-running Jacobite Rebellion. William of Orange, now King William III of England, was defending his position as sovereign of Britain. Also at stake were French dominance in Europe and religious power in Ireland. William was supported by troops from England, Scotland, Holland, Denmark and the French Huguenots’ community. The deposed King James II was supported by Irish Catholics and Royalist French troops. The battle took place in the valley of the River Boyne near Drogheda, Co. Louth. William’s forces won a decisive victory, which has been celebrated ever since by the Protestant Orange Order. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/76525/Battle-of-the-Boyne> viewed 07/08/12.

¹¹³ Of Miller’s 39 dance tunes, are 8 jigs, 4 strathspeys, 12 reels, 1 slip jig and 14 English hornpipes (including the ubiquitous “Soldiers Joy”). Benjamin Cooke’s manuscript similarly contains 31 dance tunes: 14 minuets, 6 jig country dances, 3 gavots, 5 miscellaneous country dances and 3 common-time country dances. Source: http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/info_files/miller_j_info.htm viewed 16/03/12.

¹¹⁴ Benjamin Cooke included 10 “airs” and Miller has 16 “airs” and 25 sacred items & psalms. One of Miller’s “airs” is the song “O Dear what can the matter be” and another is “Rule Britannia”. A third, “Gragalmacree Retreat”, is a slow lament. Other pieces in Miller’s manuscript include “Psalms” and “Hymn Tune for Christmas” (which is the carol “While Shepherds Watched”) which would have been played as part of the regimental band’s responsibilities for worship. The tune “Madam you know my trade is war” might have been composed for a moral boosting event like a concert party. Source: http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/info_files/miller_j_info.htm viewed 16/03/12.

composed by their owners or their fellow band members. A sizeable proportion of melodies were the same dance tunes as in the “domestic” manuscripts (both older and younger), including “Soldier’s Joy”. I therefore conclude that, as with the “domestic” manuscripts, many of the dance tunes and marches found in the “military” manuscripts were also directly copied from pre-existing published tune books.

3.3 Manuscripts of Professional Dance Masters

The final category of manuscripts is of those compiled by people whose occupations are known to have been professionally connected with dancing. The manuscripts I refer to are, from Perthshire, the “Drummond Castle Manuscript” dated 1734 (M-132); two manuscripts from Lancashire by gentlemen called Winder dated 1789 and 1834-42 (M-127 and M-126 respectively); and from Aberdeen, selected hand-written scores by James Scot Skinner dated between 1880 and 1900 (M-105). The fact that their owners had a common occupation, and therefore a common motive for compiling these manuscripts, allows certain conclusions to be drawn with regard to their circumstantial disparities, such as their places of residence and their periods in history.

The “Drummond Castle Manuscript” is entitled *A Collection of Country Dances written for the use of his Grace the Duke of Perth by Dav. Young, 1734*.¹¹⁵ The name suggests this David Young was employed by the Duke of Perth¹¹⁶ as a dancing master. He is also assumed to be the author of another manuscript, as well as a book of dances published in Edinburgh which are both dated 1740.¹¹⁷ Although relatively obscure,¹¹⁸ the “Drummond Castle” manuscript is thought to contain the earliest known versions of “Because He Was a Bonnie Lad” (Figure 2.1), “Drummond Castle” (Figure 2.2), and several other tunes seen in many later publications I describe in the subsequent chapters.

The second manuscript is that of John Winder (M-127). VMP proposes that it is one of a larger collection compiled by several generations of the Winder family from Lancashire. It is inscribed “John Winder, Book, April 1789” and contains fifty-four dance tunes.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Source: http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/DRO_DRUM.htm

¹¹⁶ The Dukes of Perth were prominent Scottish aristocrats at the time when the lowland regions of south and east Scotland were the battle grounds between the Williamite rulers supportive of the Act of Union in 1701, and Jacobite aristocrats who sided with the Highland clan chieftains to support James II/VII’s son (the “Old Pretender”) and then grandson (the “Young Pretender”, or “Bonnie Prince Charlie”) as monarch. The Dukes were closely connected with Bonnie Prince Charlie, with whom the third Duke, (1713–1746), to whom the manuscript was dedicated, fought at Culloden in 1746 and died whilst evading capture.

¹¹⁷ David Young’s “MacFarlane Manuscript” (1740, M-131) and *A Collection of the newest Country Dances performed in Scotland and Written at Edinburgh* (D-870).

¹¹⁸ The manuscript is not thought to have ever been published. All references I could locate suggest it was in the possession of Earl of Ancaster at Drummond Castle in Perthshire in the early 1970’s, but this has not been verified.

¹¹⁹ The dance tunes comprise 9 reels, 3 marches, 8 airs (including “God Save the King”), 9 hornpipes, 1 slip jig, 2 ‘scots measures’ (4/4), 11 jigs, 4 country dances (in 6/4, 4/4 or 2/2), 2 minuets, 2 hymns, 1 trot (6/8) and 1 rigadon

Circumstantial evidence suggests he was a dancing master whose income, unlike David Young, was at least partly commercially derived through organising public balls. VMP has identified newspaper advertisements and fliers for balls dated 1792, 1793, 1796 and 1801, and one states that John Winder "late a pupil to Mr. Holloway, London" has "just returned from London and intends to open a school". Figure 3.15 is an example of one of Mr. Winder's advertisements.

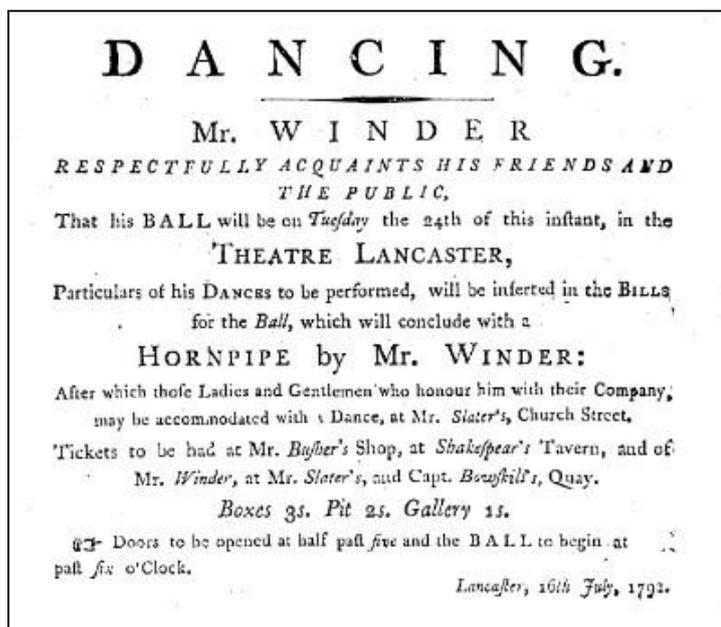


Figure 3.15. Flier advertising one of Mr Winder's balls, dated 1792.¹²⁰

The identity of the "Hornpipe by Mr Winder" is unknown but an example of one of the nine hornpipes from this manuscript which has not yet been located in older collections is Figure 3.16. As mentioned earlier, this example also demonstrates the ambiguity that is often found with regard to the meter of hornpipes. Two versions of this hornpipe are present in the manuscript, one in 2/4 and one in 6/8 time.

Nancy Dawson's HP. JWDM.08 *"for a country dance" (England)*

$\text{♩} = 90$

Written in alternative 6/8 and 2/4 rhythms.

Figure 3.16. "Nancy Dawson's Hornpipe" from John Winder's manuscript (X.8, 1789, M-127).¹²¹

(6/8). They have been transcribed into ABC format on the Village Music Project by Taz Tarry and these descriptions are from this transcription. Source: <http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/abc/winderjn.abc>.

¹²⁰ Source: http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/info_files/winderad.htm viewed 23/10/12.

The second Winder manuscript was that of one of John Winder's successors, a James Winder (M-126), and was collated between 1834 and 1842.¹²² Of its 347 items, 271 are dance tunes and the remainder are 41 airs, 37 marches (2/4) and eight miscellaneous melodies.¹²³ Again, the VMP refers to a newspaper advertisement from 1831 announcing the "Winder and Sons' Juvenile Ball" at the Theatre Royal, Lancaster.

The final manuscripts reviewed were those of famous Scottish musician James Scott Skinner (1843–1927) who was the dancing master at Queen Victoria's retreat at Balmoral, and a prolific composer. His life is well documented¹²⁴ and examples of two of his compositions which are well known today thanks to various published versions and commercial recordings, are Figure 3.17 and Figure 3.18. According to Flett (1964:2), these are typical of the Scottish "True Reel", composed of a "companion pair", namely a reel and strathspey, which were distinguished by a change of musical rhythm. As in these examples, the latter was often a variant of the reel but distinguished by the use of the "spiccato" (off-the-string) bowing (dotted note), and was faster and more challenging to play. Figures 3.17 and 3.18 are also typical, in being written for the violin with a simple base line of open fifths for a 'cello. In Figure 3.18, Scott Skinner's handwritten notes on the tuning of the violin are visible.

¹²¹ <http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/abc/winderjn.abc> viewed 15/03/12. Tune transcribed by Taz Tarry and converted using <http://mandolintab.net/abconverter.php>.

¹²² Source: Chris Partington on the Village Music Project website http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/info_files/winder_jas_info.htm viewed 15/03/12.

¹²³ They are 58 jigs, 39 country dances, 33 reels, 34 hornpipes, 24 waltzes, 20 quadrilles, 16 minuets, 13 quicksteps, 10 rigadoons, 6 triple hornpipes, 5 strathspeys, 4 slip jigs, 4 set tunes, 3 scots measures and 2 cotillons.

¹²⁴ The son of a dance master from Aberdeenshire, Scott Skinner's father's early death meant he had to earn a living playing at barn dances from the age of eight, having been taught by his elder brother to play tunes on the violin, and to 'vamp', or play a bass line on the cello. His musical education was bolstered by his joining "Dr Mark's Little Men", a boys' performing troupe from Manchester, with whom he toured Britain and during which was taught to read and write music. He took dancing lessons from "Professor" William Scott of Aberdeen (from whom he adopted the name Scott) and in 1862, he won first prize in a Sword Dance competition, accompanying himself on the fiddle, at a Highland dancing competition in Ireland. The following year he won a violin competition in Inverness, and became a professional dancing-master. He held his first classes at Strathdon, Aberdeenshire but his growing reputation eventually led to work at Balmoral Castle, Queen Victoria's Scottish retreat. From then he expanded his dancing schools to cover most of the North of Scotland, including Inverness and Wick, all of which were becoming accessible by rail. By the 1870s, he was performing across the North-east of Scotland and, influenced by Paganini, was performing virtuoso violin solos by him and other European composers. He toured North America in 1893 and on his return, devoted his remaining years to performing and composing. One of the first Scottish artists to be recorded, his recordings spanned from 1899 to 1922 which ensured his wider fame. In 1911 he performed at the opening of the London Palladium. Source: University of Aberdeen website, <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/scottskinner/introduction.shtml> (viewed 15/09/12).



Figure 3.17. “Angus Campbell” reel by James Scot Skinner, from a manuscript dated 1880-1900. (M-105).¹²⁵

Figure 3.18. “The Laird O’ Drumblair” strathspey by James Scot Skinner, from a manuscript dated 1880-1900. (M-105).¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Source: <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/scottskinner/display.php?ID=JSS0082> viewed 25/02/12.

¹²⁶ Source: <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/scottskinner/display.php?ID=JSS0081> viewed 25/02/12. The Laird of Drumblair was William McHardy who was one of Skinner’s patrons.

These “dancing master” manuscripts probably all contain a proportion of dance tunes composed by their owners, but the fact that John Winder’s hornpipe is prominently billed suggests that the proportion of self-compositions in his manuscript is lower, and therefore more of a novelty. The Scottish dancing masters were employed for the purpose of providing entertainments for the aristocracy at their castles and country estates. Relatively isolated, it is easy to see how their dance repertory might have contained a higher proportion of self-penned compositions. By contrast, the Winders had to operate in more competitively commercial circumstances where their income depended on the popularity of their balls. Since they had to accommodate the eclectic expectations of their clientele, they seem to have included dances from a variety of sources including Scotland,¹²⁷ jaunty military marches¹²⁸ and other evidently popular dance tunes as found in the “domestic” manuscripts.

3.4 Summary of Chapter 3

I have described a selection of hand-written manuscripts which are intended to be representative of all parts of Britain and Ireland. Having reviewed their contents, I have drawn some conclusions about the lives of their compilers; their occupations, their interests, their social lives and their musical abilities. Many manuscript contained self-penned melodies. However, a significant proportion of the dance tunes contained in these manuscripts had been copied by their owners from existing published books of tunes. I therefore suggest that an important factor that influences their contents was the availability of these printed tune-books. Consequently, I describe them in the next two chapters.

¹²⁷ John Winder’s (M-127) includes nine reels with likely Scottish titles like “The High Road to Gallaway”, “Lady Mary Ramsay”, “Flowers of Edinburgh” and “Highland Laddy”. James Winder’s (M-126) has 33 reels including “Flowers of Edinburgh” and more versions of “Highland Laddy”, five strathspeys, and one “Scotch Hornpipe”. It also contains “Billy’s a Bonney Lad” which is the same as “Because He Was a Bonny Lad” from the Drummond Castle manuscript.

¹²⁸ James Winder’s manuscript (M-126) contains “King William’s March”, and both Winder manuscripts contain “Over the Water to Charley” and the ubiquitous “Soldier’s Joy”.

4 Published Books of Country Dances

This chapter deals with a distinctive category of published books that contained “country dances”. They were demonstrably the frequent sources of the dance tunes which were copied into the hand-written manuscripts. In some of the tune histories I compiled, the appearance of a certain version of a particular dance tune can be traced directly to a book of country dances published at a date slightly preceding that of the identical manuscript version. This was the case for “Hunt the Squirrel”, “Seven Stars”,¹²⁹ “Duke of York’s March”, “Battle of the Boyne” and “Black Joke” amongst others. In this category of published tune-books, the dance tunes are specifically termed “country dances”. This defined the categorization of these primary sources into Appendix 3, and it is also how I describe these dance tunes throughout this chapter. The musical form of these country dances is entirely consistent with that of the traditional dance tunes, being short, reprised phrases in constant meters and in double or triple time.

In examining each of the categories of historical primary sources of written dances tunes as grouped into Appendices 2, 3 and 4, my intention was investigate them far back over history as I could. For this category, published books of country dances, I was able to trace their precursors to much further back in time than I expected. Many studies of folk music begin with the year 1651 which was when Playford’s *Dancing Master* was published. However, I traced aspects of the musical and contextual origins of the country dances in *Dancing Master* right back to the fifteenth century. I can therefore present, in this chapter, a proposed narrative of the origin of the country dance based on inferences drawn from their earliest written representations in the Renaissance era.

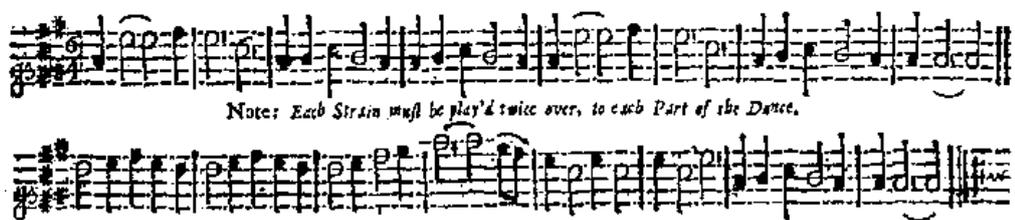
4.1 Published Books of Country Dances in Appendix 3: 1651-1900

Unlike the unpublished hand-written manuscripts described in the previous chapter, the published books of country dances listed in Appendix 3 contain no other type of melody other than the country dances. A typical example is Thompson’s *Twenty-Four Dances for the Year 1771* (D-232). It contains twenty-four dances, of which twenty-one of the melodies are in two parts (11 with 8+8 bars, six with 4+4 bars, two with 4+8 bars and two with 8+16 bars); one is in three parts (4 + 4 + 4 bars) and two are in four parts (4 + 4 + 4 +4 bars), with refrains. As for meter, nine tunes are in common time, eight in 2/4, five in 6/8, one in 3/8 and one in 9/8. The form of notation of the dances is consistently an unadorned single melodic line, with the instructions or choreographies for the dances provided underneath, as in Figure 4.1 below.

¹²⁹ Earliest known version of “Seven Stars” is in Rutherford’s *Compleat Collection of 200 of the Most Celebrated Country Dances*, vol. 1, dated 1756 (D-191/754). This pre-dates all known manuscript versions listed by Callaghan (2007).

This is the same melody as Figures 1.10 and 1.11.

Hunt the Squirrel, Longways for as many as will, ♩♩♩♩



Note: Each Strain must be play'd twice over, to each Part of the Dance.

The 1. Man Heys on the We. side, and the 1. Wo. on the Men's side at the same time. Then 1. Man Heys on the Men's side, and the Wo. on the We. side, till they come into their own places. Then the 1. cu. cross over and turn. Then the 2. cu. do the same.

The 1. Man goes the Figure of 8 on the Men's side, his Partner follows him at the same time, then she slips into her own place. Then 1. Wo. cast off on the outside of the 3. Wo. and half Figures with the 3. and 2. We. her Partner follows her at the same time, then the Man slips into his own place. The 1. cu. being at the top, the 1. Man changes over with the 2. Wo. and the 1. Wo. with the 2. Man, then all four Hands half round, then the 1. cu. being at the top cast off. Then Right and Left quite round, and turn your Partner.

Figure 4.1. "Hunt the Squirrel" as first printed in Playford's *Dancing Master or Plaine and easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, with the Tune to each Dance*, 1st Volume 14th Edition dated 1709 (D-156).¹³⁰ It was re-printed in four later editions up to 1728.

The earliest known country dance publications were that of John Playford, from which Figure 4.1 is taken. The first version was printed in 1651 and was titled "*The English Dancing Master, or Plaine and easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, with the Tune to each Dance*"¹³¹ and it contains the tunes and choreographies for a hundred and five dances. That this publication is relevant to today's playing of dance tunes is demonstrated by the fact that in 2007, two of its tunes, "Parson's Farewell" and "Goddesses", were chosen by the Silkstone Greens Morris side to accompany the dances "Adlington" and "Silkstone" respectively.¹³² Playford's *Dancing Master* (and its subsequent editions) is relatively well represented in academic literature.¹³³ It also has widespread popular recognition, with its melodies and dances being frequently performed by players and early dance enthusiasts.

The first edition was reprinted eighteen times in total. The title of all subsequent editions omitted the "English", being just *The Dancing Master*. The first six editions had some tunes

¹³⁰ Source: <http://www.izaak.unh.edu/nhltd/indexes/dancingmaster/>.

¹³¹ This edition appears three times in Appendix 3. D-1 and D-141 relate to a copy at the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London. Complete facsimiles of its contents are available from the CMI website in searchable format. Record D-609 relates to a different copy at the British Library, London.

¹³² The tunes were selected from modern printed collections where they were unattributed to Playford.

¹³³ I looked at several interpretative studies of Playford's *Dancing Master* published over the early twentieth century; namely Wells (1937), Gilchrist (1939, 1941), Dean-Smith (1952-3), Thurston (1952), and Wood (1937, 1949). The only modern study has been Whitlock (1999). All of these papers were published in the *Journal of the EFDSS*. A bibliography of Playford's publications was published by Frank Kidson (1918) but some of his source material, such as the first five editions of "*Apollo's Banquet*", was untraceable by 1952, either due to private collections being broken up, or the subsequent World War (Dean-Smith 1952-3:10). A list of Playford's publications is included in Fleishmann (1998). Barlow (1985) is an anthology of the entire *Dancing Master* series' tunes (transcribed and corrected) and an index of surviving copies and their current locations.

dropped and a greater number of new ones added. After the seventh, c. 1684, (which is when John Playford had retired and his son, Henry, took over, despite the book still bearing John's name), further minor additions were made up until the eleventh edition dated 1701. In c.1704, the firm was taken over by a John Young, an instrument maker, who, along with a John Cullen, obtained Henry Playford's stock-in-trade in about 1706 (Dean-Smith 1943:131). Young continued reprinting the series until the eighteenth and final edition in 1728 (Dean-Smith 1952-3:12). There were two further volumes, originally published in 1710 and c.1726 respectively, which were also reprinted several times. Keller¹³⁴ estimates that in total, the series contains 6,217 dances, although many were copied from one edition to the next (not necessarily accurately). The total number of distinct items is 1,053, including 186 tunes without dances, and three songs. This is not exact since from edition to edition, mistakes are corrected and new mistakes introduced, with misprints sometimes indistinguishable from variants. Barlow (1985:10) observes that some tunes changed from minor to major mode and vice-versa over the series, although he does not specify which ones. He is inconclusive as to whether this was due to mistakes or editorial taste but he also refers to sources other than *Dancing Master* to demonstrate the flexible attitude towards modality evident in printed music from this time. Two further examples of tunes from the *Dancing Master* series are Figures 4.2 below and 4.3 overleaf. Their original versions as they appear in *Dancing Master* match that of Figure 4.1, but as some available reproductions are not clear, I have reproduced them from Barlow (1985), in which the choreographies are omitted. Figure 4.2 is the same melody as "Peacock Follows the Hen" (Figures 1.6 and 1.7).

385 Mad Moll



Figure 4.2. "Mad Moll", as first printed in Playford's *Dancing Master* Part II (1698), re-printed in eight later editions until 1728. (Barlow 1985:91).

¹³⁴ <http://www.izaak.unh.edu/nhltmd/indexes/dancingmaster/> viewed 14/06/13.

339 Red House



Figure 4.3. “Red House”, as first printed in Playford’s *Dancing Master Part I*, 9th Edition (1695), re-printed in nine later editions until 1728. (Barlow 1985:82).

The form of musical notation used over the course of the *Dancing Master* series reflected contemporaneous developments in musical representation (Barlow 1985:5-9). In the first edition, the treble clef is sometimes centred on the lowest staff line depending on the pitch of the tune. It was customary to avoid ledger lines, which were sometimes omitted anyway. Both practices gradually die out. Bar lines were used fleetingly in the first two editions but comprehensively in the third (1657/1665) except that tunes in 9/4 are mistakenly barred in 6/4 and only correctly barred by the twelfth edition (1703). It also takes until the twelfth edition to standardize the time signatures, which until then were both archaic and inconsistent. Originally, **C**, **€** or **€** was variously used for tunes in 6/4 and 3/4, replaced by a simple **3** by the third edition, then by **€3** by the fourth, and even by **3i** in the eleventh. A **D** indicated common time, and the use of **C** or **D** backwards signified a faster tempo. The original tie sign is archaic in the first edition and modernised in the second. In the eleventh edition (1701) the quavers and smaller note values are grouped by their beams into pairs or larger groupings, (which is referred to as “the new tied note” in the book). This reverts to the tie sign in the twelfth edition (1703) before being reintroduced again in the thirteenth (1706) and maintained thereafter, as can be seen in the 1709 version of “*Hunt the Squirrel*” (Figure 4.1). Accidentals were marked with increasing care over time, particularly from the twelfth edition onwards. Comparison of different versions of the same tune also shows there was ambiguity over whether quavers were meant to be played equally or in long-short pairs.

The second edition specifies that the tunes were to be “playd on the Treble Violin” i.e. violin, as distinct from the viol, but the ninth edition (1695) also states “most of the tunes being within the compass of the flute”. Barlow (1985:6) suggests “flute” meant the recorder, although I would suggest it referred to the German (transverse) flute. From then on the melodies seem to have been targeted at players of either violin or “flute”.

The Playford / Young publishing firm enjoyed a monopoly at first but after 1694, it had competition.¹³⁵ The biggest rival was the firm of John Walsh.¹³⁶ One of the earliest of Walsh's publications was (with a P. Randall) a book called *For the Further Improvement of Dancing* in 1710 (D-293) which also contains country dances. This competition seems to have spurred both Young (Broadbridge and Fennessy 1997:5-9) and Walsh to emphasise the novelty of their country dances in their titles; such as Walsh's *Twenty-four New Country Dances for the year 1716 With New Tunes and New Figures or Directions to each Dance Humbly dedicated to Wilkin Williams Esq., by His Most Obedient and Most Humble Servant Nat Kynaston. Note the New Country Dancing Master is Published Containing the Country Dances of the Last Ten Years*, dated 1716 (D-249).

By the 1730's, even more publishing companies had set up, almost all of which were based in London. Again, they were seemingly intent on publicising their ability to offer new country dances almost every year. For instance, items D-217 through D-268 represent annual collections of country dances from 1754 to 1810 which were published originally by a Peter Thompson, then Charles, Samuel, Ann and another Peter; a family firm spanning several generations. Their emphasising of the novelty of these tunes (even in "the last ten years") contrasts with the expectation that has emerged now that these publications represented "collections" of tunes of more ancient provenance.

Despite such claims of originality, country dances were frequently replicated within and across the publications of these competing publishers. Some scholars have implied this was dishonest. Dean-Smith (1943:132) describes Walsh's three volumes of *Complete Country Dancing Master* ("containing great variety of dances, both old and new") in c.1718 to c. 1745 (D-299, D-303 / 851, D-305) as being a "shameless imitation" of Playford's *Dancing Master* Vol 2, 1706, and Broadbridge and Fennessy (1997:6-7) cast doubt on Young's claims of exclusivity over the same period. Whilst copying may have occurred, there may also have been benign explanations for such replications. The stock may have been legitimately bought from other publishing firms or else from independent sources supplying more than one publisher.

¹³⁵ Restrictions on copyright were authorized by the Licensing Act of 1662 which were enforced by the Stationers' Company, a guild of printers given the exclusive power to print (and censor) literary works. In 1694, Parliament refused to renew the Licensing Act, ending the Stationers' monopoly and press restrictions.

¹³⁶ Music publisher John Walsh was born in London c.1666. He began his working life as an instrument maker, turning to publishing in 1695. Walsh established a printing and publishing service at a premises in Catherine Street off The Strand, where music was printed on a scale hitherto unknown. A shrewd businessman, he published popular music and cheap music tutors, advertised, and offered subscription issues and serialized music collections. To reduce costs he used pewter plates instead of copper, and to speed up the printing process he used punches instead of engraving. Newly arrived in London, Handel entrusted Walsh with the publication of "Rinaldo" in 1711. To diversify his offerings further, Walsh pirated Dutch editions of continental music such as the Corelli sonatas. He was succeeded in the business by his son, John Jr. (1709-1766), who published all of Handel's later works, having astutely secured the exclusive rights for a period of 14 years beginning in 1739. <http://sites.scran.ac.uk/jmhenderson/web/collection/jmhcoll/walsh.htm> viewed 16/06/13.

In spite of the replications, the number of country dances printed by these publishers was vast. It has been estimated to be over 27,000 in England alone between 1730 and 1830 (Keller, 1991:8). Figure 4.4 is derived from Appendix 3 and gives an indication of the numbers of book of country dances published each decade.

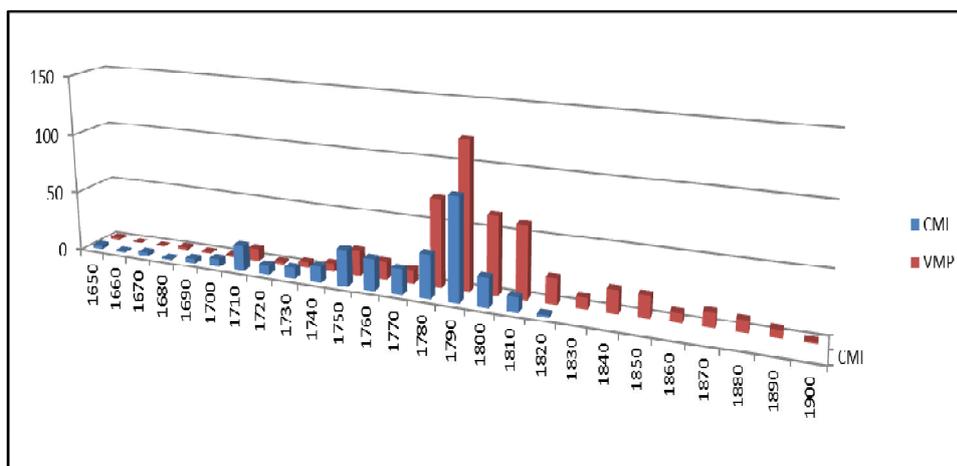


Figure 4.4: Numbers of publications of country dances published per decade from 1651 to the 1900's, from an analysis of D-25 to D-834 in Appendix 3. CMI means the records of publications referenced in the Colonial Music Institute database *Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances* (D-25 to D-335), and VMP means the publications listed in the Village Music Project (D-336 to D-846).¹³⁷

These published booklets were all exclusively comprised of country dances, but what, in the eighteenth century, was a country dance? I reviewed a representative selection of country dances from sources listed in Appendix 3 and I concluded they had no particular strictures in terms of the step, since, although it would normally vary according to meter and tempo of the melody, the step is not specified in the choreographies. The length and number of the musical phrases and parts, however, were precisely mirrored in the choreographies in terms of the length of the figures and choruses. A particular choreography could theoretically be swapped and adapted to different melodies, even with different meter or tempo, provided the number and lengths of parts fitted it. It was the choreography involving complex figures of inter-weaving dancers, and not the step, which was the key defining feature of the country dance. In this, there is no difference with the modern barn dance or ceilidh dance. Aside from certain common figures such as the “allemande” and the “hey” which everyone was supposed to know (nowadays callers are used at public events), the written choreographies as shown in Figure 4.1 provided the instructions for completing the dance and getting back to the starting position with the correct partner. They were apparently intended to be memorized, although

¹³⁷ There are some duplicates as already stated; and the CMI website states not to collate collections after 1833. This is not attempted to be a definitively defensible statistic, rather an indication of the main period of popularity of these country dance collections.

there was also a market in published dance choreographies without music which I have not researched further.¹³⁸

The starting positions deserve particular explanation since they came to be diagnostic of country dances. The most common starting position required everyone to stand in two parallel straight lines; men on one side, women on the other, couples facing each other, with no limit to the numbers involved; i.e. “longways for as many as will”. In the first edition of Playford, there were forty-one dances (thirty-nine per cent of the total) described as “longways for as many as will” but there were also other “longways” dances for four, six or eight people, fourteen circles or “rounds”, and some other formations. However, the dances added to successive editions of Playford’s collections were, with one exception, all “longways for as many as will”¹³⁹ such that by the 1716 edition, the number of round dances had dropped to five (under two per cent of the total). By the 1750’s, the definition of the country dance seemed to have evolved to mean only the “longways” type. This means that all books of country dances from this date onwards contained dances only with these starting positions. Books containing other types of dances with different formations and starting positions, such as cotillions and minuets, were also published but I have not examined these because I believe their link with today’s traditional dance tunes is less cogent.

The sheer number of books of country dances published between 1651 and 1827 as indicated in Appendix 3, was surprising; particularly the peak over the period 1790 to 1810 as Figure 4.4 illustrates. This was a period when Britain was at war with France. Due to the passage of time, those publications listed in Appendix 3 can only be considered representative rather than comprehensive, yet their quantity may even far exceed that of the historical unpublished manuscripts as represented in Appendix 2. These publications are familiar to enthusiasts of early dance and are often referred to for period dramas. Nevertheless, with the exception of Playford’s *Dancing Master* series, I surmised that despite the synergies I have observed in today’s traditional dance tunes, these published country dances feature only peripherally in contemporary studies of folk or traditional music.

4.2 Society balls: the Social Contexts of Country Dances

These publications of country dances were connected to social events known as “society balls”. These were social events attended by the elite and privileged classes from which working classes were excluded. Given the huge number of surviving books, the ballroom country dances must have been immensely popular over the period they were published. I explored literature and other sources and also reviewed the names of the country dances

¹³⁸ There are many publications, pamphlets and booklets in ECCO which contain only the choreographic prompts (without melodies). Additionally, choreographies are known to have been written on the inside of fans, according to *Pride and Prejudice, Having a Ball*, BBC documentary broadcast 10 May 2013.

¹³⁹ <http://sca.uwaterloo.ca/~praetzel/sca/lansdowne.html> viewed 19/09/11

themselves, in order to contextualize the society balls, their clientele, their purpose, and their development over time. I also wished to explore the commonly held perception that in adopting these country dances, the elite drew upon the culture of the “country folk”.

The “longways” country dances are depicted in dramatizations of the novels of Jane Austen (1775 – 1817).¹⁴⁰ These are probably a common perception of society balls, although many other less well known descriptions may be found representing the entire two hundred and fifty year period of popularity of the balls as suggested by the dates of the publications in Appendix 3 (and shown in Figure 4.4).¹⁴¹ Austen’s novels were published between 1811 and 1817 but are based upon her experiences prior to 1809, during which she attended balls at Basingstoke, Ashford, Tunbridge, Lyme Regis, Southampton and Bath (Reed 2004:19; Thompson 2000). Her narratives vividly depict the purpose and format of the society balls. Some were open to the public upon payment of an entry fee. They may have been held at the fashionable resorts such as Bath or else in smaller provincial centres such as Ashford in Kent. It was also common for wealthier landowners to hold private balls in their country estates to which the local gentry would be invited. These balls often afforded virtually the only chance for daughters of the gentry to meet potential suitors. The invitation to dance one or two sets, which unlike now, could last for half an hour and therefore must have been slightly less energetic than modern barn dances, allowed couples to converse and flirt. Figure 4.5 is a reproduction of the title page of one of the publications from 1788 which slightly predates the era of Jane Austen. It shows four couples dancing in a Regency-style room, with a consort of three musicians, which are probably two violins and an hautboy (early oboe). Other title pages from similar publications illustrate musicians playing the keyboard (virginal or harpsichord), or else four or five-part consorts including treble and base viol.

¹⁴⁰ Austen provides no details of either the dances or the music, so of those used in the various dramatizations, most of which come from publications listed in Appendix 3, are informed guesses. The dances used in the 1995 BBC production of “Pride and Prejudice” (published in 1813) were all longways dances from Thompson’s *Twenty Four Country Dances* (1777, D-238). From the 2005 feature film they were “The Bishop” from *Thompson’s Compleat Collection, vol.4* (1780, D-267), “Black Bess” from Playford’s *Dancing Master* Vol. 1 9th ed. (1695 D-10, 11th edition (1701 D-12), 12th edition (1703, D-13) 14th edition (1706, D-15) 17th edition (1721, D-18) and 18th edition (1728, D-19); “The Duke of Gloucester’s March” from Thomas Bray 1699 (not in Appendix 3, Footnote # 194, page 100), “Dutch Dollars” from Thompson’s *24 Country Dances for the year 1800* (D-259), also in *Gedge Town and Country Ladies’ own memorandum book or Fashionable Companion 1800*, “Tythe Pig” from Playford’s *Dancing Master* Vol. 1 9th ed. 1695, “Wakefield Hunt” from *Thompson’s Compleat*, vol IV 1780 (D-267), and “The Young Widow” from *A Collection of the newest and most fashionable Country Dances and Cotillions The greater part by Mr John Griffiths, Dancing-Master in Providence* (1788, not in Appendix 3). Source: <http://www.earthlydelights.com.au/english3.htm> viewed 12/07/11.

¹⁴¹ Such as playwright and social commentator John Dennis (1657-1734), in his publication *The Person of Quality’s Answer to Mr Collier’s Letter* (1704), lists the reigning diversions of “The Town” as “gaming, music meetings, balls and meetings for dancing, and going to plays” (Mackerness 1964:93).



Figure 4.5. Title page of Thompson's *Twenty-four Country Dances for the Year 1788*. (D-247/857).

The inclusion into society balls of the middle classes, or those who had become prosperous through trade and were known as the “nouveaux riches”, occurred around the mid eighteenth century. This occurred through the introduction of public balls for which only an entry fee was required rather than a social connection. This seems to have been unwelcome among some quarters judging from the satirical cartoon by Hogarth (Figure 4.6 below) which depicts the nobility (characterized by the elegant couple on the left) being forced to mingle with the aspirational middle classes (the clumsier figures on the right).



Figure 4.6: Plate II from Hogarth's “Analysis of Beauty” (1753)¹⁴².

¹⁴² Source: http://www.norwichearlydance.org.uk/history/norwich_history.htm viewed 21/07/12.

Figure 4.7 dates from earlier still, 1728, and depicts a country dance (longways for four couples) in a room with a minstrel's gallery and a consort of three musicians, violin, hautboy and bassoon (Barlow 1985:8).



Figure 4.7. Title Page of Playford's *Dancing Master*, Volume 1, eighteenth edition (1728). (Dean-Smith 1945:222).

These illustrations span the eighteenth century. Over this period, judging from my examination of samples of the publications listed in Appendix 3, both country dances and the nature of the society balls in which they were danced hardly changed at all. Despite the class tensions alluded to above, the clientele were overwhelmingly the privileged, the wealthy and the influential.

The names of the country dances seem to confirm this. A large proportion of them are named after members of the Royalty and nobility, such as those beginning with a "Prince", "Princess" or "Duke". Names such as "HRH The Princess Charlotte's Favourite" (Goulding 1812, D-90) and "Prince William of Gloucester" (Bland and Weller 1798, D-30) are likely to refer to the immediate family of King George III.¹⁴³ Another example is a country dance which was first published as "The Princess Royal the new way" in Walsh's *Compleat Country Dancing Master* dated c.1730. This was proposed by Kidson (1894)¹⁴⁴ to have been named after Princess Anne of Hanover, Duchess of Brunswick and Luneburg (1709-1759), who was bestowed the title by her father King George II in 1727. This tune subsequently appears as

¹⁴³ European royal dynasties claimed many Princess Charlottes in the eighteenth century, but a likely contender is the eldest daughter of King George III who also held the title Princess Royal (1766-1828). Prince William Henry, Duke of Gloucester (1743-1805) was the younger brother of King George III.

¹⁴⁴ Kidson (1894) included a copy of the tune as printed in Walsh's *Complete Dancing Master* (c.1730) in his article (reproduced here: <http://www.mustring.org.uk/enth45.htm> viewed 15/01/13) but I was unable to locate any reference to the original publication when compiling Appendix 3.

“new Princess Royal” in *Wright’s Compleat Collection of Celebrated Country Dances Vol I* (c.1740, D-864/892) (Figure 4.8 below).¹⁴⁵



Figure 4.8. New Princess Royal, from *Wright’s Compleat Collection of Celebrated Country Dances Vol I* (c.1740, D-864 / 892).¹⁴⁶

As well as the obvious royalist fidelities reflected in these names, others also alluded to geopolitical conflicts overseas which are likely to have been of consequence only to the ruling classes. For instance, Britain’s involvement in the war of the Spanish Succession (1701 to 1714), which was sometimes known as “Queen Anne’s War”, is reflected in names such as “Prince Eugene’s March”¹⁴⁷ (Playford 1713, 1714, 1718, 1728 and Walsh 1711 and 1719, D-157, D-162, D-163, D-164, D-274, D-303) and “Audenarde Battle”¹⁴⁸ (Walsh 1711, 1719 and 1736, and Playford 1713, 1714 and 1728, D-274, D-303, D-288, D-157, D-162 and D-164). After the death of Queen Anne, Britain’s monarchs from 1714 to 1837 were also the

¹⁴⁵ According to O’Sullivan (2001:254) this tune is also found in an “oblong quarto” dated before 1735 published by Wright from the Dundee Public Library, but it has not been verified if this is the same document. Additionally, there was another tune with the same title in circulation in England in the early eighteenth century. The CMI index lists there being a tune called the “Princess Royal” in Walsh 1731, 1735, 1760, Bride 1775, Longman and Broderic 1781 and Cahusac 1795, and “Princess Royal the new way” in Walsh 1745 and 1755. However, I have not verified any of these apart from one called “Princess Royal” in Walsh’s *Compleat Dancing Master 4th edition* (1740, D-847), and this is a completely different melody. Fleischmann (1998:XXVII) also connects the version represented by Figure 4.8 to a tune called “Ostend” from the Skene manuscript dated c.1630 (footnote p. 109) but as only the first five notes are comparable this is unlikely.

¹⁴⁶ Source: <http://library.efdss.org/cgi-bin/dancebooks.cgi>. Fleischmann (1998:115) provides a transcription of this same tune from another copy in the Central Library, Dundee, which is missing its title page. For a discussion on the date of this publication, see note to Figure 4.12 in footnote # 171, page 93.

¹⁴⁷ Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663 – 1736) was a military commander in the War of the Spanish Succession who fought alongside the Duke of Marlborough at the Battle of Blenheim in 1704 in defending the town of Vienna for the Hapsburg monarchy. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/558207/War-of-the-Spanish-Succession> viewed 10/11/13.

¹⁴⁸ The Battle of Oudenaarde (or Oudenarde) in Belgium in 1708 was a decisive victory in the War of the Spanish Succession, in which England allied with the Dutch Republic and the Holy Roman Empire (several Germanic and Italian city states and provinces) against the French. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/558207/War-of-the-Spanish-Succession> viewed 10/11/13.

sovereigns of the small state of Hanover in today's Germany. The military defence of Hanoverian interests, whose army was known in England as the "King's German Legion", was the concern of the Hanoverian monarchs and achieved by various Hanoverian royal cousins and courtiers. This was reflected through country dance names such as "The Elector of Hanover's March"¹⁴⁹ (Playford 1713, 1714, 1718 and 1728, and Walsh, 1719, D-157, D-162, D-163, D-160 and D-303), "Prince Ferdinand's Triumph" (Universal Magazine 1741-1761, D-269) and "The Prince of Brunswick"¹⁵⁰ (Thompson 1765 and 1780, D-227 and D-241).

In common with the unpublished hand-written manuscripts and perhaps not surprising given the perpetual hostile threats and military deployments, many country dance names have generically military themes, such as "The Gun" or "The Valiant Captain" (Playford 1651 to 1690, D-141 to D-149), "The Foot-Guards March" (Walsh 1719 D-851), "Press Gang", (Fisher 1775 D-82) "Strike the Colours" (Thompson 1763 D-225) and the "Recruiting Officer" (Walsh 1710, 1711, 1719, 1736 D-273, D-318, D-303, D-288; Playford 1713, 1714, 1718, 1728 D-161, D-162, D-163, D-164 and Neal 1726 D-136). The first appearance of "Soldier's Joy" (Figure 3.5) is in Rutherford (1775, D-196) followed by Skillern (1776, D-202) and Thompson (1780, D-267). As also previously described in the context of the unpublished manuscripts, the Jacobite uprisings are well represented, such as "Battle of the Boyan" (relating to the Battle of the Boyne mentioned in the previous chapter) in Walsh (1731, 1735 and 1760, D-300, D-301 and D-302) and the "Siege of Limerick"¹⁵¹ (Playford 1695, 1698, 1701, 1703, 1706, 1709, 1703, 1716, 1721, 1728 and Walsh 1718, 1731, 1735, 1760). The perpetrator of these uprisings and their "pretender" to the throne, James Stuart (1688-1766), is mocked in "The Pretenders Trip" (Walsh 1719 D-851) and "Pretenders Slip" (Wright 1719 D-311), which might refer to his abortive invasion of Scotland in 1715. The final defeat of the Jacobites in Scotland in 1746 by the British army loyal to the Hanoverian monarchy (King George II) is acknowledged in "Battle of Culloden" (Johnston 1748 D-101 and Rutherford 1756 D-191) and "Duke of Cumberland" (Johnston 1748 D-101, Walsh 1755 D-306). The defeated son of James Stuart, "Bonnie" Prince Charlie (1720-1788), is mocked by way of his derogatory nick-name in "Pretender's March" or "The Retreat" (Johnson 1751 D-103).

Whilst suppressing uprisings in Scotland and Ireland, and defending her Hanoverian territories, Britain was also expanding her trading interests abroad, in the interests of which

¹⁴⁹ The Hanoverian Kings of Britain, George I, George II and George III, were also the hereditary "Electors of Hanover" and "Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg". George II led his army into battle in 1745 during the war of the Austrian Succession against France. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/229982/George-I> viewed 10/11/13.

¹⁵⁰ Ferdinand, Prince of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1721-1792) was a prominent Prussian field marshal who lead an Anglo-German army during the Seven Years' War (1758–1766), and whose biggest success was the repelling in 1758 of the attempts of the French army to occupy Hanover. In this, he acted under the direct command of King George II.

¹⁵¹ The siege of Limerick was from 1689-91, when the city was held by Irish and French Jacobite forces that initially beat off an assault by the Williamite forces. In October 1691, the French commanders surrendered under the terms of a treaty guaranteeing their flight to France; a highly controversial exodus that has become known in historic terms as the "flight of the wild geese". Moody and Martin (2001:174)

naval battles were waged against both European rivals (France, Holland and Spain) and ultimately, Britain's former colony, the United States of America. Britain's increasing confidence is reflected in names like "Britain's Glory" and "Britain's Success" (Walsh 1719, D-303 / D-851) and the agents of these successes are similarly honoured, such as "Admiral Rodney's Triumph"¹⁵² in Thompson 1788 (D-239 / D-857). There are also tributes to Admiral Nelson¹⁵³ such as Cahusac's 1800 collection (D-68) with "Lord Nelson's Waltz" and "Lady Nelson's Waltz"; Wilson Terpsichore's 1809 collection (D-333) with "Nelson's Victory" and "Nelson's Maggot", and Preston's 1806 collection (D-166) with "Lady Hamilton's Fancy".¹⁵⁴ The Duke of Wellington¹⁵⁵ is represented by "Wellington's Triumph" (Wilson L'Assemblee collection of 1819, D-331), "Wellington's Brave Companions" (Bland and Weller 1814, D-34) and "The Battle of Waterloo" in (Wilson L'Assemblee 1819, D-331).

Whilst Britain's military successes and heroes are well represented in the names of these country dances, Britain's losses and enemies are conspicuous by their absence. I found no acknowledgement of Britain's biggest foe, Napoleon Bonaparte, among these publications of country dances. One called "America" first appeared in Playford's 1709 collection, (D-156) and was re-printed in subsequent editions up to 1728 (also in Walsh 1718, D-299). Another called "America with the Minuet" appeared in Walsh 1731, 1735 and 1760 (D-300, D-301 and D-302) as well as Johnston 1740 (D-98). Other names alluding to Britain's former American colony includes "Trip to Virginia" in Thompson 1775 (D-236). However, following its Declaration of Independence in 1776, inferences to the former American colonies among the names of country dances are scarce.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² Admiral George Rodney (1718-1792) had a successful naval career in the American War of Independence, but was mainly known for his victories in the Caribbean, against the Spanish in 1780 at St. Vincent, and the French in 1782 in Jamaica. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23936?docPos=5> viewed 30/08/13.

¹⁵³ Admiral Horatio Nelson (1758-1805) also had a successful naval career in the American War of Independence and thereafter the Napoleonic Wars (1803 to 1815), fighting the French Empire after Napoleon Bonaparte seized power in 1799. One of the naval battles was the battle of Trafalgar in which, although a significant English victory, resulted in Nelson's death. He was hailed as a hero with numerous monuments, including Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square in London, were built in his memory. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.eresources.shef.ac.uk/view/article/19877?docPos=2> viewed 10/11/13.

¹⁵⁴ Lady Hamilton (1765-1815) was the consort of Lord Nelson and acquired her married name and title in 1791. There are many tunes referring to a "Miss Hamilton", such as "Miss Hamelton's Reel" (Rutherford 1759 D-192), "Miss Hamilton's Reel" (Thompsons 1774 & 1782 D-235 & D-267), "Miss Hamilton's Fancy" (Longman & Broderip 1790 & 1791 D-118 & D-113) and "Miss Hamilton's Jigg" (Thompsons 1755 & 1757 D-218 & D-219). (A different melody called "Miss Hamilton's Reel" is in Levy's *Collection of Dance Music of Ireland*, 1858 A-110). None are likely to have referred to Lady Hamilton.

¹⁵⁵ The Duke of Wellington commanded the British troops in decisive battle of Waterloo in Belgium in June 1815. Together with the Dutch and Prussian armies, the battle resulted in the abdication of Napoleon Bonaparte and the end of the hostilities with France. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.eresources.shef.ac.uk/view/article/29001?docPos=1> viewed 10/11/13.

¹⁵⁶ Records of the founding of dancing schools and academies in Boston, Massachusetts from the early nineteenth century onwards, such as by a Mr Edward Elstone (Scholes 1934:66), attests that the fashion for society balls and country dances remained popular among the middle class émigrés to North America. Many of the publications in Appendix 3 are from American libraries despite having been originally published in London. CMI also has a database called "Dance Figures Index: American Country Dances 1730-1810". After Independence, country dances were evidently continued to be written (or renamed) to cater for the home market. They have names evoking the victory against Great Britain as well as references to the subsequent war between Britain and the French, much of which was fought in American territories. Examples are "Burgoyne's Defeat", "Congress Minuet", "George Washington's Favourite Cotillion", "Independence Cotillion", "Virginia Reel", "Federal Cotillion", "Boston Assembly", "Washington Forever" and "British Sorrow" (Keller & Hendrickson, 1988). The original "longways for four" or "for as many as will"

There are also frequent references to “assemblies”, both in the names of the country dances,¹⁵⁷ as well as in the titles of the publications themselves.¹⁵⁸ The assemblies were the social events where the balls took place, but these balls would have been only one aspect of an evening of entertainments which might include a recital, supper, and gambling. The events were held in “assembly rooms” which would have included spacious ballrooms, but which also served as hubs for all types of artistic and community pursuits at different times of the week and the year. These assembly rooms could be incorporated into the grand civic buildings which were being constructed in city centres at that time, but ballrooms were also built on to more modest surroundings, such as coaching inns in provincial towns. The idea of the assembly originated in London but as the English administrative classes assumed more prominence in Ireland, Scotland and Wales, the concept began to spread to all provincial centres. It could be that they represented, to the civic elders, polished refinement and visible public affirmation of municipal authority and control. From searches of tourist information websites I established that assembly rooms appeared in the eighteenth century in ports (Bristol, Newcastle), fashionable spa resorts (Bath, Tunbridge Wells), coastal resorts (Llandudno, Aberystwyth, Weymouth), cathedral cities (Salisbury, Lancaster), and market towns (Wigton in Cumberland, Ashford in Kent). In Edinburgh, the prestigious new Assembly Rooms in the centre of the elegant New Town were inaugurated by the Caledonian Hunt Ball in 1787. Dublin seems to have been alone in using its City Assembly House solely for art exhibitions,¹⁵⁹ but balls were held in this City’s theatres as well as Dublin Castle (McArdle 2008:79-80,82). The construction nationwide of such assembly rooms was the manifestation within the built environment of the spread of the fashions of the English ruling and administrative classes into all corners of Britain and Ireland. This could be attributed to the unprecedented economic growth derived from Britain’s domestic wealth and Empire-building overseas which was sustained throughout the entire eighteenth century.¹⁶⁰

starting formations of country dances have evolved into the genre of “square dances” and “line dances” respectively.

¹⁵⁷ Such as “Leominster Assembly” in Thompsons 1767 and 1773 (D-228 and D-234), “Chester Assembly” in Johnston’s 1755 collection (D-106), “Bath Assembly” in Johnston’s 1750 and Rutherford’s 1759 collections (D-102 & D-192), “The London Assembly” in Thompson’s 1772 & 1773 and Skillern’s 1776 and 1780 collections (D-233, D-234, D-202 & D-203), “Hackney Assembly” in Skillern’s 1776 and 1780 collections (D-202 & D-203), “Plymouth Assembly” in Thompson’s 1770 (D-231) and “Almac’s Hornpipe” which is suggested by Heath-Coleman (2012:191) to have been named after Almack’s Assembly Rooms in King Street, London.

¹⁵⁸ For instance, *William Rolfe’s ... fashionable collection of 24 Country Dances for the violin or German flute with proper figures as they are danced at ... all public assemblies, for the year 1799* (D-770), *Bride’s 24 Country Dances for the year 1769, With proper Tunes & Directions to each Dance, as they are Performed at Court, at Almack’s, and all other Publick Assemblies* (D-835), *Goulding & Co.’s Twenty-Four Country Dances For the Year 1826 With proper Figures and Directions to each DANCE Performed at Almack’s Bath and all Public Assemblies London* (D-837), and *Cahusac’s Annual collection of Twenty-Four favourite Country Dances for the year 1809 with proper directions to each dance, as they are performed at Court, Bath and all Public Assemblies* (D-839).

¹⁵⁹ <http://www.igs.ie/Programmes/Conservation-Grants/City-Assembly-House-Dublin.aspx> viewed 30/12/12.

¹⁶⁰ The date of publication of Playford’s first edition of *Dancing Master*, 1651, also corresponds with the date often cited of the origin of the British Empire. It was 1651 when the first of a series of laws were passed by the London Parliament, culminating in the Navigation Acts of 1712. These enforced an extreme protectionist trading policy with the expanding British colonies. The industrial revolution at home together with the global expansion of trade

Before the mid-eighteenth century, it was rare for people to make journeys for reasons of leisure. However, as military highways were constructed and mail coach services were inaugurated, all parts of Great Britain became accessible to anyone with money. It became fashionable for the wealthy to embark on sight-seeing trips, and these are also reflected in the names of further “county dances”. Thompson’s 1786 (D-245) contains “Trip to Burmonsey Spa”, “Tunbridge Castle”, “The Pleasures of Salisbury” and “Trip to Cork”. Thompson’s 1765 (D-227) contains “A Trip to Harowgate” [Harrogate?] and “A Trip to Carlisle”. Thompson’s 1775 (D-236) contains “Trip to Castle Howard”, “Trip to Galloway” and “Trip to Milan”. Thompson’s 1770 (D-231) contains “Trip to Weymouth”. Walsh’s 1719 (D-851) contains “Argyle”, “A Trip to Blenheim” and “A Trip to Kilburn”. There are a hundred and ten different destinations stated in names of country dances called “Trip to” from the CMI website, including British and Irish spa towns, foreign countries, and country estates.

Finally, other leisure activities are represented by the many country dance names reflective of the popular aristocratic pursuits of hunting and horse-racing.¹⁶¹ Names suggestive of the latter include “Knutsford Races” in Preston’s 1798 (D-178), “Lewis Races” in Thompson 1788 (D-239 / D-857) “Bath Races” in Bride 1775 (D-38 – D-40) and “Odiham Races” in Thompson’s 1770 and 1773 (D-231 and D-234). Hunting names include “The Stag Hunt / The Windsor Amusements” and “La Belle Chasse” in Thompson 1786 and 1788 (D-245 and D239 / D-857), “Preston Hunt” in Cahusac 1791 (D-48), “The Fox Hunters Hornpipe” in Walsh 1718 and 1728 (D-281 and D-319), “Fox Hunters Jig” in Walsh 1736 and 1740 (D-304 and D-312) and “Hunt the Hare” in Thompson 1768, 1773, 1777 and 1780 (D-229, D-263, D-238/856 and D-267) and Longman and Broderick 1781 (D-114). “Hunt the Hare” (Figure 4.9) is used by the Silkstone Greens North West Morris side for the dance “Top o’ Dodworth Bottom”.

overseas, policed by the Royal Navy, positioned Britain, by 1800, as the World’s largest and most influential industrial and manufacturing economy.

¹⁶¹ From observations of the American line dance tradition, names alluding to hunting reflect the fact that these dance figures often involved the serpentine weaving of individuals in and out of lines of dancers, such as in a “hey” or a round- or chain-dance.

50 Hunt the Hare

The 1st Cu: foot it to the 2^d Lady and not
 turn to the same to the 2^d Gentl: w Allmand
 1st 2^d and 3^d Cu: quite round w cross over
 and right and left w

Figure 4.9. “Hunt the Hare” from Thompson’s *24 Country Dances for the Year 1777* (D-238/856).

I have described how the vast majority of the country dances in the publications listed in Appendix 3 had names that epitomised the privileged and wealthy gentility who were enthusiasts of racing and hunting. I therefore suggest that the clientele for which the country dances were published was metropolitan or urban in outlook, but relatively well-travelled, cognisant of geo-political events, and sympathetic to the English monarchist establishment (firstly “Williamite” as opposed to “Jacobite”, and thereafter the Hanoverian ruling dynasty). The political loyalties of this class were Conservative. They administered a unified Great Britain and Ireland, repressed the Jacobite Rebellion, experienced mixed fortunes in the various European conflicts, but achieved outstanding successes with the expansion of Britain’s overseas colonies. I conclude that this was the clientele who attended the society balls for which the country dances were devised. Circumstantial evidence also suggests that society balls were introduced into every significant town in Britain and Ireland. The dissemination of these balls and their country dances were manifestations of cultural imperialism. I suggest this must have been a reason behind why the traditional dance tune genre is now found in all parts of Britain and Ireland.

Finally, there is a much smaller group of country dance names in these publications which evoke a more bucolic, back-to-the-land, peasant image. A representative selection of such names from Walsh (1719, D-303 / 851), which were themselves mostly reproduced from earlier Playford editions, include “The Hey Makers”, “The Sheep Shearers”, “Merry Milk-Maids”, “Green Goose Fair”, “The Taylor’s Hop”, “Old Maid in Tears”, “French Peasant and Jigg”, “A Poor Shepherd in Love” and the nonsensical “Fiddle-de-dee”. All of these conform to exactly the same musical characteristics as the vast majority of country dances with the so-called “privileged” name types as I have described.

4.3 The Role of Ballad Operas in Popularising Country Dances

I observed during my collation of tune histories, that many of the better-known dance tunes either originated from, or were included in, various ballad operas dating from the early eighteenth century. I therefore decided that ballad operas warranted further consideration. My research was mainly informed by a website called “Titles of Tunes in Ballad Operas Published With Music”¹⁶² which cross-references dance tunes against ballad operas.

Ballad operas were stage entertainments that were particularly popular between 1728 and 1734. They satirized the Italian “opera seria” which had recently been introduced into London by aristocrats returning from their “Grand Tours”. The “opera seria” were portentous and sombre. Their plots involved noble and classical characters extolling high moral values. By contrast, the ballad operas parodied the Italian scripts by replacing them with witty English dialogues and casts of characters evoking London “low life” to comic and vulgar effect. Current events and topical scandals were also mercilessly satirized. Crucially, instead of Italian arias, songs or “ballads” were used which had short, refrained stanzas of either the same or varying numbers of bars.¹⁶³ Additionally, the two main cultural centres where these ballad operas were staged, were London and Dublin.¹⁶⁴

Two of the earliest known ballad operas, both by John Gay, were *The Beggar’s Opera* (1728) and *Polly* (1729). They both used several country dance tunes which are found in pre-existing country dance publications. Songs in *Polly* used the melodies of “Hunt the Squirrel” (Figure 4.1), “Mad Moll” (Figure 4.2), “Prince Eugene’s March” and “Recruiting Officer”, all of which had been published in both Playford’s *Dancing Master* and in a number of titles by Walsh.

The “Titles of Tunes in Ballad Operas Published With Music” website proposes the following reason for this interchange. This is that publishing companies, notably Walsh, which printed the songs from the ballad operas, were also the publishers of the books of country dances. They therefore used the same stock engravings of their dance tunes to accompany the song lyrics. As a result, a relatively small number of the country dance tunes were re-used over and over again within several different ballad operas. For example, following *Polly*, “Hunt the Squirrel” was also used as the tune for songs in *The Fashionable Lady; or Harlequin’s Opera* (1730), *The Generous Free-Mason: or, The Constant Lady* (1731), and *Sylvia, or the*

¹⁶²Barry Olsen’s website “Roots of Folk: Old English, Scots, and Irish Songs and Tunes”. <http://www.fresnostate.edu/folklore/Olson/BALOP.HTM> viewed 05/01/12.

¹⁶³ Both Handel and Purcell are said to have had involvement in the music of ballad operas (MacKerness, 1964:100), but to what extent is unknown.

¹⁶⁴ The ballad operas of Dublin are described by Breathnach (1985a) and Boydell (1985).

Country Burial (1731), despite these all being written by different playwrights. “Mad Moll” (Figure 4.2) similarly re-appeared in *Momus turned Fabulist* (1729) and *The Jealous Clown: or, The Lucky Mistake* (1730). Whether this explanation is the only reason, or whether it was the playwrights’ commercially-driven strategies to re-use well-known and easily recognizable melodies, would be a matter of debate. Another contributory reason behind the re-use of popular country dance melodies could have also been the common practice of the “entr’acte”, where dances were performed as interludes during theatrical performances.¹⁶⁵

As well as country dances, the ballad operas also used melodies (and sometimes songs) which are also found in older song sheets or “broadsheet ballads”. I discuss two such examples, “Black Joke” and “Maggie Lauther”, both of which are tunes known today.¹⁶⁶ “Black Joke” was used in Charles Coffrey’s *The Beggar’s Wedding* (1729) and is illustrated in Figure 4.10.

589 COAL-BLACK JOAK [Popular English dance tune ‘Black Joke’, known as ‘Black Jock’ in Scotland from about 1735. See *JSFM* p. 103 and Frank L. Harrison, *supra cit.* (385) pp. 10-12, and Intro.] 10



Figure 4.10: “Coal Black Joak” from *The Beggar’s Wedding A new Opera, as it is acted at the Theatre in Dublin with Great Applause: and at the Theatre in the Hay-market* (1729). (Fleischmann 1998:109).

According to Dennant (2013:299) its first known appearance is a song sheet dated approximately 1720 entitled *The original Black Joke sent from Dublin*, in which the melody is identical to Figure 4.10. This suggests that the tune may have begun life in Dublin as ballad opera.¹⁶⁷ That it achieved widespread recognition by 1730 is suggested by its inclusion in the first volume of a popular series of song books called *The Tea-Table Miscellany* published by Allan Ramsay in 1730 (A-173)¹⁶⁸ which only refers to the tune. I propose the reason for its popularity after 1730 was due to its role in *The Beggar’s Wedding*, which was a huge commercial success in both Dublin and London.

¹⁶⁵ A benefit was held at Covent Garden in 1732 for the dancer Mr Nevelon, with a performance of John Kelly’s *Married Philosopher*. The bill was filled with various entr’actes of various dancers and entertainments, including “A Grand Dance of Momus concluding with the Black Joke, between Mr Nivelon and Mis Languerre” to round out the evening. Dennant (2013:309).

¹⁶⁶ “Black Joke” is widely known thanks to its inclusion in several publications by Cecil Sharp and numerous subsequent reprints in tune-books such as Kirkpatrick (2003, C-21). “Maggie Lawther” is a song and pipe tune on *Open Ended* (Dunkeld Music, 1987) recorded by Scottish smallpiper Hamish Moore.

¹⁶⁷ It was performed as a comical peasant dance, with the performers clothed in the dress of a man and a woman from the Fingal district of Co. Dublin. Dennant (2013:310).

¹⁶⁸ The song is called “A New song, to the tune of Black Joak, the Joak the words by the R---d Mr. S---th, Chaplain to a Man-of War”.

The “Black Joke” subsequently appeared in several further ballad operas, including *The Fashionable Lady; or Harlequin's Opera* (1730), *The Lottery* (1732) *The Generous Free-Mason: or, The Constant Lady* (1731), *Achilles* (1733) *Don Quixote in England* (1734) and *The Whim, or the Miser's Retreat* (1734). By 1732 the song was sufficiently well known for the well-known London illustrator, William Hogarth, to incorporate it into his narrative illustration, *The Rake's Progress*. Originally painted as a series of eight canvases, *The Rake's Progress* attained widespread popularity in 1735 when the paintings were reproduced as engraved plates which allowed them to be widely distributed in print. Hogarth's tale satirized the destructive tendencies of Britain's increasingly wealthy “nouveaux riches”.¹⁶⁹ In the third plate of this series (Figure 4.11), the “Black Joke” was alluded to in the depiction of the African prostitute (on the far left of the picture) who is laughing at the vulgar antics of her fellow prostitutes. In case the pun is missed, she is also looking towards a pregnant ballad seller entering the room at the right holding a copy of the song.¹⁷⁰



Figure 4.11. The Tavern Scene, Plate 3 of the series of engravings by William Hogarth entitled “The Rake's Progress”. Engraved and published in 1735. (Uglow: 1997:250)

¹⁶⁹ In an example of satire inspiring satire, Hogarth's pictorial tale was itself dramatized anonymously as comic opera of the same name in 1735 (British Library Add. MS. 25997, also available here: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/38659/38659-h/38659-h.htm> viewed 07/04/11).

¹⁷⁰ http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/abolition/africans_in_art_gallery_05.shtml viewed 29/01/12.

Given its prominent role in the commercial performance arts of the 1730's, it is hardly surprising that the tune also entered the country dance repertory at this time. It first appears in Walsh's *Twenty Four Dances for the Year 1730* (D-285), and was reprinted in subsequent publications from the same firm dated 1731, 1735, c.1740 and 1760 (D-300, D-301, D-847, D-302). It is also present in slightly different form (representing an alternative source) in Wright's 1740 (D-864/892) (Figure 4.12) and Thompson's 1765 (D-864/262).



Figure 4.12. "Black Joak" from *Wright's Compleat Collection of Celebrated Country Dances Vol I*¹⁷¹ (c.1740)¹⁷² (D-864 / 892)

"Moggie Lawther" is my second example of a country dance melody also found in ballad operas. Its first appearance in London ballad operas seems to have been in *The Quaker's Opera* (anon) which was performed at Lee's and Harpers Great Theatrical Booth in Bartholemew Fair in 1728. Here it was the melody for a song called "My Johnny ne'er cou'd take Delight" (Figure 4.13 oveleaf).

¹⁷¹ From a copy held in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library. Source: <http://library.efdss.org/cgi-bin/dancebooks.cgi>. Fleischmann (1998:115) provides a transcription of this same tune from another copy of the collection held in the Central Library, Dundee, without its title page.

¹⁷² There is uncertainty concerning the date of this publication. Although the version in VWML is undated, Fleishmann (1998:VII), who worked from a coverless copy in the Central Library, Dundee, dates it to c.1740. The date of c.1740 is also ascribed by Gale *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* to the version in the Bodlean Library (C-847). Dennant (2013:306) quotes Dean-Smith (1961:133-4) who dates this book to 1713. However, other melodies it contains corroborates the 1740 date. For instance, "Princess Royal" (Figure 4.8) from this source is unlikely to pre-date 1727 as there was no holder of this honorary title before then. Its version of "Andrew Kerr" is identical to the one in *Wright's Collection of Scots Dances*, c.1730 (Figure 5.6, A-195). An advertisement quoted in Dennant (2013:306) could refer to other earlier collections by Wright, namely D-335 and A-193.



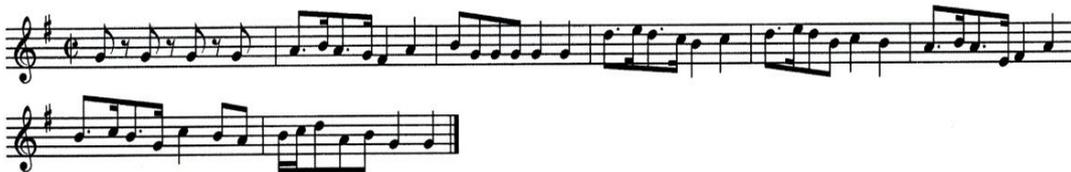
Air "My Johnny ne'er cou'd take Delight" C a¹ a² b c 12 See 442

Figure 4.13. "Moggy Lawther" from *The Quaker's Opera* (1728). (Fleischmann 1998:105,109).

However, this melody has an older history in Ireland and Scotland. Multiple references to versions of "Maggie Lawther" are documented, although not all of these can be verified now, and sometimes it is unclear whether it is the ballad or the melody that is being referred to. Grattan Flood (1905:XIX) claimed he traced the song to 1696, when it was sung by the Anglo-Irish actor, Thomas Dogget, in his comedy *A Country Wake*, and again, in a variant of the same play, under the title of *Hob, or the Country Wake* at Drury Lane in 1711. A transcript dated 1706 was also published by Hardiman which he attributed to an Irishman John O'Neachtan who reportedly wrote the words in about 1676. A song called "Bonny Maggie Lawther" was also published in Edinburgh in 1701¹⁷³ but another version of the lyrics appears in 1729 in *Craig's Collection*, in which the melody was reportedly set to words in celebration of Maggie Lauder, "a reigning courtesan of Crail". The ballad has also been credited to a Francis Sempill (1616-1682) who is said to have written it in around 1642¹⁷⁴ but this has since been disputed. The song most widely reproduced today can be traced to a ballad opera set in Midlothian called *The Gentle Shepherd* by Allan Ramsay, whose first known published date was 1725. However, there were evidently numerous ballads circulating with lyrics involving a "Maggie" or "Moggy" Lawther, and equally, different ballads which used the same recognizable melody associated with this name. Another version of the melody is found in a Dublin publication which is dated 1724 (Figure 4.14). This differs from the 1728 London version above in being in a different key, and distinctively, has rests in the first bar which is indicative of it having been associated with different (older) lyrics than the verse used for *The Gentle Shepherd* (1725) or *The Quaker's Opera* (1728).

442 MOGGY LAUTHER [Lawther, Laughter, Lauder or Lawder – Scottish surname]

17



Song C a b c d 19 var See 495*, 520*, 566, 588*, 671*, 783, 818, 1054, 1601, 1749*, 1840*, 2143, 2156*, 2261, 2564*, 2952*, 3615*, 3924*, 5667* cf. 995, 6157; *OLISB* 40 (Dublin Jack of all trades)

Figure 4.14. "Moggy Lauther" from Neal (1724, A-139). (Fleischmann 1998:85).

¹⁷³ <http://library.brown.edu/find/Record/b5276236> (viewed 05/01/13)

¹⁷⁴ In *Songs of Scotland* (1877) <http://www.contemplator.com/scotland/mlauder.html> (viewed 17/02/13),

The survival of multiple versions of both melody and ballad suggests these pieces were routinely adapted by playwrights and musicians for different purposes. In London, after *The Quakers Opera*, the melody was used for another song in *The Beggar's Wedding* (1729), and then (in a variety of spellings) in *Patie and Peggy: or, The Fair Foundling* (1730), *The Highland Fair, or Union of the Clans* (1731), *The Harlot's Progress* (1732), *Achilles* (1733), *The Decoy* (1733) and *The Whim, or the Miser's Retreat* (1734). It also entered the country dance repertory, although its first known printed appearance is not until the 1800's (two publications by Wilson dated 1809 and 1816, D-333 and D-330). In the latter, it is described as "Old Scotch", suggesting this version was sourced from one of the Scottish sources.

The musical repertories of the parallel cultures of ballad opera, song and ballroom country dances were evidently extremely mutually porous. The surviving publications show that some melodies were re-used again and again. Some are traceable going back at least as far as the mid-seventeenth century. This favouring of a relatively small selection of melodies by the librettists and music publishers resulted in their wider recognition among the theatre-going public of the early eighteenth century. This in turn increased the likelihood of their re-use in other media including by visual artists such as Hogarth. I emphasise, however, that the frequent re-use and resultant popular appreciation of these melodies was a facet of commoditization. The tunes were popularised by professionals in the business of staging, promoting and publishing ballad operas. This burgeoning growth of the theatre entertainments industry therefore resulted in some melodies becoming very popular in different parts of Britain and Ireland over a comparatively short period of time.

4.4 The Importance of the Dancing Masters

The dancing masters were professional tutors who earned their livings instructing the attendees of the society balls in the correct way to execute the dances. Over the period that the society balls were popular among the elite, the role of the professional dancing master was highly influential. As well announcing the dances, he often had the vital task of organizing the entire social event, including providing all the facilities and hiring the musical consort.

In dramatisations of Jane Austen's novels, we never see the dancers being told what to do. They all just take their places and begin when the music starts. In reality, the study and practice of the dances was absolutely essential so that, in public, the dancers could execute the dances confidently and correctly. A wrong turn or collision was catastrophic if done under the gaze of potential suitors.

The attaining of knowledge of particular dances was therefore an essential social skill requiring intensive coaching. Given the number of brand new country dances published on an annual basis (as inferred from Appendix 3), it seems the clientele of the society balls was

ever keen to learn new dances rather than just repeating the same ones year after year. This could suggest the process of learning was just as popular a social pastime as the formal balls themselves. It could also imply that knowing all the new dances was a form of social snobbery, being a clear demonstration of wealth, and only attainable to those who could afford sustained tuition. Through whatever motives, there was steady demand throughout the eighteenth century for the services of dancing masters.¹⁷⁵ Another cartoon by Hogarth (Figure 4.15 overleaf) shows how the dancing masters were seen as only one of a number of “experts” who were considered (wryly by the artist) indispensable in the education of a well-bred young man or woman. The dancing master is pictured in the centre of an opportunistic cluster of hopeful tutors, dressed in the fashionable “French style” and holding a (very small) violin.



Figure 4.15. The Levee, Plate No. 2 of the series of engravings by William Hogarth entitled “The Rake’s Progress”. Engraved and published in 1735. (Uglow 1997:247).¹⁷⁶

I referred to the manuscripts of some dancing masters in the previous chapter. One, David Young, was retained by the Dukes of Perth at Drummond Castle in the 1730’s and 1740’s. At

¹⁷⁵ Robert Burns attended dancing classes against his father’s wishes (Harker 1985:19).

¹⁷⁶ The dance master (centre) is joined by a music master playing a harpsichord, a fencing master; a quarterstaff (wooden weapon) instructor; an ex-soldier offering to be a bodyguard; a bugler of a fox hunt club, a tailor, a jockey, and a landscape architect, in importuning the naive young heir to part with his inheritance. Original painting in Sloane Museum, London.

this time there were also numerous dancing masters in London and, according to Marsh (2007:4), just as many in Norwich (which was then England's second city).¹⁷⁷ I located several accounts which collectively imply that over the course of the eighteenth century, dancing masters particularly from London and Norwich (but also the Scottish Borders) fanned out northwards and westwards across all regions of Britain and Ireland. Whilst some were retained as private tutors, others, such as John Winder, whose manuscript I also discussed, chose a provincial town in which to settle and open commercial dancing schools or academies. They were often based at the assembly rooms where they rented rooms or ran boarding schools, and they also worked circuits of nearby towns, villages and schools. Such was the demand that most regional towns and cities sustained several generations of dancing masters from the same family, such as the Winders in Lancashire and the Noverres in Norwich.¹⁷⁸ I also found accounts of dancing masters (or mistresses) who operated in Brighton,¹⁷⁹ Stamford,¹⁸⁰ Great Yarmouth,¹⁸¹ Newcastle,¹⁸² Cumberland,¹⁸³ Dublin¹⁸⁴ and Limerick.¹⁸⁵ Many of them came from, and had trained in, London. Of these, a significant number were from families which had originated from the European continent, particularly France, where King Louis XIV had created a centre of excellence for the art form. These dance masters also often doubled as teachers in fencing and etiquette.

¹⁷⁷ Marsh (2007:4) states that there were twenty-one dancing masters in Norwich between 1690 and 1815, with between one and three in practice at any one time.

¹⁷⁸ Augustin Noverre (1729-1805) was a Swiss Protestant émigré from France, who settled first in London in 1755 where he combined the teaching of ballroom dancing with ballet as well as the use of the sword. Following his retirement to Norwich, his son and then grandson continued to practice at the town's Assembly until 1837. Marsh (2005:9).

¹⁷⁹ The "celebrated Mme Michau" arrived in England from Paris in the early 1800's. She gave lessons to the Prince Regent after which he appointed her directress of the Court Balls at the newly built Royal Pavilion at Brighton, which "eclipsed all those of Bath for sheer extravagance and brilliancy". Her son, Augustus Hervé Bizet Michau (b. c.1800) continued to teach until 1865. Klein (1925).

¹⁸⁰ "Mr Francis Nivelon, the famous French dancer, has set up a school at Stamford in Lincolnshire which is supported by all the Gentry of that neighbourhood". Newspaper clipping dated 17th January 1739. Goff (2008:69).

¹⁸¹ A Mr. Wall du Val, was also a Frenchman and had a practice in London but taught seasonally at Great Yarmouth and King's Lynn. Marsh (2007:9).

¹⁸² In Newcastle there was a dancing school run by a Ned Hatfield, whose dance masters, first Neil Stewart and then Ivie Gregg, employed fiddlers who lodged with the engraver Thomas Bewick (1753–1828). Uglow (2006:60).

¹⁸³ "Mr. HOPE's dancing school ball took place at the King's Arms assembly room, Wigton, on Friday last, and was numerously attended. The pupils displayed great proficiency and went through the various elegant and fashionable dances taught by Mr. HOPE, in the most creditable style; after which the dancing was commenced by the visitors present, and kept up with great spirit until a late hour". "The Carlisle Patriot", October 28th 1843. Source: <http://www.cultrans.com/carlisle-patriot/october-28-1843/3659-wigton> viewed 21/07/12.

¹⁸⁴ Accounts of the dancing masters and their schools as collated from newspaper clippings are described by McArdle (2008). They included the Delamain dynasty, of whom John was connected with the Theatre Royal from the 1720's to at least 1735, and his son William who was a dance master in the 1750's following a theatrical career. There were also several dancing schools associated with Back Lane in which were taught music, dancing and fencing. They included that of Mr Sloane who opened one in 1706. A Mr Roberts had a dancing school in Thomas Street in 1709, and Ms Faith Bower ran a boarding school where young ladies danced in 1733 near Great Britain Street.

¹⁸⁵ In about 1800, a dancing and music academy was opened in Limerick city by a John Roche, a classically trained violinist and dancing master of both ballroom dances and Irish step styles. His three sons, Frank, Jim and John, provided the music ensemble (Ossian 1993, C-81).

The dancing masters taught the dances by accompanying themselves on the violin, or else smaller versions called the pocket fiddle or “kit” which may be what is illustrated in Figure 4.10.¹⁸⁶ This instrument had a fingerboard allowing the same melodic range as the violin, but was small enough to fit into a coat pocket whilst travelling between appointments on foot or horseback. Figure 4.16 overleaf illustrates a selection of these miniature violins and demonstrates how their forms varied from maker to maker. They were manufactured in several places within the European continent such as Brussels, Genoa, Hamburg and Paris.

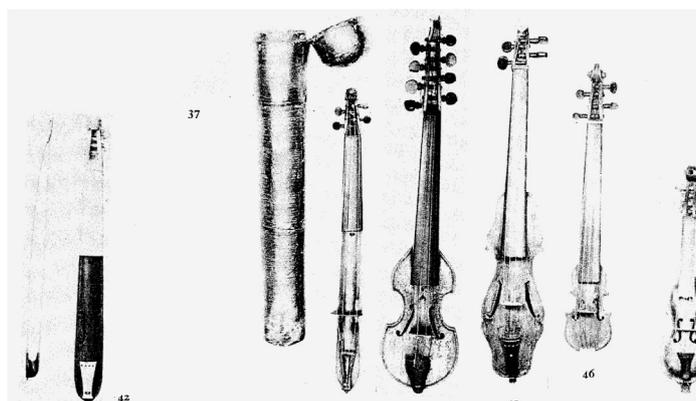


Figure 4.16. Left to right: a seventeenth century “kit”, Dimanche Drouyn, Paris; a 1675 “kit” (and carrying case), Joachim Tielle, Hamburg; an eighteenth century “pochette d’amour”, Battista, Genoa; a 1686 “kit”, Gasper Borbon, Brussels; an unsigned “kit”, and an unsigned miniature violin, both from Brussels. (Baines 1966).

A book of choreographies and the accompanying monophonic melodies were all that a provincial dancing master needed to enable him to teach the fashionable new dances that were being devised in London. The kit in particular restricted the melodic range to the first position, which is consistent with the vast majority of the country dance tunes. At the formal balls, instead of the dancing master’s kit, music was provided by a hired consort as depicted in the illustrations, Figures 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7.

These dancing masters were undoubtedly the principal mechanism by which the published country dances were transmitted to all the regions of Britain and Ireland. I also suggested in chapter 3 that some of the dancing masters composed their own melodies. I now provide further information to substantiate this, and suggest that in the eighteenth century at least, the creation of these country dances was overwhelmingly if not entirely the work of professionals.

The CMI database, from where country dance publications D-1 to D-335 are listed, allows the alphabetical sorting of the names of dances. From this, it can be seen that the largest

¹⁸⁶ It seems few dancing masters favoured the flute, but one exception may have been a Thomas Wilson who was active in the 1810’s to 1820’s (Zuridis 2006:6), since all known publications connected with him are adapted for the flute. Examples are *An elegant collection of 24 Country Dances, the figures by Mr Wilson, for the year 1813 [or 1814, or 1817] adapted for German flute, flageolet or oboe* (D-771, D-772, D-773), *Thompson’s 24 Country Dances, with figures by Mr Wilson for the year 1819 [or 1822]. Adapted for the violin, German flute or oboe* (D-785, D-786), and *Whitaker & Compy’s 24 Country Dances with figures by Mr Wilson, for the year 1824, adapted for the violin, German flute or oboe* (D-819).

category of names of country dance names begin with “Miss”, “Lady” or “Lord”. Examples are “Miss Kitty Campbell’s Strathspey” and “Miss Onstein’s Strathspey” in Cahusac 1800 (D-68), “Lady Berkeley’s Whim / The Nottingham Rant” in Johnston 1755 (D-106) and “Miss Bowlby’s Allemand” in Thompson 1786 (D-245). I suggest it is likely these dances were named in honour of the dancing masters’ wealthy patrons. “Nancy Dawson’s Hornpipe” in John Winder’s manuscript (Figure 3.16) was another example. A collection by Augustin Noverre dated c.1789 (D-714) includes “The Hon. Miss Thynne’s Minuet”, “Miss Mawbey’s Minuet”, “Lady H. Grey’s Minuet”, “Miss Haynes Minuet”, “Lady F. Finch’s Minuet”, and country dances called “Miss Gregg’s Delight” and “Miss Stevenson’s Fancy”, who Marsh (1988:11) suggests were likely to be his pupils, whether courtiers or daughters of Members of Parliament. For provincial dancing masters like John Winder and Augustin Noverre, flattering their clientele was a commercial necessity. I believe that tunes named after their patrons would have been original compositions by the dancing masters concerned, because I suggest that the re-use of an existing popular tune for a dance named after a patron would have been regarded an insult. Appendix 3 also lists publications of country dances by named dancing masters such as Wheatstone (1810, D-326, 327), H Bishop (1788, D-356) and Mr Smart of Edinburgh (1810, D-762). This is further evidence that the dancing masters were perfectly capable and willing to compose and publish their own country dances either singly or as compilations,¹⁸⁷ and that they also supplied the larger London publishing firms. Walsh published three volumes in 1710, 1715 and 1717 (D-682, D-683 and D-684) of new tunes and figures by a Nathaniel Kynaston, who himself also published D-681 in 1709. Further country dances dated 1721 were “compos’d by Mr Birkhead of the Theatre Royal” (Broadbridge and Fennessy 1997:9,10).

Not all melodies, however, were composed by professional dance masters. Marsh (2005:10-11) attributes many of the melodies published by Noverre to two moderately well-known musicians of the day, a François Bartélémon¹⁸⁸ and a Frantisek Kotzwara.¹⁸⁹ Pete Stewart (2007:39,60) also describes a violinist called John Ravenscroft (d. 1745) who was one of the Waits of Tower Hamlets and a member of the band of Goodman Fields Playhouse, where many of the popular ballad operas were staged. He was apparently much sought after to play at balls and dancing parties and was known for his unique way of playing hornpipes.¹⁹⁰ He was also particularly renowned for composing hornpipes in 3/2 time:

¹⁸⁷ In addition, there were also dancing masters who specialised in devising new dances for previously published tunes, such as a Thomas Wilson who dominated the press with such dances over the period 1810 to 1830 (Thurston 1952:32).

¹⁸⁸ The Frenchman Bartélémon (1741-1808) was a successful violinist and composer. He composed operas, burlettas, incidental and ballet music for Covent Garden and for Garrick at Drury Lane, led the Orchestra at the King’s Theatre, and was reputedly a friend of Haydn. (Marsh 2005:11)

¹⁸⁹ Kotzwara (c1750-1791) was a bohemian Czech who played double bass in the King’s Theatre orchestra, including at the Concerts of Ancient Music patronized by King George III. (Marsh 2005:11)

¹⁹⁰ This information is thought to derive from Bridge (1928) as summarised at <http://www.whitecottagewebsites.co.uk/waits/notes%26queries/ravenscroft.html> viewed 06/08/13. Stewart (2007:39) also refers to a collection of tunes Ravenscroft published called *Thirty-eight favourite hornpipes for the*

He was enabled to compose airs of this kind equal to those of the ablest masters; and yet so little was he acquainted with the rules of composition that for suiting them with basses he was indebted to others. (Stewart, 2007:60, citing a quote from 1776).

Ravenscroft named many of his tunes after features of his native London City and Docklands, but he also gave his name to “Ravenscroft Hornpipe” which is found in Playford (1726, D-24/165), Walsh (1730, 1745 and 1755, D-285, D-305 and D-306), as well as “Ravenscroft Maggot”, and “Ravenscroft’s Fancy” in Walsh (c.1730, A-201).

Finally, the contributions to the country dance publications by dance masters and other “jobbing” musicians should be distinguished from any conjectured involvement by the more celebrated “mainstream” establishment composers of the day. This has been inferred by some scholars due to Playford’s close associations with some of them. The court composer Henry Lawes¹⁹¹ was godfather to Playford’s son Henry (Whitlock 1999:559) and Playford published many pieces by Lawes’ brother, William, which I describe later in this chapter. Playford’s firm also had a close business connection with Henry Purcell¹⁹² which dated from at least 1679 when he published the first of Purcell’s compositions, and continued after John Playford’s death.¹⁹³ Broadbridge and Fennessy (1997) have linked twenty-three country dances from *Dancing Master* to various works by Purcell, as well as one in a collection by Thomas Bray in 1699¹⁹⁴ and two in Walsh 1710.¹⁹⁵ However, the pieces associated with Purcell are not straight copies of country dance tunes. They are concordances,¹⁹⁶ sometimes existing only as bass lines, and often with different names. I interpret this as evidence of Purcell using existing popular tunes, some of which also happened to be country dances, to adapt for the purposes of his commissioned compositions. The existence

violin.. composed by the later Mr Ravenscroft. All thirty-eight tunes are in 3/2 time and eleven are copied to Walsh (1730, A-201).

¹⁹¹ Henry Lawes (1596-1662) was a composer of songs of which more than four hundred survive, set to verses by contemporary poets. In the preface to his *Ayers* (1653) he criticised current taste for Italian music at the expense of that of the English composers.
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.eresources.shef.ac.uk/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e3875?q=Henry+Lawes&search=quick&pos=2&start=1#firsthit> viewed 10/11/13.

¹⁹² During his tenure as court composer for King Charles II between 1680-5, Henry Purcell (c.1659-1695) wrote numerous odes and songs, setting light verse as strophic dance-songs. After the exile of James II, the Royal Court ceased to be an important musical centre, and Purcell sought further employment elsewhere. As well as composing for the theatre, he edited and contributed to Playford’s *The Second Part of Musick’s Hand-Maid* in 1689.
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.eresources.shef.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/41799pg3?q=Henry+Purcell&search=quick&pos=2&start=1#firsthit> viewed 10/11/13.

¹⁹³ Purcell’s “Pastoral Elegy” was a tribute to John Playford and was played at his funeral, which Purcell attended, in 1687. Dean-Smith (1943:137) and Broadbridge & Fennessy (1997:3).

¹⁹⁴ Thomas Bray was a theatrical performer, choreographer and dance teacher described as a “Dancing Master” in 1682. As a choreographer, he used music by Henry and Daniel Purcell, Jeremaih Clarke, John Eccles and other composers. His collection was published in 1699 but no copies survive. Broadbridge & Fennessy (1997:10).

¹⁹⁵ “Walsh 1710” is thought to be a mistake in Broadbridge and Fennessy (1997), as the two dances referred to are found in Walsh 1719 (D-303). One of them is also in Walsh 1711 (D-318).

¹⁹⁶ This term is used by Sabol (1978), Ravelhofer (2006) and other sources to describe two melodies which are evidently related but differ in detail.

of these concordances does not suggest Purcell was supplying melodies to publishers of country dances.

Having described the contributions made by the professional dancing masters in creating and disseminating the country dances, I now describe the role they then played in perpetuating their use and future relevance following the sharp decline in popularity of country dances, which seems, from Appendix 3 and illustrated in Figure 4.4, to have occurred in England after about 1820. I suggest the reason for this decline was because in England, they were replaced by other types of dances introduced from the European continent. I stated earlier that many of the dancing masters originated from the continent, and the kit as illustrated in Figure 4.15 was just as common there (if not more) where it was known as the “pochette” in French, Italian, Polish and Hungarian, “pošetka” in Czech, “Tanzmeistergeige” in German and “Dansmeesterviool” in Dutch.¹⁹⁷ In the eighteenth century, balls and dances were as popular throughout the courts and cultural centres of Europe, from Spain to Russia, as they were in Britain. Furthermore, each European cultural centre had its own dancing masters creating, teaching and publishing their own types of dances.

I found many accounts of dances transferring between these various cultural centres. Dean-Smith (1945:217) describes how the French dancing master Raoul Auger Feuillet (c.1653-c.1709) introduced a small collection of country dances, many of which were from Playford, to his French clients in 1706.¹⁹⁸ One is referred to by Broadbridge and Fennessy (1997). Chappell (1893:223) describes how an unknown dancing master introduced a “square dance for eight”, an adaptation of a late seventeenth century Playford dance, to France in about 1720, and thus invented the term “contradanse”.¹⁹⁹ Klein (1925:19) describes how in the early 1800’s, the “celebrated” Mme Michau introduced to England from her native France several new square and round dances, including the “valse-à-deux-temps”.

Mme Michau’s arrival in England was likely a consequence of the French Revolution (1789-99). This marked the beginning of an era of political upheaval across the wider European continent caused by the aggressively expansionist policies of the Napoleonic, Prussian, Russian and Hapsburg Empires. The Hanoverian Electorate surrendered to Napoleon in 1803, and the return of demobbed soldiers following the disbanding of the Hanoverian army,

¹⁹⁷ http://en.translatethings.com/k/i/t/kit_violin.html viewed 07/12/14.

¹⁹⁸ English translations are dated 1710 and 1715 (D-620, D-621).

¹⁹⁹ According to Chappell (1893:223) and reiterated by Sharp (1909:223), the first use of the term “contredanse” by the French is found in Bonnet’s *Histoire de la Danse* (Paris 1724:135). It says “L’usage des contre-danses nous vient d’un maître à danser d’Angleterre, arrivé en France il y a douze ou quinze ans” (the use of contradanses came to us from an English dance master, who arrived in France twelve or fifteen years ago). However, in 1819, John Wilson Croker stated in his translation of *Memoirs of the Marshal de Bassompierre to the Court of England in 1626* that “our Country Dance are a corruption in name, and a simplification in figure, of the French Contradanse”. Chappell states this is a misunderstanding, since there is no mention of contradanses in French texts on dancing prior to 1724. In spite of this, the theory was reiterated in later nineteenth century dictionaries and remains a popular misconception today, for instance in modern publications such as Ripon (1993).

as well as the influx of fleeing aristocracy from the new French Republic, have both been attributed to the introduction into England of the French dance called the “quadrille”. This was a dance for two couples which became popular as it was less energetic and more graceful as befitted the heavily starched dresses that also became fashionable at this time. This period also coincided with the widespread diaspora of the Polish nobility due to the collapse and eventual partition of the Polish commonwealth state in 1795.²⁰⁰ Napoleonic aggression similarly displaced the Germanic and Czech aristocracies before Napoleon was eventually defeated at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. These geo-political events all coincide with the appearance, in England, of what are termed “couple dances”. These were “waltzes” (such as “The Elector of Palatine’s Waltz”²⁰¹ in Bland and Weller 1802, D-33) “mazurkas” and “polkas”. All are defined as having derived from central Europe in the 1780’s.²⁰² The aforementioned Mme Michau herself is said to have introduced the polka to England in about 1820, for which she had to hire additional rooms because the crowds of fashionable people who wanted to learn it could not be accommodated in her ordinary ballroom (Klein 1925:19).

Assemblies, particularly the larger cities, were in competition with each other and were constantly looking for exciting new fashions in order to maintain the interest of their memberships. These couple dances from Prussia (an Empire which, by the 1820’s, incorporated Hanover and parts of Poland), rapidly became the new craze and eventually ousted the country dances completely from the London ballrooms. Their popularity may have been enhanced by the changing demographics of the ball-goers, with aristocratic émigrés and artists arriving as a result of the dispossession of the traditional estates of the nobility. However, another explanation is that the couple dances offered hitherto unknown opportunities for intimacy; a development regarded as daringly scandalous. The management of Almac’s assembly in London reportedly introduced the waltz with this in mind, in about 1815 or 1816, in order to revive its flagging membership. The polka, which was first performed on stage in 1844 and became popular in the 1850’s, has often been attributed as having peasant roots²⁰³ although this could have been an image fostered during its vaudeville stage. I am

²⁰⁰ The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had functioned since 1569 as a stable federal state with an elective monarchy, governed largely by the nobility. Over the eighteenth century, it was one of the greater European powers and a major cultural entity. In 1795, the Commonwealth was partitioned by its three powerful neighbours, the Kingdom of Prussia, the Russian Empire, and the Hapsburg Monarchy of Austria, and effectively ceased to exist. The diaspora of the political and intellectual intelligentsia from Poland, mainly to France, continued over the next 100 years. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/466910/Partitions-of-Poland> viewed 10/11/13.

²⁰¹ This was probably the German aristocrat, Charles Theodore, Prince-Elector, Count Palatine and Duke of Bavaria (1724-1799) who was a prominent patron of the arts and friend of Voltaire.

²⁰² The waltz dates from 1781 from the German “walzer”, form of “walzen”, to roll, revolve, a dance performed to music in triple time by couples who swing round and round in the same direction with smooth and even steps, moving on as they gyrate and used as a piece of music to accompany this dance from 1816. The mazurka dates from 1794 and first recorded in the English language in 1818. It was a lively Polish dance resembling polka, with music in triple time. The term also means “woman of the province of Mazovia”. The polka derived from the Czech “půlka” meaning “half step”. Dating from 1844, it was a lively dance of Bohemian origin, the music of which is in duple time. (Oxford English Dictionary, in respect of the first use of the words in English).

²⁰³ Popular folklore states that the polka was invented by a peasant girl in Eastern Bohemia (now 60 km east of Prague in the Czech Republic but formerly part of Prussia) and was introduced to the ballrooms of Prague in 1835. In 1840, a dancing master called Raab introduced it at the Odeon theatre in Paris, where it was seized upon by Parisian dancing masters and refined for their salons and ballrooms, and taught in dance academies. It was

convinced that these new couple dances originating from central Europe were not the culture of rural, peasant populations. The true countryside would have been overwhelmed by military campaigns at that time and was not conducive to the “collecting” of village dances. The dances introduced into Britain in the early nineteenth century were a result of a combination of the movement of opportunist dancing masters, shifting Victorian attitudes to probity, and shrewd business acumen.

The titles in Appendix 3 change from about 1810 onwards to include these new dances, such as *Wheatstone's selection of elegant and fashionable Country Dances, Reels, Waltzes for the ensuing season ...arranged for piano forte or harp. Also flute or patent flageole*, dated 1810 or 1820 (D-794). These couple dances were called such, because they required couples to simply progress round the room independent of any wider formation. The melodies' tempos and meters defined the step, and unlike country dances, they lacked any complex choreographed figures. They also reduced the need for intensive instruction thereby leading to the role of the dancing master becoming superfluous.²⁰⁴ The items listed in Appendix 3 suggest that the London-based publishing businesses ceased printing annual choreographed country dances by about 1827.

Among the English gentry, balls also began to be replaced in popularity by other types of artistic and social pursuits. This is demonstrated by way of the number of assembly halls which were converted into concert halls and theatres.²⁰⁵ The novels of Charles Dickens (1812-1870) illustrate how, by the mid 1800's in London, fashionable society seems to have abandoned dance altogether. He portrays dance academies as relics from a previous era and even dens of iniquity, depicting the dancing masters as being eccentric or dishonest.²⁰⁶

introduced in England by the mid 1800's. Jake Fuller, <http://www.centralhome.com/ballroomcountry/polka.htm> viewed 18/12/14.

²⁰⁴ Between 1830 and 1860, the Norwich dance master Augustus Hervé Bizet Michau (b. c. 1800) witnessed the evolution in styles during which “bals masqué” grew less popular in England. “Beautiful old dances fell out of fashion, as they took too long to teach – thirty lessons were needed to teach the “minuet de la cour”, but the polka could be learnt in two and the “valse-à-deux-temps” could be learnt in six. He felt there was no pleasure in watching the new “lively jiggling round dances” compared to the elegant fancy dances of the ‘old school’”. Klein (1925).

²⁰⁵ Almac's Assembly in King Street, London, closed in 1863 (Heath-Coleman 2012). In Norwich, the Assembly became “Noverre's Cinema” (Marsh 2005:24). In Limerick, John Roche's academy declined after his death in 1913 although two of his sons continued teaching music and dance from their home (Ossian 1993, C-81). Meanwhile, in England music hall became immensely popular. England now has the highest proportion of music hall and theatres per capita in the world, many of which occupy the former assembly buildings.

²⁰⁶ In Chapter XIV of *Bleak House* (Dickens, 1852-3) a dance studio is described as being rather past its heyday: “I found the academy established in a sufficiently dingy house at the corner of an archway, with busts in all the staircase windows....it had been quite a fine house once, when it was anybody's business to keep it clean and fresh..... Several young lady pupils, ranging from thirteen or fourteen years of age to two or three and twenty, were assembled.....Prince Turveydrop sometimes played the kit, dancing; sometimes played the piano, standing; sometimes hummed the tune with what little breath he could spare, while he set a pupil right”. In Dicken's *Little Dorrit* (1855-7) a dance master is described in attendance at an insolvency prison. Dickens also wrote a short story called *The Dancing Academy* about a naïve gentleman being duped into paying for dancing lessons at the academy of a Signor Billsmethi, only to find he is the subject of an expensive con involving his imaginary betrothal to the Signor's daughter (*The Dancing Academy*, SB 41, originally, *Scenes and Characters, No. 3* in Bell's *Life in London*, 11 October 1835). Source: <http://www.readbookonline.net/readOnline/7840/> viewed 23/11/11).

Hast and Scott (2004:26-7), Flett (1964:2-59) and Breathnach (1971:49) are only three of many literature sources giving accounts of dancing masters who toured the countryside from this time. They taught dance and music in “hedge schools” and organised dances in barns, which were the only weatherproof spaces available to rural populations. The earliest accounts of them date from the late eighteenth century. Since the dancing master profession tended to be dynastic, these could have been the less successful individuals who found themselves unable to sustain the prestigious venues or clientele that were maintained by their peers. However, after the wholesale abandonment of the country dances by the assembly-going society in the early nineteenth century, the number of itinerant dancing masters increased as they were forced to seek their livelihoods among ever poorer and more remote rural communities. Many accounts, such as that in Breathnach (1971:49), describe how the dancing master would be “pretentious in dress, affecting a grandiloquence” and “considered himself a gentleman”. The dancing master also offered other skills such as deportment, etiquette and fencing. These individuals were evidently quite strikingly different to the working-class communities among which they were forced to mingle. I regard this as further confirmation of their involuntary adaption to the abrupt loss of employment from the upper class society on which they had relied for generations. With the exception of the estates of Scotland, this misfortune seemed to ultimately befall the entire profession throughout Britain and Ireland. The dances were now taught to new subjects in very different demographic circumstances. They included the familiar country dances (i.e. “longways for as many as well”) but also the older round dances, and these ultimately evolved into the barn and ceili dances familiar to us now. The appearance of dance tunes named “quadrilles”, “waltzes”, “mazurkas” and “polkas” in manuscripts from remote parts of Northumberland and Ireland from this time suggest that the dancing masters were not precious about the dances. Lastly, the ubiquity of the violin as a folk instrument may also be traced to this time. Both instrument and skill were originally passed down through successive generations of dancing masters, and unlike the wide variety of other cheaper, more “folk-like” instruments used by the labouring classes that have been described, it is no different to the instrument used in classical music.

Dancing masters therefore played the crucial role in the dissemination of jigs, reels, hornpipes, polkas, waltzes, mazurkas et. al. throughout Britain and Ireland. I suggest their original roles within in the elite society balls were transformed over the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, to having to organize barn dances amongst working class communities, both rural and urban. Whilst some accounts of certain dancing masters have been published, I believe that overall the wider role that the profession played in the transmission of dance tunes throughout the British Isles, has not previously been fully appreciated.

4.5 Melodies from Playford's *Dancing Master* in Other Sources

Playford's *Dancing Master*, published in 1651, is generally acknowledged to be the earliest known published collation of country dances. Most popular and academic studies assume the dances were derived from the villages of the English countryside, as demonstrated by the following contemporary definitions of the term "country dance".²⁰⁷

A dance that originated in English folk tradition but that found its way into more refined circles by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. John Playford's *The English Dancing Master* (1651) was the first published collection of such dances, using folk and popular tunes and a variety of steps. (The Oxford Companion to Music. Author: Janet Halfyard.)

The term is generic and covers a whole series of figure dances deriving from the amusements of the Eng. village green. Such dances became popular at the court of Queen Elizabeth I, and during the Commonwealth were systematically described by **PLAYFORD** in his *English Dancing Master*. (The Oxford Dictionary of Music. Author not attributed.)

Because of its perception as being the oldest publication of traditional dance tunes, *Dancing Master* has attracted the attention of many scholars of folk dance and music. I decided to examine further the context of *Dancing Master* and the origin of its county dances in order to investigate they were really connected with so-called "folk" origins and the oft-quoted village green.

Gilchrist (1932), Wells (1937), Wood (1937 and 1949), Dean-Smith (1952), Thurston (1952), Whitlock (1999) and Ravelhofer (2006) have all published studies highlighting the co-existence of melodies from *Dancing Master* in other written sources, both contemporaneous and pre-existing. Wells (1937) and Gilchrist (1939) were the first to match some of Playford's melodies with sixteenth and seventeenth century "broadsides" and many more have come to light in subsequent studies.²⁰⁸ As with the songs of the ballad operas, the seventeenth century broadside ballads merely provided the name of the melody that the ballads were intended to be sung to and did not print the score. Figure 4.17 below is an example of one of Playford's country dances which corresponds to a melody referred to in the broadside ballad entitled *The Beggar's Intrusion or the World's Illusion* which is pictured in Figure 4.18 overleaf.

²⁰⁷ Country dance is also defined as "an English dance of rural or native origin" in the Oxford English Dictionary, Third Edition, 1973.

²⁰⁸ For instance, Simpson (1966), which in turn has been updated by a useful on-line resource: "Music of the Sixteenth Century Broadside Ballad". <http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/ballads/music.html> viewed 08/08/13.

129 Sellenger's Round or The beginning of the world



Figure 4.17. Transcription of “Sellenger’s Round” from the version in Playford’s *Dancing Master* Volume 1, Third edition, dated 1657 (D-3). (Barlow 1985:39).

The Beggers Intrusion,
Or the worlds Illusion.
To the tune of Sallingers Rownde.



A Begger of late most pooze in estate
I truly will discover,
In behaviour rude, yet he would intrude,
no place he would passouer,
Conceite i the meaning Gentlemen
oz else you doe me wrong:
For the worlds Illusion, in the conclusion,
is subject of my song.

When meetes he with a Sergeant,
and in his hand his spafe,
The Begger then most lustily steps,
and comes toward him a pale,
What wouldst thou haue thou arrant knaue,
thou comst to harsely,
For to tell you this you line amisse,
and a Begger you stuff dy.

Figure 4.18. Portion of broadside ballad “The Beggers Intrusion” dated c. 1620²⁰⁹ specifying it should be sung to the tune of “Sallingers Rounde”.

“Sellenger’s Round”, which is in *Dancing Master* Volume 1 editions three to eight (1657 to 1690, D-3 to D-9), is also mentioned in another contemporaneous broadside ballad titled *Merry Wooing of Robin and Joan*. This also specifies an alternative melody called either “The beginning of the World” or “The Great Boobe”. This is an illustration of how the frequent interchangeability of tunes with ballads leaves us with a complicated trail of

²⁰⁹ The original ballad is part of the Pepys collection, Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge. A facsimile, transcription and audio file available on “The English Broadside Ballad Archive” website, <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/>, viewed 19/09/11.

alternative melody names. Since the broadside ballads generally seemed to have had at least two names, so the melodies generally did too.

Musical literacy at the time was restricted to a very small minority of trained musicians, so the consumers of the “broadside ballads” (themselves a literate minority by definition) would have been expected to sing ballads to melodies they already knew. The lack of knowledge of musical notation was not an impediment to being able to appreciate and sing these songs. A good contemporary example is “Greensleeves” which is a tune that everyone knows today. The “Greensleeves” tune appears in editions seven to eighteen in *Dancing Master* Volume 1 (1686- to c.1728, D-8 to D19)²¹⁰ for the country dance called “Green Sleeves and Pudding-Pies”. Given the many surviving records of it as both melody and song in the century preceding Playford,²¹¹ one can surmise the tune was as widely recognizable then as it is now. Similarly, although the “Sellinger’s Round” melody is now relatively unknown, its numerous documented references in several plays and comedies in the decades preceding Playford²¹² suggests it would have been just as widely recognized by Londoners the time *Dancing Master* was published. It seems, as with the early eighteenth century ballad operas I described earlier, that playwrights and song-writers had reasons to re-use the same tunes.

Other melodies from *Dancing Master* named in broadside ballads include “All in a Garden Green” and “Trenchmore”. Some of these have B parts longer than A, but some don’t, so this cannot be considered as a diagnostic feature of a ballad. However, it is clear that not only are these ballads frequently linked to stage plays and comedies, but that their topics are overwhelmingly London-centric as well. Another example is “Green Goose Fair” which was the name of an annual fair held in Bow.²¹³

Variants of many of the melodies in *Dancing Master* have also been identified as polyphonic instrumental pieces in privately-owned manuscripts dating back to as much as a century

²¹⁰ The country dance is also found in Walsh (1718, 1731, 1735 and 1760, D-299 to D-302).

²¹¹ “Greensleeves” is in a play called *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* (1584) as *A New Courtly Sonnet of the Lady Green Sleeves. To the new tune of Green sleeves*. It was registered as a broadside ballad at the London Stationer’s Company in September 1580 as *A New Northern Dittye of the Lady Greene Sleeves* (as quoted in Kidson, 1926). The tune is also mentioned in Shakespeare’s *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (c.1602).

²¹² “Sellingers Round” is mentioned as either tune or ballad in three plays; *Bacchus’ Bountie* (1593), *Father Hubbard’s Tales* (1604), *Fair Made of the West* and also in the comedy *Lingua* (1607) where it is also referred to as *The Beginning of the World*. It continues to be mentioned over the next hundred years by numerous writers of history, plays, and poets, and also features in engravings. It may or may not be associated with the fact that a Thomas Sellynger was buried in St George’s Chapel, Windsor, before 1475. Chappell (1859:70 and 1893:257-8).

²¹³ A dance called “Green Goose Fair” with the alternative title of “Solomon’s Jigg” was first printed in Playford’s *Dancing Master* in 1652 (D-142) and repeated until 1695 (D-150). The name undoubtedly refers to the annual “green goose fair” which was held in Bow, east London, as documented in 1630 <http://www.mernick.org.uk/thhol/villbow.html> viewed 18/08/12. The fair had a reputation for unruly behaviour which is depicted in a broadside ballad published c. 1685-1688 entitled “A New Summons to Green-Goose Fair, or the Young-Men and Maidens Joy and Mirth”, <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/21292/image> viewed 18/08/12. A second, unrelated country dance also called “Green Goose Fair” appears in later editions of Playford 1718 (D-163) and was re-printed in Walsh 1719 (D-851) and then again in Playford 1728 (D-164).

before Playford. As with the “domestic” manuscripts described in chapter 3, these were copy-books of musical pieces collated by their owners for their own educational or recreational purposes. However, these manuscripts differ from those described in chapter 3 in that their owners belonged to a much more privileged social class. They played the lute, cittern or virginal which were novel, highly desirable and expensive instruments at the time. In addition, the music would only have been obtainable from the most exclusive private tutors because this period in history pre-dated the development of music printing and publishing. Their choices of musical pieces suggest their owners were well connected. Most are attributed to a small and very exclusive group of prestigious composers which included John Dowland,²¹⁴ William Byrd²¹⁵ and Giles Farnaby.²¹⁶ A manuscript now known as *William Ballet's Lute Book*,²¹⁷ for instance, includes a polyphonic form of “Greensleeves” which is credited to John Dowland. Dean-Smith (1952-3:10-12)²¹⁸ after Wells (1937:84) identified more of *Dancing Master's* melodies in further manuscripts now known as *My Ladye Nevel's Virginal Booke*,²¹⁹ the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*,²²⁰ *Cosyn's Virginal Book*, *Dallis' Lute Book*, *Elizabeth Rogers' Lute Book*,²²¹ *Jane Pickering's Lute Books* as well as the abovementioned *William Ballet's Lute Book*.

I use two examples to illustrate the characteristic differences between the forms of the melodies in *Dancing Master* and their versions in these manuscripts. A melody called “Sellingers Round” is in two of these manuscripts; *My Ladye Nevel's Virginal Booke* (c. 1561) and the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (early 1600's). Figure 4.19 is the first page from the former.

²¹⁴ John Dowland (1563-1626), was a composer and Royal lutenist to the court of James I. Holman, Peter and O'Dette, Paul "Dowland, John." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* Oxford University Press, accessed September 1, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08103>. His 1604 book on dance music, *Lachrimae*, is described by Holman (1999).

²¹⁵ William Byrd (c.1540-1623) was organist of the Chapel Royal, the religious and musical establishment funded by the Crown. Kerman, Joseph "Byrd, William." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* Oxford University Press, accessed September 1, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04487>.

²¹⁶ Giles Farnaby (c.1563-1640) was primarily a maker of keyboard instruments. Marlow, Richard and Memed, Orhan, "Farnaby, Giles." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* Oxford University Press, accessed September 1, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09322>.

²¹⁷ Manuscript held at Trinity College, Dublin, MS. D. I. 21 and dated to approximately 1580.

²¹⁸ I checked only a selection of Dean-Smith's connections for this study and found some to be inaccurate. For instance, “Chestnut” in editions 1 to 8 of *Dancing Master* is not particularly similar to Farnaby's “Flatt Pavan” in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (Fuller-Maitland & Squire 1963:453-4) as the resemblance is limited to the first four bars. Similarly, “Kemp's Jig”, which is stated by Dean-Smith (1945:216) to have concordances with “Lord Willobie's Welcome Home” from *Nevels Virginal Book*, I found to be wrong. That this was so was also pointed out in a review of Dean-Smith by an anonymous “TD” (1958).

²¹⁹ MS 32.g29. This is thought to have been compiled by its owner over 1561 (Andrews 1969) and is now housed in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

²²⁰ An un-named manuscript collection thought to have been compiled by a Francis Tregian in the early 1600's, as a copybook for his keyboard playing. The 297 pieces date from approximately 1562 to 1612 by composers such as John Bull, William Byrd, Orlando Gibbons, Giles Farnaby, Martin Peerson, Peter Philips and Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck. The music is suitable for keyboard instruments such as the virginals or harpsichord. It takes its name from Viscount Fitzwilliam who bequeathed this manuscript collection to Cambridge University in 1816. Fuller-Maitland and Squire (1963).

²²¹ *Elizabeth Rogers hir Virginal Book* MS10337 BL. Marsh (2010:210), quoting Bailey (2008), states that it contains marches, trumpet tunes and pieces imitating the sounds of battle, numerous courtly dances, particularly courants, sarabands and almains, ballad tunes, vocal psalm settings and several love songs, and one lullaby.

These twenty bars represent most of the first rendition of the melody (AABCC parts, each of 4 bars). The subsequent pages of this piece (not illustrated) comprise nine further variations of the melody which are increasingly elaborate.²²²

37. SELLINGERS ROWNDE.

1) no signature in MS

2 II

Figure 4.19. First page of “Selling’s Round” from the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, early 1600’s. (Andrews 1969:211).

Although the form of the melody is recognizable to Figure 4.16, there are no absolute melodic matches.²²³ Ravelhofer (2006:42-44), Marsh (2004:81,89) and others all concur that these concordances are symptomatic of the tune’s popularity and widespread use. With “Selling’s Round”, I suggest Byrd selected this melody, already well-known from the London stage and associated broadside ballads. The tune or ballad “Selling’s Round” is mentioned in three plays, *Bacchus’ Bountie* (1593), *Father Hubbard’s Tales* (1604) and *Fair Made of the West*. Byrd merely embellished it for the purpose of exhibiting his virtuosity on the keyboard to an educated and exacting audience.

²²²The version of the same piece in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* is almost identical. <http://eee.uwaterloo.ca/~praetzel/alaric/selliger.pdf> viewed 05/06/11.

²²³ An example of a recent recreation of the the version of “Selling’s Round by Playford” is in the following youtube.com clip: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jAE1bKMvkKU> viewed 22/08/2012. This uses the choreography from Playford, but the melody from the version in in *Ladye Nevel’s Virginal Booke*, rather than the version in *Dancing Master*.

A similar example of another melody from *Dancing Master* is “Goddesses” (Figure 4.20) which has recently been adopted for the dance “Silkstone” by the Silkstone Greens North West Morris side.



Figure 4.20. “The Goddesses”, from “*Dancing Master*” Volume 1, first edition of 1651. (Barlow 1985:23).

This is a concordance of “Quodling’s Delight” which is found in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (Figure 4.21). I have not established the connection between the two names but I suggest it would have arisen from the same type of interchange between plays, comedies and broadside ballads described above.²²⁴

[CXIV.]
Quodlings Delight.
7. GILES FARNABY.

Figure 4.21. “Quodling’s Delight”, transcribed from the Fitzwilliam manuscript which is attributed to Giles Farnaby. (Fuller-Maitland & Squire 1963:19-22).

²²⁴This melody was also linked to later seventeenth century ballads such as *The Northern Lasses Lamentation* (c.1675) (Wells 1939:262) and “The Dumb Maid” (1690’s). <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/> viewed 18/08/13. The first line of the former is “I would I were in my own country” which was also known to be one of several other names for this tune (Sabot 1978:598).

These two examples illustrate how popular melodies from the London stage were referred to in broadside ballads, lengthened and embellished into performance pieces for the aristocratic players of lute and virginal, and also used as country dances in *Dancing Master*. The adaption of melodies for different purposes is no different to that which occurs nowadays as I already described.

There is a final form of performance art that also warrants consideration. Whitlock (1999) has proposed that the principal sources of Playford's country dances in *Dancing Master* were derived from masquerades, or "masques". Both the *Dancing Master* series and later country dance collections from Appendix 3 make numerous references to these masques. Masques feature in the names of country dances, such as "Masquerade Royal" (Playford 1718 and 1728, Walsh 1719, D-163, D-164 and D-303). They are also alluded to in the titles of the publications themselves, such as Walsh's *The Compleat Country Dancing Master... Particularly those perform'd at the several Masquerades* which was printed repeatedly between 1718 and 1756 (D-229 / D-406, D-309, D-315, D-316, D-318, D-845, D-847 and D-851). Whitlock (1999:574) points out that two of Playford's other publications, *Courtly Ayres* (1655) and *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (1662) contain fifty-five and forty-seven melodies respectively by composer and masquwright William Lawes²²⁵ of which the majority bear as a sub-title the name of a dance. I therefore researched the music from masques in order to examine the validity of Whitlock's theory and to decide whether masques really were the sources of Playford's country dances.

Masques of the Early Stuart era (1603-1649) were those associated with the reigns of Kings James I/VI and Charles I. They developed out of a form of privately performed dance-drama called masked dances or "disguisings" which became popular in the previous century as an element of royal court entertainments and other exclusive occasions when the aristocracy had reason to gather, such as weddings. As they were so expensive to stage, masques were an art-form only ever experienced by the privileged and the extremely rich (Sabol 1978:3). However, the fact that dance was a significant component (Ravelhofer 2006:3)²²⁶ warrants their consideration within my study of the history of dance tunes. Over the course of twenty-five masques written between 1605 and 1631 by Ben Jonson (1572-1637) mainly for the royal family and their courtiers, the structure evolved into a distinctive three-tiered form. I now describe these tiers because they are relevant to both my testing of Whitlock's

²²⁵ William Lawes (1602-1645) was the brother of Henry Lawes, friend of John Playford mentioned earlier. William Lawes was a leading composer of dance, and of music for drama (including the masque), in the period 1630–45. He was killed during the English Civil War. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.eresources.shef.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/16150?q=William+Lawes&search=quick&pos=1&start=1#firsthit> viewed 10/11/13.

²²⁶ "What gave most delight and appealed to the connoisseurship of the audience was the dancing, the high point of a masque was the revelation of the masquers followed by the new dances they had rehearsed for weeks or months. Dancing must have occupied three quarters of the time of a masque." Parry (1993:113-4) quoted in Ravelhofer (2006:3).

theory about the sources of *Dancing Master's* country dances, as well as my next consideration about the origin of the term "country dance" itself.

The masque proper (or "terminal dance") was the main point of the proceedings, and generally consisted of allegorical fables explained by an actor. Illustrative dances known as the entry, main and exit dances were performed seriously and elegantly by the aristocratic hosts, or "masquers".

The antimasque ("antic" or "antique-masque") was the foil to the main masque and always preceded the entry dance of the masquers. It involved wild "antics" by performers, who were courtiers, i.e. members of the noble household, or else actors who were hired for the occasion. The characters were disguised as grotesque, fantastical or subversive images such as mythical creatures, vernacular "rustics" such as milk maids, farm labourers and blacksmiths. They performed parodies of the mainstream court dances with elements of circus and pantomime, all with a heavy dose of irony. Sabol (1978:3) suggests the antimasques introduced drama (and no doubt comedy) into what might otherwise have been a rather lifeless and static pageant.

The final stage was the "measures" or "revels" which were popular social dances in which both audience and cast participated. Ravelhofer (2006:28) describes them as having had a "greater degree of recognisability and inclusivity" than the previous stages.

Manuscripts containing both music and choreographies for these masques are rare and those composed for the royal court masques at Whitehall are generally believed to be lost (Sabol 1978:xv and Ravelhofer 2006:8,16). However, Whitlock (1999) proposes that the origin of the country dances in *Dancing Master* was their donation by a prominent masquwright called Richard Brome (d.1653) who had been a collaborator of Ben Jonson's.²²⁷ Whitlock suggests the reason Brome was unacknowledged by Playford was because the dances were drawn from his personal manuscripts and that their copyright was owned by one of Playford's competitors. Whitlock presents, as evidence, the coincidence of twenty-eight out of the total of a hundred-and-one names of the country dances in the first edition of *Dancing Master*, to masques known to have been connected to either Brome or Jonson.

Ravelhofer (2006:15,98) disputes this theory, arguing that it was abnormal for music and choreographies to be put to paper because dances were devised collaboratively and only

²²⁷ Richard Brome (c.1590-1653) was the protégé and collaborator of Ben Jonson, whose scripts he could have inherited although not necessarily their copyright. He could have provided Playford with his own or Jonson's compositions. His incentive, according to Whitlock (1999), was that he fell on hard times following the Commonwealth Government's closure of theatres in 1642. Brome would have benefited financially from contributing, albeit anonymously, to the first edition of *Dancing Master*, which was published the year before he died in poverty. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/80794/Richard-Brome> viewed 10/11/13.

memorized by those involved, and musicians were not expected to follow scores. However, her argument is based on one dramatic reference²²⁸ and one particular dancing master known to be musically illiterate.²²⁹ I would argue that both musical scores and dance choreographies were written down. This is based on my involvement in blocking out new figured dances for contemporary Morris sides, and identifying melodies to play for them. For this, making notes is essential. The music and the dance choreographies may not be co-joined, as the two are referred to by different people. The dance choreographies in particular may not conform to any standard notation since they are for the benefit mainly of the dance leader. The masques were generated for exclusive, one-off events, so the choreographies would not have attained wider circulation and hence are understandably rare. They existed, nevertheless. I therefore suggest Ravelhofer's information is incomplete when she assumes music and dance choreographies were not routinely written down for masques. Her review of the seventy-six contemporaneous scores from a variety of European sources would seem to contradict her own argument.

I also reviewed an anthology of four hundred and twenty melodies (or fragments of melodies) collated by Sabol (1978) on the basis of their assumed use for Early Stuart masques. Their primary sources included sixteenth and seventeenth century manuscripts,²³⁰ other contemporary descriptions and accounts of masques, circumstantial links with musical publications including *Dancing Master*, other Playford publications, and, in one case, a quotation. Twenty-eight of these melodies originate from various publications by Playford, but of these, only nine are taken from, or recognised concordances of, melodies in *Dancing Master*. The remaining nineteen are sourced from other publications from the Playford publishing firm (fifteen titles in total). This is not an endorsement of a musical continuity between *Dancing Master* and Early Stuart masques. I conclude that whilst, as suggested by Whitlock, some collaboration with Brome may have been theoretically possible,²³¹ there is no conclusive evidence from the music alone that *Dancing Master* has any particular exclusive link to Early Stuart masques. It is much more likely that the same popular melodies circulating amongst the stage plays and comedies of the time, were

²²⁸ Ben Jonson's masque "Paris Anniversary" (1620) lampoons a character (a simple clerk) who expresses his wish to record a whole dance on paper and is roundly mocked by other characters (Ravelhofer 2006:15).

²²⁹ The French Jacques Cordier (1580-1653), or "Bocan," was a violinist, composer, and choreographer who worked for the royal courts of France, England, and Denmark. Buch (1993:14) quotes Henri Sauval (1623-76) in *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris* (1724, I, P321) who recounts that Bocan did not know how to read or write music. Nevertheless, as Ravelhofer (2006:98) states, Bocan had an illustrious career as a dance master and certainly contributed to Early Stuart court masques.

²³⁰ Such as "MS 10444" in the British Library, which is a collation of 129 folios known to have been performed in masques. This was compiled principally by an amateur music enthusiast, Sir Nicholas L'Estrange (1603-55). Another example is a folio called Brade's *Newe Ausserlenesene liebliche Branden* (1617), by a William Brade (c.1560-1630), an English musician who spent most of his life in the employ of various German municipalities and princes. It is not known whether Brade obtained the music for his collection because he performed them himself, or because he obtained part books from a musician who did. (Sabol 1978:31-3).

²³¹ Whitlock (1999:566) also suggests that the preface of *Dancing Master* was written by Robert Brome. The preface acknowledges "the assistance of a knowing friend" (Dean-Smith 1945:131).

adapted variously and copiously, including for the Early Stuart masques and later for the country dances in *Dancing Master*.

The melodies used in *Dancing Master* were therefore mainly drawn from the shared repertoires of songs, plays and comedies of the early 1600's. I described how tunes such as "Greensleaves" and "Sellinger's Round" were adapted to meet the requirements of songs as well as elitest instrumental pieces. They were also re-used for masques, giving rise to the many melodic concordances described by Sabol (1978), Marsh (2004:81,89) and Ravelhofer (2006:42).²³² I suggest that the melodies Playford used in *Dancing Master* for his country dances were simply drawn from the same common musical repertory familiar to well-healed Londoners at the time. The class of people familiar with them were the theatre-goers, the upwardly mobile and above all, the metropolitan in livelihood and outlook. Overall, I suggest that the country dance melodies in *Dancing Master* were neither particularly novel, nor did they come directly from the countryside.

4.6 The Purpose of Playford's *Dancing Master*

The musical format adopted in Playford's *Dancing Master* series differs markedly from that used in his other publications, such as *A Musical Banquett* (1651) and *Appollo's Banquett* (1669) which comprised polyphonically scripted pieces for keyboard, lute, viola da gamba or lute. However, *Dancing Master*, alone among his publications, contained musical pieces printed in monophonic form with accompanying dance choreographies. I will contend that the purpose and intended market of *Dancing Master* was principally aimed at the dancing master profession.

Playford had strong links with the "Inns of the Court". These were (and still are) the "guilds" (professional associations) for practitioners of the law in England and Wales.²³³ As well as being Clerk of the Temple Church from 1653 to 1680, Playford's business premises were located in the Inner Temple (Harley 1968:115) and it served as a rendezvous for the many musical lawyers and leisured gentry of the period (Harker 1985:3,4). The forward of his first edition of *Dancing Master* pays tribute to the "Gentlemen of the Inns of Court" (Broadbridge and Fennessy 1997:5). Eight dances from *Dancing Master* have also been recognised in

²³²Sabol (1978) also describes how melodies were chopped up and swapped for different parts of the masque. For example, segments of a five part Brawl used for a main masque dance in *Variety of Lute Lesson* (No. 226) and *The Masque of Flowers* (no. 87) was arranged into six sections (no's 315 to 320) for the revels (Sabol 1978:608).

²³³ Founded in Medieval times, the "Inns of Court" in London is a group of institutions that have historically been responsible for legal education. They exercise the exclusive right of admitting persons to practice by a formal call to the bar. Their members lodged, trained and carried on their profession within self-contained precincts and buildings, with an attached churches or chapels, all of which are located in the general vicinity of the Royal Courts of Justice, between the City of London and Westminster. There are now four Inns; Gray's Inn and Lincoln's Inn in Camden (formerly Holborn) and Middle Temple and Inner Temple in the Temple area of the City. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/288741/Inns-of-Court> viewed 6/6/12.

seven manuscripts compiled between the 1560's and 1670's, all of which have proven associations with the Inns of the Court (Ravelhofer 2006:38).²³⁴

The Inns had always actively engaged in plays and entertainments (Ravelhofer 2006:40 and Whitlock 1999:555). Music was always prominent²³⁵ and the Inn's members included many accomplished amateur musicians. The Inns also traditionally played a wider role in providing entertainments for the aristocracy. Their members organised the royal masques, and in particular, the concluding "revels" where the audience joined in dancing with the cast. The term "master of the revels" itself was a title originating from the reign of King Henry VIII and bestowed on a leading Member of the Inns (Sabot 1978:15). The "revels" were the Inns' own distinctive dances and were reportedly so recognisable they needed neither rehearsal nor explanation beyond the melodic introduction. An example of the choreography of such a dance is Figure 4.22. This is from a manuscript entitled *Practice for Dauncinge* compiled by a John Ramsay who was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1606.

<p>The blacke Almaine. Cecilia.</p>	}	<p>Honour. Two s. syde & a .d. forward & a .s. backe twice, part handes .2. s. sydes & honour wth your left foote, change places wth .2. s. & a .d., honour wth your right foote, step forward & embrace, .2. s. syde. honor wth your left foot, In to your own place., honour as afore./</p>
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Figure 4.22. The choreography of "The Black Almain" in a manuscript compiled by a John Ramsay c. 1630 (Sabot 1978:546).

The Inns of the Court were therefore, to all intents, a highly exclusive professional "club" with their own traditions which included dances comprising stylistic gestures and figures, as the choreography above would suggest. However, several diverse accounts of community life in London Town in the early 1600's suggest to me that over this time, such dances started to become popular beyond the exclusive realm of the Inns. The main reason for this seems to have been an influx in the 1620's of dancing masters from France. Ravelhofer (2006:15, 49, 54) states that about half the dancing masters living in London in the Early Stuart era were French, although most were connected with, and indeed dominated, the royal household (notably De Montagut²³⁶ and "Bocan" mentioned earlier in footnote # 229, page 113). They

²³⁴ The manuscripts listed by Ravelhofer (2006:38-9) are: the "Gunter Manuscript" dated 1560's or 70's which was compiled by a Lincoln's Inn student called Edward Gunter. A John Whilloughby, connected with the Inns, compiled a manuscript in 1594 of eight dances, and a third was collated by a John Stow (1611-2) and a collection is in the papers of Elias Ashmole (1630's). Others were by Robert Holman (dance master before 1640), John Ramsay and Butler Buggins.

²³⁵ A description of the role of dance in the Inns of the Court from the Elizabethan to the Early Stuart era, as well as information on seven surviving manuscripts of "old measures", is written by Greg Lindahl: <http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/dance/ioc/intro.html> viewed 23/11/12. Dean-Smith & Nicol (1945:211) state that "according to current [contemporaneous? Not specified] satirists, the Inns made dancing instead of law their whole business".

²³⁶ Dance master Bartélemy De Montagut was first employed by the influential Duke of Buckingham, King James I's courtier and the most famous aristocratic dancer of his time. He dedicated his influential manual *Louange de la danse* (c.1620) to Buckingham. From 1625 he was the personal dancing master of King Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria, and accompanied the Queen to exile in Paris. Ravelhofer (2006:54).

are credited with introducing dances such as the “gaillarde”, the “courante” and the “branle” into the court repertoire (Nevile 2008:20) and the “ballet de cour” into the masque repertoire. The introduction of the new style “treble” violin to London is also attributed to them at this time, as is their popularization of the diminutive version used for teaching, the “pochette” or “kit” described earlier.

Undoubtedly connected with these developments, a number of new dance schools were also founded in London in the 1620’s and 1630’s.²³⁷ The affected, emasculated French dancing master became a stock figure of ridicule in the comedies of King Charles I’s reign. One such comedy was written by the aforementioned Richard Brome called *The New Academy* or *The New Exchange* in 1635 and parodies the setting up of a dancing school for French dances (Whitlock 1999:559). This play is alluded to in the preface of the first edition of Playford’s *Dancing Master*. In 1662, London diarist Samuel Pepys attended a play called *The French Dancing Master*²³⁸ and collected the associated “broadside ballad” as a souvenir.²³⁹

It was not only the French who founded dancing schools. In 1659, John Playford himself advertised in his *Select Ayres and Dialogues* a school run by his wife, Harriet, “where young gentlemen might be instructed in all manner of curious work as also reading, writing, musick, dancing, and the French tongue” (Wells 1937:82, Harley 1968:37). In September 1660, Pepys attended a dancing meeting in Broad Street where a Luke Channell was master of the school,²⁴⁰ and described, in November 1661, his visit to a “respectable” dancing school in Fleet Street.²⁴¹ Pepys even bought a copy of *Dancing Master* from Playford’s shop in 1662.²⁴² The growing market in dance instruction, as with everything, was subject to unscrupulous competition and London also harboured establishments of a less salubrious nature.²⁴³ The respectable dancing schools of the mid 1600’s would have been at pains to market their wholesome credentials and their facility to offer instruction in the latest and

²³⁷ One reason is because for the first time, licenses were granted giving foreign professionals a chance to make a living in London.

²³⁸ Excerpt from Samuel Pepys’ diary entry for 21st May 1662, <http://www.pepysdiary.com/archive/1662/05/21/> viewed 12/07/11.

²³⁹ <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/22356/image>, viewed 04/12/11. It is part of the Pepys collection, Pepys library, Magdalene College, Cambridge

²⁴⁰ <http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1660/09/24/> viewed 04/12/11.

²⁴¹ <http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1661/11/11/> viewed 04/12/11.

²⁴² Source: excerpt from Samuel Pepys’ diary entry for Saturday 22nd November 1662, <http://www.pepysdiary.com/archive/1662/11/22/> viewed 12/07/11. The following year, conscious of his deficiencies in the art of dancing due to his upbringing in Norfolk, he briefly engaged a dance master called Mr Pemberton to teach his wife the latest fashionable dances.

²⁴³ A Weekly Dancing Club in St Giles’ Ward tells how a company “chiefly of Bullies, Libertines and Strumpets would gather there”, stated “above 30 years since, by a half-bred Dancing Master .. over a Cole-Yard Gateway into Drury Lane, a place so conveniently seated among Punks and Fiddlers, that the mungril undertaker was always sure of Musick, and equally certain of a crowd....” (Harley 1968:38).

most fashionable dances, those which would best prepare the debutante for acceptance within the most exclusive echelons of society.

The presence of so many teaching establishments means that the most fashionable dances would have been taught by many different dancing masters, each with their own interpretation and written style. Surviving documents seem to verify this. According to Marsh (2004), twenty-two out of thirty-two choreographies in what is now known as the "Pattricke" manuscript (dated 1649)²⁴⁴ are the same dances as found in early editions of *Dancing Master*. Marsh (2004:81) points out that since none of these choreographies are exact replicas, they were probably penned by different dance masters. Cunningham (1965) also identified two choreographies from the third edition of *Dancing Master* (1657, D-3/143) in the "Lansdowne manuscript" dated c.1648, namely, "Hunsdon House" (a figure dance for eight) and "Spring Garden" (longways for eight).²⁴⁵ There would have been a compelling incentive for standardized versions of these dances to be circulated, which *Dancing Master* would have fulfilled. In summary, the country dance choreographies in *Dancing Master* were neither novel nor unique, but certainly highly desirable.

Playford began his publishing career during the Interregnum when England was ruled by the Commonwealth government.²⁴⁶ It is stated in numerous accounts of folk music studies I reviewed, both popular and academic, that *Dancing Master* was published within an environment of Puritanical prohibition on dance and music. However, I found quotations from original accounts which suggest that, by contrast, dance was just as popular among the Puritans as the Royalists. Participants included Oliver Cromwell himself²⁴⁷ as well as his (Puritan) ambassador to the Swedish royal court.²⁴⁸ Even among the military officers loyal to

²⁴⁴The "Pattricke" or "Lovelace" Manuscript" is kept at Houghton library, Harvard, MS Eng 1356. It contains thirty-two dance choreographies and is dated to the early seventeenth century (pre 1649?). Sources: Ravelhofer (2006:P1:2) and Marsh (2004). It also contains poetry, household accounts, legal notices, bible verses and other miscellaneous information.

²⁴⁵ The "Lansdowne manuscripts" were collected by Sir William Petty, 1st Marquess of Lansdowne (1737-1805) and are contained in the British Museum. The notated dances are found in manuscript no. 1115 and are anonymous and lack music, but are online at: <http://sca.uwaterloo.ca/~praetzel/sca/lansdowne.html> viewed 12/07/11.

²⁴⁶Following the Reformation in Europe in the 1540's, the Protestant religious movement known as Puritanism steadily gained prominence, achieving its culmination during the period of parliamentary and military rule between the execution of King Charles I in 1649 and the restoration of King Charles II in 1660, known as the Interregnum. <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/interregnum> viewed 15/02/14. At this time, the Government of England was dominated by Republican political and military leaders who followed the Puritan religious doctrine.

²⁴⁷November 1657, Oliver Cromwell's daughter Frances married Robert Rich, the Earl of Warwick's grandson. One of the guests, William Dugdale, wrote on 14th November 1658: "...on Thursday was the wedding feast kept at Whitehall, where they had 48 violins, 50 trumpets, & much mirth with frolics, besides mixt dancing (a thing heretofore accounted profane) till 5 of the clock yesterday morning. Amongst the dancers there was the Earl of Newport, who danced with her Highness". Scholes (1934:144).

²⁴⁸ In 1653, the Swedish Queen Christina invited Cromwell's representative, named Bulstrode Whitelock (who according to Ravelhofer (2006:76) had been one of the chief organizers for John Shirley's masque, the "Triumph of Peace" which was sponsored by the Inns of the Court in 1634) to a court ball which was held in "a large room where she usually hears sermons, but at other times it is for music and dancing". There was an orchestra of 7 or 8 violins, bass viols, flutes and citherns, professionally played. The Queen and her ladies and courtiers first danced brawls and French dances, and then the English country dances were begun, and the Puritan delegation taught the Swedish ladies some new ones. Following a dance together she is said to have remarked to Whitlock "the Hollanders reported to me a great while since, that all the noblesse of England were of the King's Party, and none

the Commonwealth (who may also have been described as Puritans), dance was widely regarded as an essential social skill for advancement.²⁴⁹ Scholes (1934:132-3) observes that the first edition of *Dancing Master* could not have been regarded as anything other than acceptable by the Commonwealth political regime or else Playford would not have been granted license to print,²⁵⁰ and it would not then have sold so well if it was anything other than entirely mainstream. The third edition of *Dancing Master* was already on sale by the time the Commonwealth government was dissolved in 1660. This all suggests that, even during the Interregnum, the enthusiasm for learning dances was buoyant both sides of this politically and religiously sectarian city. I maintain that Playford was responding to popular demand and that the pervasive Puritan religious doctrines were not inhibitory to the increasingly popular fashion for dance among the socially ambitious middle classes.

One of the dances which appears both in the "Pattricke" manuscript (1649) as well as the first edition of *Dancing Master* (and reprinted in all eighteen subsequent versions until 1728) is "Cuckolds All A-row". This is generally assumed to be the dance alluded to in the following oft-quoted extract from Pepys' diary dating from the early days of the Restoration:

The King led a lady a single Coranto... and then the rest of the lords, one after another, other ladies. Very noble it was, and a great pleasure to see. Then to country dances; the King leading the first which he called for; which was, says he, Cuckolds all awry, the old dance of England.²⁵¹

The phrase "the old dance of England" is generally quoted these days in the context of the King having recognised the dance to have been a "folk" dance from the countryside. However, cuckoldry was a recurrent jest among the aristocracy in the 1610's to 1620's and the basis of numerous comedies and reviews, as evident in the associated "broadside ballads". The topic even appeared in a masque²⁵² and the ballad "Cuckolds all a row" was registered in the Stationer's Register on 9th June 1637 (Campbell 2012:42). Whitlock (1999:561) suggests this all stemmed from a scandal which occurred in 1613 among the King's courtiers.²⁵³ According to Ravelhofer (2006:45) at that time, Charles, as the Prince of

but mechanics of the Parliament Party, not a gentleman among them. Now I thought to try you, and shame you if you could not dance, but I see that you are a gentleman, & have been bred one..." (Scholes 1934:62-3)

²⁴⁹ An account of the life of a Calvinist and Roundhead soldier, Colonel Hutchinson (1615-64), records how his Puritan father arranged for him the best masters for "dancing, fencing and music". He in turn arranged the same for his children after the Civil War was won for Puritanism (Scholes 1934:61).

²⁵⁰ Scholes (1934:132-3) also observes that from 1653, Playford was Clerk of the Temple Church, and his shop was next door to the Church. He would have led the singing of the psalms on Sunday, whilst selling his publications the rest of the week and even advertising his wife's dancing school, and yet no one saw any inconsistency.

²⁵¹ Excerpt from Samuel Pepys' diary entry for Wednesday 31st December 1662 describing the New Year's Ball at White Hall. Source: http://www.pepysdiary.com/archive/1662/12/31_viewed_20/04/12.

²⁵² Several "broadside ballads" written to the tune "Cuckolds all a Row" are listed in Wells (1937:265-6). A melody called "The Cuckold's Masque" was used in "The Masque of the Flowers" (1614) for which music is in the British Library MS 10444, dated after 1623. Sabol (1978:578-9).

²⁵³ In 1613, the annulment by King James VI/I of the marriage between the Earl of Essex and Lady Frances Howard was a major public scandal, and cuckoldry was widely lampooned in broadside ballads and masquerades at the time (Whitlock 1999:561).

Wales, was attending dance classes along with some of his own courtiers at a dancing establishment in Oxford run by a John Bossley. It is perfectly probable he was taught this dance. I therefore suggest this quote is demonstration of the King's familiarity with this dance in the context of his own class culture and earlier life. The reference to "England" emphasises its distinction from the balletic dances with which he would have been familiar during his enforced exile at the Parisian court.

Therefore, in the three decades prior to 1651, dances were not only a popular social activity among the London elite (of all political and religious persuasions), but were also becoming increasingly popular among the metropolitan middle classes. It was within this cultural environment that *Dancing Master* was conceived and flourished. At this time there were, it seems, more violin and kit-playing dancing masters in London than ever before. *Dancing Master* was written specifically for the new type of independent (from the Inns of Court), violin-playing, French or otherwise, professional dancing master. The clue is in the title. Playford was an entrepreneurial publisher who adapted his products to a changing market. He was probably the first to publish instructional dance music books with the violin or kit specifically in mind. *Dancing Master* therefore had no apparent connection with practices or traditions from villages from the countryside.

4.7 An Alternative Explanation for the Term "Country Dance"

In describing the social context within which I propose Playford's *Dancing Master* was published, I presented evidence showing that neither its melodies nor its choreographies were particularly innovative. Instead, what was quite unusual with *Dancing Master* was the use of the term "country dance". The comparative rarity of the use of this term in other music and dance scores from this time fuels the assumption prevalent today that Playford's dances uniquely came from countryside. I have explained how I have found no evidence for this. I now explore the reason why Playford used the term "country dance" and in doing so, I identify an alternative explanation to that of it being "from the countryside".

Whitlock (1999) proposed that Playford's country dances were acquired from the masques. Ravelhofer (2006:44) and Sabol (1978) additionally suggested that the name "country dance" derived from the antimasques via directions or audience programmes. This theory exploits a perceived coincidence between the "low-class rustic country people" of the antimasques and some of the names of Playford's country dances, such as "Merry Milk-Maids", "The Sheep-Shearers" and "A Poor Shepherd in Love". Ravelhofer (1991:43) states that the earliest references to country dances in masques were in the 1630's. She also quotes Knowlton (1966:37-52) in stating that ten country dances were associated with the "antimasques" of which one example was "The Chirk Castle Entertainment" performed in

1634, involving an entry of haymakers “to country dances”. Two dances called “Antic Dances” are also included in the supplement to the third edition of *Dancing Master* (1665, D-4) (Barlow 1985:47).

I have already suggested that Early Stuart masques were not direct sources for *Dancing Master*. Secondly, there are no surviving musical scores unequivocally associated with Early Stuart masques which use the term “country dance”. Sabol (1978)’s anthology includes four musical pieces (No’s 327 to 330, pp. 457-9) sourced from Playford publications which are titled “country dance”. Figure 4.23 is one of them. However, these four country dances were not sourced from *Dancing Master*. They came from other Playford publications, namely *Court Ayrs* (1655) and *Courtly Masquing Ayrs* (1662).

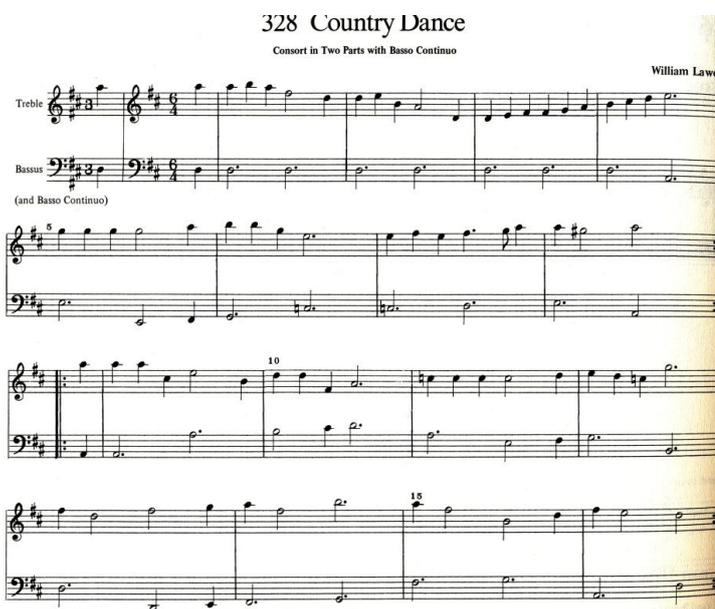


Figure 4.23. Country dance adapted from “Country Dance, Will: Lawes” from Playford’s *Courtly Masking Ayres* (1662). (Sabol 1978:No. 328, pages 328 and 610).

Sabol has adapted Figure 4.22 for the piano but the original version published by Playford was arranged in two parts for a consort, for treble and bass with basso continuo. This arrangement hardly evokes rustic or rural images. Additionally, Sabol’s justification for the inclusion of these four pieces in his anthology is based on circumstantial evidence alone and he provides no unequivocal proof that any were actually used in a masque. If they had been, it might be expected that the country dances were part of the antimasques, but there is no proof of this. Instead Sabol implies, by virtue of the organization of his anthology, that these four country dances were used for the revels. Similarly, of the nine melodies which were from *Dancing Master* that Sabol *does* link to masques, he suggests only three were from the antimasques. The remaining six he associates with other parts of the masque, namely, vocal music (two), an introductory symphony (one), a main masque (one) and the revels (two). Other accounts similarly associate country dances with either the main masque or

the revels. Ravelhofer (2006:45) again quotes Knowlton (1966) in identifying that a country dance was used in a main masque for “Corona Minervae” (1636), and a second appeared in the revels. In summary, there is no evidence for any direct connection between the term country dance and the costumed, peasant characters reportedly characteristic of the antimasques.

Having failed to find any explanation from the masques, I turned to the origins of the musical genre itself, i.e. the phrased, reprised melodies such as Figure 4.23. Ravelhofer (2006:23-4) describes how, by the early seventeenth century, observers of masques such as visiting foreign envoys from Europe regarded these types of melodies to be of peculiarly English origin, as opposed to music which accompanied the more elaborate fantasias, pavans, galliards, sarabands, courants, almains, brawles and ballets which typified European continental styles. Ravelhofer (2006:38,63) suggests that this “English” style of short, reprised melodic phrases, or “measures”, had been associated with the Inns of the Court from at least the 1560’s. By the early 1600’s, they were regarded as being “old”, so became widely referred to as “old measures” by both the members of the Inns and observers alike.

Figure 4.24 is an example of such an “old measure” which Sabol (1978:546) suggested was the melody for the choreography in Figure 4.22.

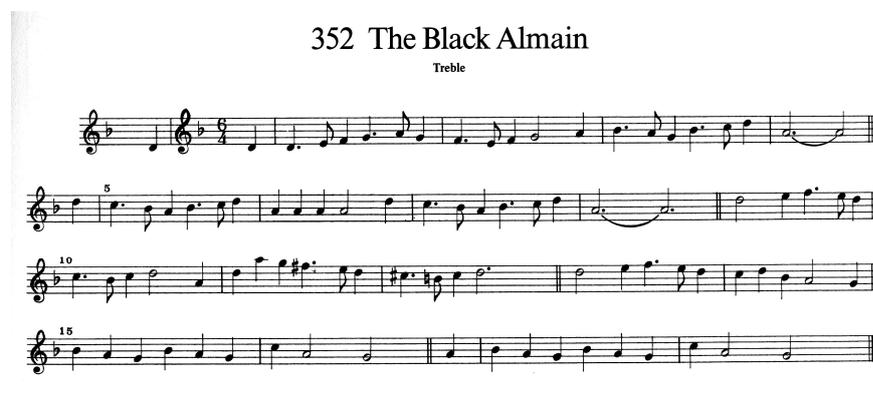


Figure 4.24. “The Black Almain” melody from a manuscript by dancing master Butler Buggins called *A Copy of the Old Measures in ye Inner Temple* dated between 1672 and 1674. (Sabol 1978:475).

This version of the melody is from a late seventeenth century source, but according to Sabol (1978:546) the melody is also found in a document dated 1577 from Strasbourg, and is also the tune accompanying several ballads dating from the same time.²⁵⁴ This suggests that in the 1570’s, the so-called musical “measures”, as the Inns called them, were also widely used for ballads. This supports my theory that many country dance tunes in *Dancing Master*

²⁵⁴Examples include “You London Dames, Whose Passing Fames” (in a collection by Collmann dated 1570-1), “Agaynst Rebellious and false rumors” (*Collection of 79 Black-letter Ballads* anonymous collection dated 1570) “A Pleasant Posie” (*Collection of 79 Black-letter Ballads* anonymous collection dated 1572), and “Maid, wil you marrie” (*Handefull of Pleasant Delites* anonymous collection dated 1584).

were also song melodies. Sabol proposes “The Black Almain” to have been one of the dances used for the revels. He also suggests that six manuscripts of “formal” measures described by Cunningham (1965) were similarly used for revels (Sabol 1978:547). I agree that these melodies may well have been used for the revels in one or more masques. However, this is tangential to my central premise that the melodies used for these “measures” were simply part of the repertory of songs and dances popular in London by time *Dancing Master* was printed in 1651. “Measures” was therefore the name for the phrased or “divisioned” melodies that were the original form of the country dances, and thence the fore-runners of the dance tunes.

Having established that the “measures” are the ancestors of today’s dance tunes, I wanted to explore why they suddenly (historically speaking) became known as “country dances”. I wondered whether some commercial influence was likely, such as a popular publication or dance manual which might have been a precursor and possibly an inspiration for Playford’s *Dancing Master*. Several dance manuals were written between the years 1560 and 1630 (Ravelhofer 2006:30,49-54). One of the most popular and enduring was Thomas Morely’s *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*.²⁵⁵ This was written in 1597 and its introduction includes the following quote:

Like to this...[the ‘bransle’] be the voltes and courants, which, being both of a measure, are not withstanding danced after sundrie fashions; the volte rising and leaping, the courante travising and running; in which measure also *our country dance is made*, though it be danced after another forme than any of the former. (Morely 1597:181, emphasis added.) (Also quoted in Chappell 1893:223 and Dean-Smith 1945:211).

Hence the “measure” is here is associated with the dance of “our country”, meaning England. The first appearance of the term “country dance” in the *Oxford English Dictionary* was in this same year, 1597 (Thurston 1952:29), and this coincides with the time (“about 1595” according to Wood 1949:11) that country dances began being mentioned in court accounts. They are mentioned increasingly frequently as the 1600’s progressed.²⁵⁶ Dean-Smith (1945) also identified the coincidence:-

...that type of dancing already designated by Morely in 1597 as “our country dances”, distinguished by the foreign visitor of Playford’s time as “English dancing” and by the end of the century known as “dancing after the English manner”. Dean-Smith (1945:211).

²⁵⁵ Thomas Morley (c. 1558-1602) was a composer, organist, theorist, and pupil of William Byrd. His textbook, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597), provides knowledge of the theoretical basis of composition of Morley’s own time and that of earlier generations. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/392460/Thomas-Morley> viewed 10/11/13.

²⁵⁶The Earl of Worcester is quoted as saying “We are a frolic here at Court, much dancing in the privy chamber of Country Dances before the Queen’s Majesty, who is exceedingly pleased therewith” (Wells (1937:83). According to the French ambassador in 1626, in court, an evening’s dancing would begin with the noble dances and perhaps a masque, but later the dance floor would be taken over by the company dancing country dances “till four in the morning”. Stewart (2011:2), original quotation not located.

I therefore suggest that that the adoption of the term country dance arose as a result of the linguistic corruption of “old measures” being described as “of our country”, i.e. England, which was written in a popular dance manual reportedly first published in 1597.

4.8 Precedents of the Notational Style used in Playford’s *Dancing Master*

Dancing Master’s notational style, i.e. the single melodic line with choreography underneath, has inspired a number of scholars to look for reasons to explain this so-called “standardization” or “simplification” of certain melodies which elsewhere, are written in normal polyphonic form. As stated already, the general consensus in all the literature I reviewed (with the exception of Whitlock 1999) is that this simplification reflects these melodies being sourced, or “collected”, from the countryside. However, I have suggested that *Dancing Master* was in fact an “aide memoire” for dancing masters who taught their dances by playing the violin or kit. I now substantiate this by describing other dance manuals whose notational styles have synergies with that of *Dancing Master*.

Many dance manuals survive on the continent which date back to the late fifteenth century. They were written by dance masters who were employed to teach noblemen the art of courtly dance within the various royal courts and independant city-states of that era. The assumed oldest is attributed to a dancing master known as Domenico “de Piacenza” (c.1400–c.1470) who was from Piacenza in Lombardy, Northern Italy.²⁵⁷ A portion of this manual (Figure 4.25) illustrates the form of notation he used. The dance instructions are written in longhand.

²⁵⁷ Piacenza in Lombardy was one of the richest medieval city-states in Europe in the fifteenth century, thanks to its strategic position controlling river and road traffic at crossing points of major trading routes between Bologne, Milan, Turin and Genoa. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/459079/Piacenza> viewed 9/9/12.

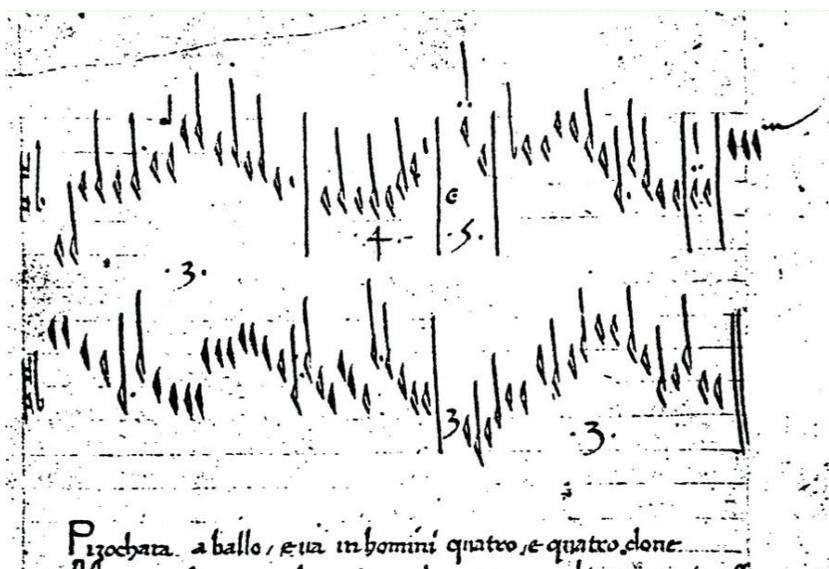


Figure 4.25. Portion of Page 23 from *De arte saltandi et choreas ducendi* (*On the art of dancing and conducting dances*); i.e. the Piacenza manuscript (PnD), dated circa 1450.²⁵⁸

Domenico was the founder of the “Lombardic Dance School” from which subsequent dance masters, such as Antonio Cornazzano, Guglielmo Ebreo, Negri,²⁵⁹ Castiglione, and Fabritio Caroso, exported their dances, their pupils and their manuals throughout the ruling courts of Europe (Carter 2008:7). According to Mathias (1998-91), the Italian dances as defined in these original manuals were of two general categories: “bassadanza” (“Low Dance”) and “balli” (singular ballo). They were differentiated by meter into the following types of measure (“misure”): 6/4, 4/4, 6/8, 3/4, 2/4 or 6/8. Both dance types, which required rigorous instruction, were the antecedents of the dances which became commonplace among the aristocracy by the seventeenth century, with “balli” ultimately evolving into “ballet”. The “bassadanza” differed from “balli” in that the steps were limited in number and simple to perform in themselves. The skill, however, was the execution of highly complex choreographed figures which involved many people moving in unison (Matthias, 1988-91). I suggest that the Lombardy “bazzadanza” were the precursors of the “measures” and country dances and thence the foundation of the traditional dance tune genre I am describing. Even the term “for as many as will”, i.e. “per quanto si vuole”, originated in the Lombard School (Wood 1949:11).

²⁵⁸ Of its 56 pages, the first thirteen contain instructions on how the dances and steps are to be performed, and the remainder consists of choreographies (a total of 15) and their music. The manuscript is in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris (fonds it. 972) and is available to download at <http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/pnd/all.pdf>. A transcription is published by Smith (1996:8-67).

²⁵⁹ In 1602, Casari Negri, a prominent choreographer from Milan, published in forty-five professional dancers, of which a third had engagements abroad, with patrons including Emperor Charles V and Rudolf II, the Dukes of Lorraine and Bavaria, and the archbishop of Cologne. Ravelhofer (2006:18).

Whilst the royal courts and city states of Lombardy are widely recognized as having been the seat of Renaissance arts, the historical geo-political unit of northern Europe known as the Duchy of Burgundy tends to be overlooked. However, in the fifteenth century, the Duchy was also responsible for many of the artistic and cultural developments of the Renaissance age.²⁶⁰ It was a powerful, autonomous affiliation of city-states which matched its Lombardy equivalents in prosperity and prestige. Its geographic extent covered modern day Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, north-eastern France, and Lorraine. I suggest the Duchy played an important part in the history of the dance tunes due its diplomatic relations with the royal courts of both London, and Stirling in Perthshire. In Burgundy, where the ruling classes spoke Medieval French, “bazzadansa” became known as “basse dances”.²⁶¹

There are several surviving manuscripts of the Burgundian “basse dances”.²⁶² Figure 4.26 is a typical page from one of them which is now known as the “Brussels MS 9085”. Although neither creator nor date of origin is known with certainty, it is believed to date to between 1450 and 1500 (Tuck 2008:19).

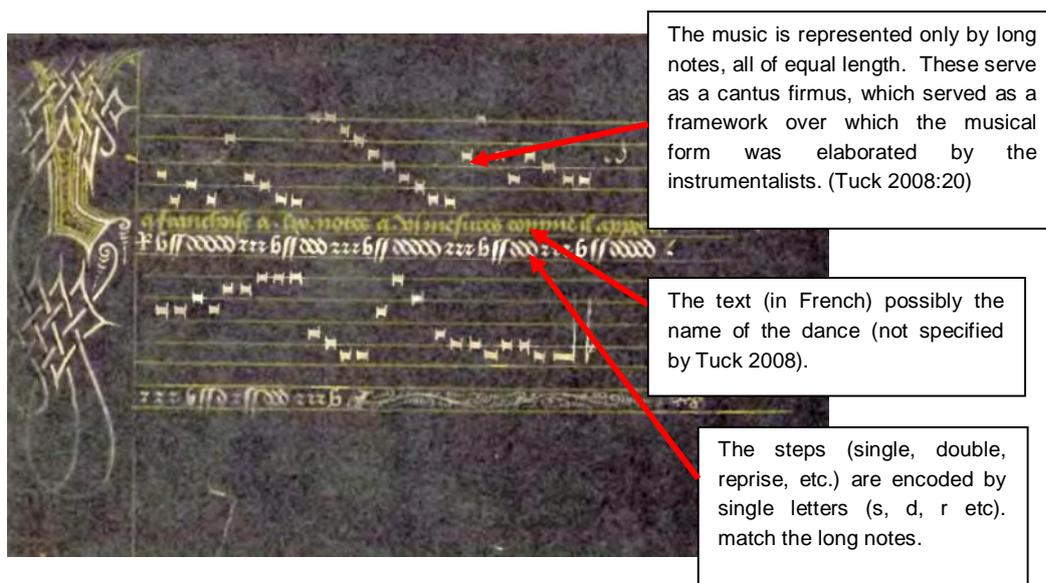


Figure 4.26. Page no. 18 from the Brussels MS 9085, dated 1450 to 1500.²⁶³

²⁶⁰ Centred around three prosperous towns, Ghent, Bruges and Brussels (now in Holland and Belgium), the Duchy's duke-counts were itinerant, travelling between these and other centres such as Dijon, Artois and Antwerp. Contemporaneous sources commented on the degree of splendour, with the term “Burgundian” becoming a byword for lavish dress, conspicuous consumption, with the ostentation and the processions, pageants and “entres” of the duke-counts and their guests being noted as political spectacles. Davies (2011:Ch 3). Politically, after 1477, the Duchy ceased to exist as its territories was partitioned between the rulers of France and Austria, but the region still continued to dominate the Renaissance arts.

²⁶¹ The basse danse was defined by a “French writer at the time” (c.1496) as “quont on la danse on la en pays sans soy demener le plus gracieusement qu'on peult”. Dean-Smith (1945:213). (Translated as “when you dance this you go to the countryside and jig as graciously as possible”).

²⁶² There are informal and fragmentary hand-written dance manuscripts, such as the “Nancy MS” dated 1445. There is also a printed publication by Michel Toulouze in Paris from the 1490's (Tuck 2008:26).

²⁶³ The entire manuscript has been digitized and is available on-line at the Internet Archive http://ia600400.us.archive.org/load_djvu_applet.php?file=25/items/danceman112/danceman112.djvu viewed 20/08/11. It contains descriptions of dances and music for 58 dances with explanatory text in the first six pages. It

Tuck (2008:20) describes how each dance in this manuscript is broken down into a set of between three to six “measures”, which are made up of long notes of equal length. Each long note is matched to an instruction for a step as shown in Figure 4.26. These steps are the same that Dean-Smith (1945:218) and Wood (1949:11) have identified as having originated in Italian manuscripts. There were a limited variety, written as “ss”, “d”, “r” or “b”, which Tuck interprets to be “singles” “doubles” “reprises” and “branles” respectively. In this, there are compelling synergies with *Dancing Master* which also uses the “single” and “double” step. The “single” is when the dancer steps forward with one foot and then brings the other foot forward to join it. The “double” is two singles (Marsh 2010:340).

There is circumstantial evidence to suggest these “basse dances” entered Britain in the late fifteenth century. In England, the first written references to dancing²⁶⁴ and the first choreographic notations²⁶⁵ date from this time. In 1502, basse dances were danced at the marriage of the Infanta Katharine (of Aragon) to Prince Arthur of Wales (Dean-Smith 1945:213). His brother King Henry VIII (reportedly a talented lutenist and song composer) and his consort Anne Boleyn were both expert dancers, as was their daughter Queen Elizabeth I.²⁶⁶ With such regnant favour, dancing became a highly desirable skill among the English nobility and many dance manuals were imported from the continent and translated. Examples were Robert Copland’s *The Maner of Dauncynge of Bace Daunces* dated 1521 (Neville 2008:19), Frenchman Antonius Arena’s *Leges Dansandi* (1529, published repeatedly until 1770) who was “an instructor in the art of basse danse” (Tuck 2008:23), and Thomas Elyot’s *Boke of the Govenor* (1531) which is also a manual for instruction for the basse danse. Thomas Morley’s *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597) introduced earlier, continued this theme.²⁶⁷ Holman (1999:26,33-35) also describes how, in

is housed in the Biblioteque Royale de Belgique, Brussels. It is sometimes referred to as “Les basses dances de Marguerite d’Autriche” as it is conjectured as having been given to Margaret of Austria, the daughter of the last duke of Burgundy, by one of her many suitors, Francoise of Luxembourg.

²⁶⁴ The expenses incurred by English wool-merchant George Chely survive, showing that when he stayed in Calais from 1473 to 1475, he employed a professional harper, Thomas Rede, to teach him twenty-six dances on the harp, and fifteen more, including a hornpipe, on the lute. Cely also studied the “footing” of several dances, including some basses dances (Robertson & Stevens, 1969:51, and Stewart 2011:92).

²⁶⁵ The earliest examples of figured dance choreographies date to the end of the fifteenth century, although none have music, being only unofficial aide memoires for the participating dancers. A fly leaf in a copy of Johannes Balbus de Janus “Catholican” Venice (1497) contains choreographies. This is located at Salisbury cathedral (shelf mark Y.212). Another example is identified in the papers of the Gresley family, of Drakelow in Derbyshire, which were collated in approximately 1500. This consists of a pocket book (of Latin prayers and other unconnected matter), in which 26 dance choreographies are written in English, followed by tunes and an alphabetical list of 91 dance titles, most with the number of dancers needed for performance. It includes titles such as “Rotibully” which occurs in variations in Burgundian and Italian manuscripts, “Newcastle” (found in *Dancing Master*) and “Eglamore”, a twelfth century Middle English romance. Instructions include “change places” and “meet”. Ravelhofer (2006:37, quoting David Fallows *The Gresley dance collection c 1500* Research Chronicle, 29, (1996) 1-20).

²⁶⁶ The French ambassador De Maisse reported of Queen Elizabeth (“who danced high in the Italianate manner”) that she danced very well, and composed measures (choreographies) and music. Her court relied on the services of Jasper Gattoyen, an Italian dancing master appointed under King Henry VIII, who served over the period 1542 to 1584. Ravelhofer (2006:29).

²⁶⁷ This manual features “Sellinger’s Round” amongst other dances.

England, the dances became simpler after 1500, replacing older versions with short, repeated sections in patterns such as AABB or AABBCC, whilst maintaining eight or so of the Church modes. These characteristics are retained in today's dance tunes.

There is also circumstantial evidence that, concurrently, these Burgundian basse dances were introduced to the royal court at Stirling, which was the seat of the Scottish Stuart monarchy. In 1460, a Burgundian grandee, Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruthouse, paid an ambassadorial visit to Stirling with a tabourer in his retinue which Tuck (2008:29) suggests was for the basse dances. There are descriptions of figured dances and music performed in the royal court of King James V (reigned 1512-1542) who was believed to have been particularly musical and an avid patron of the arts (Mennie Shire 1969:3-4). When, in 1562, his daughter, Mary Stuart ("Queen of Scots") returned to Scotland following the death of her first husband Francis, Dauphin of France, it heralded days and nights of "balling and dancing" with the Englishmen, Frenchmen and Spaniards who were employed in her court (Mennie Shire 1969:5,56). One of Mary's dance tutors was Balthazarini Belgioiodo, a violinist from Lombardy, who taught her in 1567. In 1606, her son, King James VI (by now King James I of England) entertained his brother-in-law, the King of Denmark, with a banquet and dancing (Dean-Smith 1945:223). He was of course an avid patron of the masques as described earlier. The "Skene manuscript" from Lothian dated c.1630 contains melodies for specific types of dances²⁶⁸ and Mennie Shire (1969:1) also mentions another reported body of "old Skotch music" apparently present on the shelves of the Chapel Royal in Stirling in 1632, in which was noted "all sorts of English, French, Dutch, Spaynish, Latin and Italian" music, vocal and instrumental, but which had vanished by 1701.²⁶⁹

Given the extent of interaction between the aristocracies and diplomats of England, Scotland and Burgundy, it could be suggested that these countries would share common dances and melodies. Flemish²⁷⁰ composer Tylman Susato (c.1510/15 - after 1570) composed a book of dance music called "*Het derde musyck boexken ... alderhande danserye*" (1551) largely comprising alemands and galliards. Dance no. 5 is called "La Mourisque" and is written in eight parts (treble recorder, two tenor recorders, bass recorder, and three tenor viols and bass viol).²⁷¹ This melody is also in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*

²⁶⁸ The "Skene manuscript" (c.1630) was written by, or for, a wealthy East coast aristocrat John Skene (d.1644) of Hallyards, Lothian, or his son William. It a repertory of a hundred and seventeen pieces which is a mixture of English, French and Scots airs. It was written in tablature for the mandore, a kind of small lute tuned to a similar pitch to the modern viola. It includes tunes named after members of the family of James VI (e.g. "Prince Henries Maske") and it also contains French tunes and melodies for specific types of dances. Daune (1838).

²⁶⁹ This was likely due to neglect following King James VI's abandonment of Stirling in favour of London in 1603 when he was crowned King James I of England. From then on, the Scottish-based musicians lost the patronage and employment offered by court and courtly audiences. The court at Stirling was dispersed. During the Jacobite Rebellions, archives and libraries were sacked by loyalist troops and opportunist raiders. Mennie Shire (1969).

²⁷⁰ The Country of Flanders was part of the Duchy of Burgundy until 1477 after which, as the Burgundian Netherlands, it was ruled by the Hapsburg kings of Spain. King Carlos / Charles was born in Ghent in 1500.

²⁷¹ Source: [http://imslp.org/wiki/Danserye_-_Basse_Dances_\(Susato,_Tielman\)#](http://imslp.org/wiki/Danserye_-_Basse_Dances_(Susato,_Tielman)#) viewed 04/03/12.

described in chapter 4. It is also found in Arbeau's *Orchesographie* which contains dances from the 1540's and originates from Langres in today's French Haute-Marne département, which was also part of the Burgundian territories.²⁷² Emmerson (1971:18), quoting Dean-Smith (1938), points out that the names of some of the dances in the Bannatyne manuscript (1560's) are comparable with basse dances in Tolouze's manuel *Sur l'Art et instruction de bien dancier* which was published in Paris c.1496. Dean-Smith (1952:10) has described concordances of melodies in *Dancing Master* in several other manuscripts from the Low Countries, such as Vallet's *Paradisus Musicus* (1615-8), Valerius' *Gedenck-Clanck* (1626), Starter's *Friesche Lust-hof* (1621), Pers' *Bellerophon* (1622), Camphuysen's *Stichtelycke Rymen* (1647), and *Het Luitboek van Thysius*, in which is found "Greensleaves" (Smout 2009). Concordances with masque music, including that for revels, have been identified in German manuscripts by Sabol (1978), such as in Brade's *Newe Ausserlenesene liebliche Branden* (1617),²⁷³ and Prateorius' *Terpsichore* (1612).²⁷⁴ Whilst references such as Matthias (1988-91) provide bibliographies of dance manuals, I have found no English language accounts of these musical similarities throughout Europe.

Figures 4.25 and 4.26 both have monophonic melodic lines and choreographic instructions. They also have different forms, as do the other surviving examples as far as I have established. Such variety, coupled with the comparative rarity of examples, means that attempts at a coherent account of the evolution of dance notation will always be more supposition than fact.²⁷⁵ These manuscript extracts merely demonstrate the presence of precedents to *Dancing Master* in terms of monophonic notational style and instructions for dancing.

The musical genre of country dances or "measures" comprising monophonic notation and choreographic instructions therefore originated from the European continent in the late fifteenth century. Surviving examples of their notated form were consistent with being "aide memoires" for dance masters. I propose that the format of *Dancing Master* probably emulated pre-existing examples which had developed from the "Burgundian" or "Lombard" notational

²⁷² *Orchesographie* is the product of a series of manuscripts compiled by a Jehan Tabouret (1520–95), the Canon of Langres. The manuscripts were dated between 1588 and 1596 but are thought to describe the fashion in the 1540's by which time, according to Tuck (2008:20), "basse dances" were considered very old-fashioned. After Tabouret's death, the manual was published under the pseudonym "Arbeau" and the English translation is by Evans (1967). Whilst it contains other melodies which are common to English sources, Barlow (2008) describes how *Orchesographie* has disproportionately influenced twentieth century scholarship on dance due to its uniquely descriptive and chatty narrative charm and its comparative availability in modern times. There is no proof it was known in England before the nineteenth century, and it has not been identified in any English libraries. Ravelhofer (2006:51) suggests this was because Langres was a cultural backwater.

²⁷³ A folio compiled by a William Brade (c.1560-1630) as described in footnote # 230, page 113.

²⁷⁴ A compendium of more than three hundred instrumental dances by Michael Prateorius' (1571-1621) (available at [http://imslp.org/wiki/Terpsichore,_Musarum_Aoniarum_\(Praetorius,_Michael\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Terpsichore,_Musarum_Aoniarum_(Praetorius,_Michael))) who was employed by the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg at the court of Wolfenbüttel in Lower Saxony, Germany, as both "Kapellmeister" (dance master) and organist of the state orchestra.

²⁷⁵ *Orchesographie*'s status as an "evolutionary dead end" is inferred from its use of vertical staves which are thought to be unique.

style. It is true that in England in the mid 1600's, Playford's *Dancing Master* was relatively unique, but this could have been due to limitations in printing technology, and the prevailing regulations on licensing and copyright. The manuscripts and manuals I have reviewed suggest there was a continuum of both handwritten and published instructions and notated choreographies for dances from the late fifteenth century right up to, and beyond, *Dancing Master*.

4.9 Summary of Chapter 4

By doing a study of surviving examples of country dances and their precursors, I have proposed that the style of the monophonic melodies and choreographies was intended for professional dancing masters to be used as "aides memoires". The scripts were used as musical frameworks around which the musicians improvised by adding dotted notes and ornaments (Tuck 2008:20 and Barlow 1985:10). I have suggested that the name country dance could have arisen in the late sixteenth century through the acknowledgement in dancing manuals of the peculiarly English nature of the type of figured dance associated with divisioned melodies, as opposed to various forms of dances from the continent. Furthermore, the origins of dance tunes were the aristocratic court dances of Renaissance (fifteenth century) continental Europe. Over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, melodies associated with ballads were used as dance tunes, but many more were composed especially for the dances by professional dance masters and musicians. Some melodies became very well-known due to their commoditization. However, I have also described how the ballroom fashions of the English upper classes altered in the early nineteenth century. This necessitated the dancing masters to transfer their teaching and organizational skills to the rural and urban working classes. Whilst the publication of this category of books of country dances stopped in the 1820's as a result, the dance tunes continued to be printed in other formats and I describe these in the next chapter.

5 Antiquarian Collections of Dance Tunes

This chapter describes my last category of dance tune collections. I have termed them “Antiquarian” because they were connected to the “popular antiquities” movement from the mid eighteenth century onwards.²⁷⁶ These collections seem to suggest that the published dance tunes, originally intended for dancing masters as described in the previous chapter, progressively became a topic of intellectual interest to “Antiquarians”.²⁷⁷ Consequently, they began to be perceived as being “ancient” and distinctive to the class of players who, in the views of gentlemen intellectuals of a wildly contrasting social background, were musically uneducated, or “vernacular”. I call this process “antiquarianisation”, and I describe it by using examples of melodies from the last of my categories of historical sources of dance tunes, which are the historical published tune-books listed in appendix 4. I suggest the process began with the inclusion of dance tunes in instrumental tutors published for middle class recreational players. Then, musician-publishers from the regions began to independently publish their own compositions and interpretations of existing melodies. The process was completed with the compilation of tunes collected from the field by “collectors”, who assumed the tunes were traditional to the locations they were heard being played.

5.1 The Use of Dance Tunes In Publications Intended for Recreational Playing

I observed when compiling my tune histories that many versions of dance tunes were associated with books which, given their titles, were intended to be instrumental tutors. I begin my explanation of the antiquarianism process by showing how publishers used country dances to populate their instrumental tutor books, and how the form and interpretation of the dance tunes altered as a result.

I discussed Playford's *Dancing Master* series in the previous chapter in the context of my proposed derivation and history of country dances. However, Playford did not just cater for the dancing masters. As well as a wide range of booklets containing psalms, songs, catches, performance scripts for theatrical music and many “classical” instrumental pieces, his firm also capitalised on the growing interest among the middle classes in

²⁷⁶ The “popular antiquities” movement was the term for the interest in customs, art, and social structures of earlier peoples and civilizations (particularly of those preceding the Middle Ages). It inspired an eclectic range of topics of scholarship. Topics included Archaeology, (the field of description of antiquities, and scientific study of human remains and artefacts) and Palaeography (the study of ancient writings, including inscriptions). <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/antiquity> viewed 18/02/13. The Popular Antiquities movement may be considered to have originated with a book published by Henry Bourne in 1725 called *Antiquities Vulgares* (popular antiquities) in 1725, followed by John Brand's *Observations on the popular antiquities of Great Britain: Including the Whole of Mr. Bourne's Antiquitates Vulgares* (1777).

²⁷⁷ An “Antiquarian” is one who studies, collects, or deals in antiquities, and used as an adjective, means “of or relating to antiquarians or to the study or collecting of antiquities” or “dealing in or having to do with old or rare books”. <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/antiquarian> viewed 02/04/12.

playing instruments for pleasure and social advancement.²⁷⁸ His titles include *An introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1655)²⁷⁹ and *Musick's Delight* (1666)²⁸⁰ which were instructional books for learning the viol and cittern respectively. These contained the melody "General Leshley's March".²⁸¹ Another example, Playford's *The Division Violin* (1685), contained twenty-six similar tunes. They start simply and build up increasingly complex variations ("divisions") on the original melody. This is redolent of the elaborate lute and virginal pieces by Dowland and Byrd already described. Playford's instructional books were aimed at learner violinists but several featured advanced techniques (for the time), such as scordatura, double stops and large interval leaps across the strings.

The output of John Walsh's firm was similarly wide-ranging, encompassing opera scores and songs, and also tutorials for instruments such as the harpsichord, the violin (such as *The First, Second and Third Books of the Self-Instructor on the Violin* in 1700, D-322) and the increasingly popular German (transverse) flute.²⁸² Other examples are Pipard's *A Hundred and Twenty Country Dances for the Flute* (1711, A-166) and Wright's *The Compleat Tutor for Ye Flute containing the newest instructions for that instrument likewise a collection of ye most favourite tunes collected from ballad operas etc.* (c.1735, A-206). These demonstrate how melodies from both the country dances and the ballad operas were used in these books. Later publications incorporated the new style dances,

²⁷⁸ Playford's shop also stocked instruments such as virginals and harpsichords (Mackerness 1964:65,82), and his book *A Musically Banquet* (1651) contained a list of twenty-seven music teachers in London. In 1661 Playford published "*A Banquet of Musick, set forth in three several varieties of Musick, first Lessons for the Lyra Viol, the second Ayres and Jiggs for the Violin, the third Rounds and Catches, all of which are fitted to the capacity of young practitioners*" as well as "*Booke of Newe Lessons for the Cithern and Gittern*" which included a combination of bawdy songs, sacred psalms and military melodies associated with both Roundheads and Cavaliers. (Marsh 2010:209). In 1655 he published *Court Ayres, or Pavins, Almains, Corants and Sarabands, treble and basse: for viols or violins* (Scholes:1934:131).

²⁷⁹ Full title: *An introduction to the Skill of Musick. In two Books. First, a brief & plain Introduction to Musick, both for singing, and for playing on the Violl.* Scanned version available at [http://imslp.org/wiki/An_Introduction_to_the_Skill_of_Musick_\(Playford,_John\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/An_Introduction_to_the_Skill_of_Musick_(Playford,_John)) viewed 04/12/13.

²⁸⁰ Full title: *Musick's Delight on the Cithren, Restored and refined to a more Easie and Pleasant Manner of Playing than formerly; And set forth with Lesson A1 a Mode, being the Choicest of our late new Ayres, Corants, Sarabands, Tunes, and Jiggs.* Scanned version available at <http://imslp.org/wiki/File:PMLP300331-musicksdelighton00ingl.pdf> viewed 04/12/13.

²⁸¹ "General Leshely's March" appeared in Playford's *Cithern and Gittern Tutor* (1652). According to Callaghan (2007:73) (not verified), this appears as "Leshley's Favourite" in Leadley's manuscript (early nineteenth century, M-86) and also in Kerr's *Merry Melodies* no. 4 (1870, A-104). It was also recorded by the "Blue Moon Band" on their CD "Border Directors" (Laidley Worm Music, 1998). There is an unrelated tune with the same name in Playford's *Musick's Delight on the Cithren* (1666) <http://digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/pageturner.cfm?id=94556444> viewed 05/01/14, which is in the Atkinson manuscript (1694-5, M-18). Paul Roberts on VMP suggests two contenders for the name, General Alexander Leslie (1580-1661) and General David Leslie, (d.1682), who were both Scottish soldiers of fortune and lead regiments during the English Civil War (1640's) fighting both for and against Parliament. http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/info_files/atkinson_info.htm viewed 06/04/14.

²⁸² A search of the British Library catalogue <http://www.bl.uk/> for the keywords "Walsh" and "1732" produces thirty-three titles for this firm (variously John, Iohn or I Walsh) covering a wide range of classical and operatic music, including "*The Most Celebrated Songs in the Oratorio call'd Queen Esther, to which is Prefixt the Overture in Score*" composed by Handel", "*Suits or Setts of Lessons for the Harpsicord or Spinnet Consisting of great variety of Movements as Preludes Aires Toccats All'mands Jiggs Corrents Borre's Sarabands Gavots Minuets &c. &c.*" by Richard Jones, two versions of "*Solos for a German Flute a Hoboy or Violin with a thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or bass Violin ... Opera seconda*", one composed by Johan Quantz and one by Francesco Barsanti, and "*A Collection of Original Scotch Songs, with a Thorough Bass to each Song, for the Harpsicord*".

such as Forrester's *The Flute Player's Companion: a selected collection of dances, waltzes, quadrilles and airs with variations, composed and arranged as duets for the German Flute* (c.1817, A-55). They also introduced further instruments, such as Light's *A Selection of Songs, Airs, Marches, Rondos etc adapted for the Harp, Lute, Guitar* (c.1795, A-118) and Thompson's *Pocket Companion for the Guitar* (c.1780, A-185). To this may be included voice, a topic I have not explored further but which might inform historical studies of folk song. These books were, exactly as today, instrumental tutors containing practice pieces for people learning to play musical instruments. They reflect how books and instruments, and probably lessons, became increasingly available and affordable to the middle classes as the eighteenth century progressed.

Some of these publications contain country dance melodies which have been transposed to fit the instrument. For instance, one version of "Princess Royal" for the flute (Figure 5.1) is in D minor, as opposed to the version (Figure 4.8) from a country dance publication which is in F Mixolydian.

718 PRINCESS ROYAL 46

Harp or vocal tune A^{7v} a b¹ || c d b² (17)⁵ DO SC 87 See 626

Carolans?

Figure 5.1. "Princess Royal" from *Wright's Complete Tutor for Ye Flute* (c.1735, A-206). (Fleischmann 1998:130).

Also of interest in these instructional books, was the continued ambiguity regarding the written depiction of the hornpipe meter. Stewart (2011:40) refers to Walsh's English translation (1727) of Hotteterre's *Principles of the Flute, Recorder and Oboe* (1707), which describes the notation of "dotted" and "undotted" hornpipes to be "a matter of taste".

The main changes made to these dance tunes in these instructional books were therefore key and modal changes to fit different instruments and the addition of elaborate variations. Further examples of both are presented in the rest of this chapter. These instrumental tutors represent the first stage in my proposed "antiquarianisation" process because they called the dance tunes "airs", "tunes" "melodies" or "humours" and omitted dance choreographies. Consequently, from the viewpoint of the modern researcher, they have served to distance the dance tunes from their purpose and original context, which was to aid dancing masters in teaching dances for the society balls.

5.2 The Promotion of Dance Tunes from British Regions

In the early eighteenth century, when music publishing activities by firms such as Playford and Walsh were beginning to escalate, many of the middle classes were starting to consider themselves citizens of a united Great Britain rather than of England or, say, Scotland. Although Scotland and England had shared a monarch since 1603, they were only formally unified by the Act of Union in 1707 and practically, integration was only really complete with the final defeat of the Jacobites in 1746. Modern histories of Ireland dwell on the Treaty of Limerick in 1691 and the consequent social injustices,²⁸³ but the influx of the English into Dublin meant that it prospered. Its rapid expansion caused it to be described, by the 1730's, as Britain's second city.²⁸⁴ I noticed during my research of tune histories that these regions assimilated under London's governance began to be reflected in both the names of both the tunes and the publications in which they appeared. I propose this to be the second stage of the "antiquarianisation" process.

In the earliest editions of Playford's *Dancing Master*, there were relatively few country dances with names reflecting these regions. In the 1651 version, there are only three, "Irish Trott", the "Irish Lady" and "Scotch Cap". Other names such as "Scotch Ayre", "Scotch Rant", "Irish Boree", "Irish Round" and "Welch Whim" appear in subsequent editions. Further names in later country dance publications include "Welch Minuet" in Walsh's *24 New Country Dances* (1716, D-279), "Scotch Billy" in Walsh's *Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1731* (D-286) and "The Irish Lasses" and "The Irish Lawyer" in Johnston's *Choice Collection of 200 Favourite Country Dances* (1751, D-103). In older books of country dances printed in London, dances with such "regional" names reflect only a small proportion of the total repertory, and they are indistinguishable from the remainder in terms of their musical structures and choreographies.

However, at the start of the eighteenth century, these publishers also began marketing tune-books which implied their contents had been sourced from the regions. The earliest ones acknowledged Scotland to be the origin of their melodies, such as Henry Playford's *A Collection of Original Scots Tunes* (1701, A-167). Another early example

²⁸³ The Treaty of Limerick followed the decisive defeat of the Catholic cause and the culmination of over two hundred years of aggressive and contested colonisation of the hinterlands. The Irish leaders were forced to capitulate to the Protestant ascendancy, anti-Catholic laws were introduced and extensive Williamite land confiscation occurred. Moody and Martin (2001:176-7)

²⁸⁴ The popularity of English style society balls in Dublin and the lives of some of its dancing masters are described by Grattan Flood (1905:ChXXIV), Breathnach (1985c) and McArdle (2008).

was published by the Neal brothers in Dublin,²⁸⁵ called *Collection of the Most Celebrated Scotch Tunes for the Violin: being all dyferent from any yet printed in London, and carefully corrected by the Best Masters*” (1724, A-139). Both of these consisted of melodies of existing Scottish songs adapted specifically for the violin. I provide two examples from the latter publication (Figures 5.2 and 5.4).

438 YELLOW HARED LAD 11b



Song C(p^{4,7}) a¹ a² :||: b a³ 20⁸ See 463, 642, 676, 753*, 1618, 4103*, 5247

Figure 5.2. “Yellow Hared Lad” from Neal’s *Collection of the Most Celebrated Scotch Tunes for the Violin* (1724, A-139). (Fleishmann 1998:85).

This melody was published the same year in *Music for Allan Ramsay’s Collection of Scots Songs* (A-172) (Figure 5.3) and later in Allan Ramsay’s *Tea Table Miscellany* (1730, A-173) which suggests the song at least was written by Allan Ramsay. It was then used for a song in *The Jovial Crew – a comic opera as is acted at the Theatre Royal by His Majesty’s Servants, London* in 1731 (Fleishmann 1998:118). It therefore ended up being used as a piece in an instrumental tune-book, having been first published as a song in Edinburgh and subsequently used in a ballad opera.

463 YELLOW HAIR’D LADDIE 84



Song C a¹ a² :||: b a³ 20⁸ See 438

Figure 5.3. “Yellow hair’d Laddie” from *Alexander Stuart’s Music for Allan Ramsay’s Collection of Scots Songs, set by A Stuart and engraved by R Cooper, publ. Edinburgh, 1724.* (A-172) (Fleishmann 1998:90).

The Neal version (Figure 5.2) is clearly the same song melody but differs from Figure 5.3 in terms of the key and the rhythmic detail. I suggest these differences are due to its transcription on different occasions from different singers, reflecting perhaps the different registers of their voices and their personal rhythmic style.

²⁸⁵ John and William Neal were enterprising music publishers based in Dublin’s Christ Church Yard. They operated on the same business model as their equivalents in London, i.e. publishing country dance collections such as *Neale’s Collection of Country Dances* (c.1721) and *Choice Collection of Country Dances* (c.1726) (D-136). They also managed the staging of Handel’s performances of “The Messiah” and funded the construction of the Crow Street Music Hall in 1731 (O’Sullivan 1958:78).

The second example from Neal (1724, A-172) is “Moggie Lauther” which I introduced previously. As I described earlier, there are many versions of this melody arising from its lengthy history of being adapted for different ballad lyrics, and no doubt suiting the ranges of different singers. The version in Figure 5.4 is the one with the distinctive rests in the first bar. Yet another version of the melody is found in *Collection of Scotch Airs, written for the use of Walter McFarlan of that ilk*²⁸⁶ (Fleishmann 1998:139), which is in D major, lacks rests, and has smaller note values and more trills.

442 MOGGY LAUTHER [Lawther, Laughter, Lauder or Lawder – Scottish surname]

17



Song C a b c d 19 var See 495*, 520*, 566, 588*, 671*, 783, 818, 1054, 1601, 1749*, 1840*, 2143, 2156*, 2261, 2564*, 2952*, 3615*, 3924*, 5667* cf. 995, 6157; OLISB 40 (Dublin Jack of all trades)

Figure 5.4. “Moggie Lauther” from Neal (1724, A-139). (Fleischmann 1998:85).

The publishing firm of Daniel Wright of London printed the following version (Figure 5.5) in his 1727 tune-book, *Aria di Camera* in 1727.

Moggy Lauther

Wright - AC 26



Figure 5.5. “Moggie Lauther” transcribed from Wright’s *Aria di Camera* (1727, A-204).²⁸⁷

²⁸⁶ Referenced in Fleishman (1998:139) as “Vols II and III, NLS MS (1738-42)”.

²⁸⁷ <http://www.pipers.ie/imco/WAC.HTM> viewed 15/15/12.

Despite having been lengthened by three increasingly complex variations, its first part is identical to that of Figure 5.4. I suggest that when the versions are so similar, that this indicates the tunes were copied directly from a pre-existing version. In this case, it might have been the version in Neal (1724, A-139) or else the two shared a common written source. After the first two stanzas, the tune has been augmented with further elaborate variations consistent with other examples already described.

“Maggie Lauther” is not the only melody in *Aria di Camera* which may be traced to song melodies originating in South East Scotland in the early 1700’s. The names of “Keele Cranke”²⁸⁸ and “Highland Laddie”²⁸⁹ suggest they were about the Jacobite uprisings between 1688 and 1746. Others with origins I haven’t researched include “The Bonnie Scot”, “Scotch Jennie”, “Lord Gallaway’s Lamentation”, “The Lads of Leith”, “Fy gar rub her o’er with strae” and “Muirland Willie”. “Scotch Jemmy” is also found in Walsh’s earlier 1711 collection of country dances (D-274).

As well as appearing in instrumental tune-books, it is from this period in history that Scottish melodies, and specifically dances, began to be incorporated into the English ballrooms. Titles of publications in both Appendix 3 and 4 suggest that the London publishers began specifically promoting these distinctively Scottish dances from the 1730’s onwards. Examples are Wright’s *The Musical Companion, being a New Collection of Songs, Minuets, Rigadoons and Country Dances ...ye whole transpos’d for ye flute* (1730, D-596) and *Wright’s Collection of Scots Dances* (1730, A-205). The most influential was Walsh’s series *Caledonian Country Dances* which dated from 1733 to 1740 (A-192, also D-310 to D-316). The titles and their contents demonstrate how the dances from Scotland were predominantly “rigadoons”, “strathspeys” and “reels”, as distinct from the country dances of the English repertory I have described. Some of these tune-books may appear in Appendix 3 if they have the words “country dance” in their titles, as this was the search criteria I used to collate this list. Whether they were originally intended as “aides memoires” for the dancing masters, or whether they were more accurately instrumental tutorials for learners (and therefore belong in Appendix 4) is sometimes ambiguous without further examination.

²⁸⁸ The name refers to the battle between Jacobites and Williamite forces at the battle of the pass of Killiecrankie, a village in Perthshire in 1689. The Jacobites won, but their commander, “Bonnie Dundee” lost his life. Paul Roberts, writing on the Village Music Website, points out that the Atkinson manuscript (1694/5, M-18) contains a lament entitled “A Highland Pibroch” [although this might be added later] and “The Irish Gilekrankey”. The Perthshire aristocracy included both sympathisers and opponants of the Jacobite cause. http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/info_files/atkinson_info.htm

²⁸⁹ There are many different tunes called “Highland Laddie” found in numerous primary sources in appendices 2 and 4 and some accounts link the popularity of the name (which may have been used for several different songs) to the exploits of “Bonnie” Prince Charlie. I have not explored this topic further.

An example of such Scottish melody which was incorporated into the London country dance publications from about 1730, is “Andrew Kerr”. It was also almost certainly originally a song,²⁹⁰ an early version of which probably represented in W Thomson’s *Orpheus Caledonius: or a collection of Scots Songs*, London, (1733, A-187) (Fleishmann 1998:122). Its first known appearance as a choreographed dance is in Wright’s *Collection of Scots Dances* (c. 1730, A-205) (Figure 5.6).

622 ANDREW KERR 6c

Dance tune (slip jig) Ch⁴ a b :|: c db 19g^s See 656*, 722*, 732*, 803, 2728, 2996, 3545, 3852, 4067, 5383, 5487, 6465; *NCCD* III; *ONDMI* 430 (Tipperary hills; Andrew Carey); *ONMI* 1148; *RCTIM* II 253, III 115 (The hills of Tipperary)

Figure 5.6. “Andrew Kerr” believed (no title page) to be from Wright’s *Collection of Scots Dances*, (c.1730, A-205). (Fleishman 1998:114).

The dance was copied to Wright’s subsequent *Complete Collection* Volume 1 (c. 1740, D-864). However, dances with comparable names and similar melodies appeared in Walsh’s *24 Country Dances for the year 1732* (D-287), Walsh’s *Caledonian Country Dances* in 1735 (D-310),²⁹¹ Walsh’s *Complete Country Dance Master*” (1745 and 1755, D-305 and D-306) (Fleishmann 1998:120), Johnson’s *Choice Collection of 200 Favourite Country Dances* (1740, D-98) and Johnson’s *Caledonian Country Dances* (1750, D-107). The differences in detail observed between the versions published by rival publishers probably arose through Wright, Walsh and Johnson each obtaining versions of the song melody from different sources.

It may not have been the London publishers that adapted these song melodies into dances. They may have bought them already adapted from the Scottish dance masters, as the full title of *Aria di Camera* suggests (*..Scotch Airs by Mr. Alex. Urquhart of Edinburgh*). For instance, “Because He Was A Bonnie Lad” (Figure 2.1) from the “Drummond Castle” manuscript (1734, M-132) may have already been adapted as a dance by dance master David Young from a song, before being supplied to the London publishing houses. It is found in Walsh (1737, 1745, 1755, D-311, D-305, D-306), Rutherford (1756, D-191) and Thompson (1757, D-266).

²⁹⁰ The Kerrs were a Scottish clan from the Scottish borders who often feuded with other border clans. The subject of the song has not been researched but there was a Sir Andrew Kerr, Lord Jedburgh in 1621 who supported the Parliament, and another Andrew Kerr died in defence of King James V of Scotland in 1526. The tune has been linked to a dance tune called “Scotland” in Playford’s *Dancing Master* editions from 1698 to 1728. Slip jigs often get linked to each other, but in this instance, the melodic similarities between the two are not considered sufficiently convincing.

²⁹¹ Fleishmann (1998:131) gives the date of this publication as c.1733.

I have described how instructional tune-books containing dance tunes published in London and Dublin in the early eighteenth century frequently incorporated songs and dances originally from South East Scotland. Numerous versions also exist of these melodies in contemporaneous unpublished manuscripts from Northumbria, such as Atkinson (1694-5, M-18) and Dixon (1733, M-56/C-86), suggesting these melodies were widely played in the Border regions. These melodies, whether songs or dances, were evidently valued by the mainstream publishers of London and Dublin for inclusion in their instrumental tune-books. However, south eastern Scotland and the Borders were not the only British regions whose tunes the publishers were promoting.

In 1726, the Neal brothers of Dublin also published *A Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes* (1726, A-138). According to Breathnach (1985c:33), most of these three hundred tunes were copied from London publications. Many appeared again in Wright's *Aria di Camera* (1727, A-204) whose full title was *Aria di Camera, being a Choice Collection of Scotch, Irish and Welsh Airs for the Violin and German Flute by the following masters Mr. Alex. Urquhart of Edinburgh Mr. Dermot O'Connar of Limrick, Mr. Hugh Edwards of Carmarthen* (1727, A-204). This suggests that the melodies from Ireland were being supplied by a dance master from Limerick. The tunes in *Aria di Camera* with "Irish" associations included "The Irish Ragg", "Irish Lamentation" and "Creamonea".

O'Sullivan (1958:79) states that the Irish melodies from *Aria De Camera* were contributed by a scribe called Dermot O'Connor who was commissioned in 1720 by a wealthy Irish-born lawyer and member of the Inner Temple named Maurice O'Connor. The hiring of a scribe is the equivalent of a copier and does not mean these tunes were transcribed from players in villages. Furthermore, my initial comparison of tunes with "Irish" and "Welsh" names²⁹² from *Aria di Camera* against their equivalents in other publications suggests the melodies were more usually replicas with fewer differences, such as the first part of "Moggie Lauther" (Figure 5.5). This could indicate that "Irish" and "Welsh" tunes were not as numerous or widely known as their Scottish equivalents, or else the form of popular music in these regions was simply not favoured by the London publishers for the purpose of accompanying dances. In order to collate a repertory of divisioned dance melodies from these locations, a hired scribe might simply have looked through older country dance publications and just picked out tunes with "Irish" or "Welsh" in the title. Similarly Wright's larger competitor, Walsh, may have done the same when he published *A Second Collection of thirty new and choice Country Dances. Set for the harpsichord or spinnet. The dances perform'd at court and publick*

²⁹² "Welsh" tunes include "Welch Morgan", "Morva Ryddlan" and "North Welch Morris".

entertainments. Being a delightful and entertaining collection. Consisting of Irish, Welch and Scotch tunes (1732, D-413).²⁹³

Given the apparent strategy on the part of the publishers to represent all parts of the newly combined Great Britain in their instrumental tune-books, I present one further example to emphasise how the regional provenance of these tunes cannot be assumed from their names alone. Walsh's *Caledonian Country Dances* (1755, D-316) contains a version of "Rakes of Mallow", which was originally printed in Walsh's *A Collection of Original Scotch Songs, with a Thorough Bass to each Song, for the Harpsichord* (1732, A-202).²⁹⁴ The tune, with a variation added, then appears in three publications by Burke Thumoth; namely *Twelve English and Twelve Irish Airs* (1745, A-189), *Twelve Scotch and Twelve Irish Airs* (A-190), and *Forty-Eight English, Irish and Scotch Airs* published 1745-50 (A-191) (O'Sullivan 1958;78,79,266). Figure 5.7 (overleaf) is from the latter.

²⁹³ The collection is listed in Appendix 3 rather than Appendix 4 because it has country dance in the title.

²⁹⁴ A country dance called "Rakes of Mellow" appears in Johnston's *A Choice Collection of 200 Favourite Country Dances. Vol.3* (1744, D-100), Walsh's *Caledonian Country Dances* (1745, D-313) and Walsh's *The Compleat Country Dancing-Master* (1755, D-307). It has not been established if this is the same tune.

The Rakes of Mallow

Burk Thumoth - EISA - XLVII

Copyright © Na Piobairí Uilleann (This setting)

Figure 5.7. “Rakes of Mallow” from Thumoth’s *Forty Eight English, Irish and Scotch Airs with variations Set for the German Flute, Violin or Harpsichord*, (1745-6, A-191).²⁹⁵

The provenance (English, Irish or Scottish) of the tune is not specified in this publication, but a brief Internet search suggested it is now claimed as Scottish (due to its earliest known printed appearances) and Irish (due to its assumed connection with Mallow, Co. Cork, which was developed as a popular spa town in the mid-eighteenth century). However, so-called “rakes” were common subjects of pillory in English ballads, plays and songs at this time²⁹⁶ and the name of the tune is also sometimes called “Rakes of London”.²⁹⁷ I suggest the most likely explanation is that this melody, which may well

²⁹⁵ <http://www.pipers.ie/imco/> viewed 12/08/13.

²⁹⁶ A “rake” (short for rakehell) was the term used in the late 1600’s and early 1700’s for a man habituated to immoral conduct, often a prodigal son living a debauched or dissolute life and wasting his (usually inherited) fortune. He became the butt of moralistic tales in which his typical fate was debtor’s prison, or, in the case of William Hogarth’s *A Rake’s Progress* (1733-5, Figures 4.11 and 4.14), insanity. Other examples from the country dance collections of Appendix 3 are “Rakes of Tunbridge”, “Rakes of Rochester”, “Rakes of London”, “Rakes of Nairn”, “Rakes of Glasgow” and “Rakes of Dublin”.

²⁹⁷ “Rakes of Mallow” has been identified in a 1753 manuscript of Danish hakkebraet (dulcimer) tablature called “Rakes of London”. Source: From

have originated as a Scottish song, was used for a song in a ballad opera. If performed in both London and Dublin, an astute librettist might have adapted the song for the audience, hence its alternate names. The prevalence these days to attribute regional provenances to such tunes overlooks the influence of the commercial performance arts at this time in history.

I have described the first appearances of so-called “Irish,” “Scottish” and “Welsh” tunes in publications over the early to mid-eighteenth century. In addition, there are also a few publications listed in appendix 4 which suggest musical origins from the North of England. These are *Thomas Marsden’s Collection of Lancashire Hornpipes for the treble violin* (1705, A-125), Wright’s *An Extraordinary Collection of Pleasant and merry humours, never before published, containing Hornpipes, Jiggs, North Country Frisks, Morris’s, Bagpipe Hornpipe’s, and Rounds* (1713, A-203) and Walsh’s *The Third Book of the most Celebrated Jiggs, Lancashire Hornpipes, Scotch and Highland Liits, Northern Frisks, Morris’s and Cheshire Rounds, with Hornpipes the Bagpipe manner* (1730, A-201) (the first two books being believed lost). These three publications are described in Stewart (2007, C-94). Accounts seem to agree that “hornpipes” and “jigs” were solo dances involving intricate stepping as opposed to the choreographed figures of the country dance mode,²⁹⁸ but nevertheless the music in each of these books include adaptations of older country dance tunes. “A Cheshire Round” (from Wright 1713 and Walsh 1730) is first seen in Playford (1701 D-12/153), “Staine’s Morris” (from Wright 1713) is first seen in Playford (1651 D-1/141/609), and “Black Joak” (from Walsh 1730), as described earlier, was extremely popular in 1729 and 1730 due to its use in ballad operas. Although two of these collections’ titles mention the bagpipes, the tunes which were to be played on the bagpipes are not specified, and it is possible their inclusion in these titles reflects their novelty factor following their featuring in contemporaneous ballad operas.²⁹⁹ According to Stewart (2007:106), there is little evidence to link early “hornpipes” (i.e. reed instruments without the bag) with the hornpipe dance. There is also no indication that their appearances in plays or ballad operas were connected to the playing of divisioned melodies for the purpose of accompanying country dances in ballroom settings.

http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/RAK_RAN.htm#RAKES_OF_MALLOW viewed 03/02/13. There are country dances called “Rakes of London” in Johnston’s *A Choice Collection of 200 Favourite Country Dances. Vol. 7th* (1751, D-104) and Rutherford’s *Compleat Collection of 200...Country Dances both Old and New, Vol. 1st* (1756, D-191). Whether this is the same tune has not been verified.

²⁹⁸ Stewart (2011:91) quotes Thomas Morley’s description of hornpipes and jigs being for “common dancing”, i.e. more abandoned than the more elegant dances such as pavans and galliards, with more emphasis on the stepping. The jig, (or gigue / jigg), which is generally attributed to be French in origin, was frequently used in Elizabethan drama. By the 1700’s, both were more associated with solo stage performances and seem to be the antecedents of “clogging” and “step & tap” styles.

²⁹⁹ An image of a bellows bagpipe is part of a burlesque depiction of an ensemble of musicians playing for John Gay’s ballad opera *The Beggar’s Opera* (1728) (Carolan 2012:7-8). Bagpipes appear in earlier plays. A bagpiper is featured in *Fucus Sive Histriumatrix (False, the Scourge of Actors)* dated 1623 (Matthews 2013:18-21) and the English playwright Thomas Shadwell refers to “a Scotch [or i.e. north British] -Bag-Pipe that has got a flaw in the Bellows” in his 1671 play *The Humorists* (Carolan 2012:4).

These early eighteenth century instructional tune books therefore illustrate how commercial, generally mainstream music publishers began “branding” melodies to be from the various regions of Britain and Ireland. I demonstrated ways in which comparisons between different versions of melodies can allow inferences to be made as to how, and from where, they were obtained. I suggest where there are several concordances of the same melodies (often with various spellings of the name, such as “Andrew Kerr” or “Maggie Lauther”) in broadly contemporaneous publications and unpublished manuscripts, and that this is due to these song melodies being used in multiple ballad operas and other stage entertainments in London, Dublin, Edinburgh and other regional centres. Transcriptions of the melodies would have been sold to London publishers by different suppliers.³⁰⁰ By contrast, exact replicas of melodies were copied directly from pre-existing printed sources such as older country dance publications or song sheets. There is evidence of the preferential selection by the publishers of some instructional tune-books, for names sounding Irish, Scottish and Welsh, but this does not indicate the tunes had vernacular origins. The emergence of this fashion for marketing tunes of real or exaggerated regional provenance was the next stage of the “antiquarianisation” process, since these regional associations have become, in the minds of modern players and scholars, absolutely literal.

5.3 Dance Tunes Published by Independent Musician-Publishers

The majority of tune-books in Appendix 4 were published after 1740 by smaller independent and regional musician-publishers, and continue up to the late nineteenth century. Most of those responsible seem to have been professional music masters or dance masters, song-writers, or else “gentleman amateurs”. Whilst older country dance tunes are certainly included, they were supplemented by other melodies of similar strophic nature, often with names reflecting the provincial origins or dialect of the publisher. They therefore advanced the “antiquarianisation” process through their introduction of genuine local flavour to the dance tune repertory. Also integral to this stage of “antiquarianisation” was the development and promotion of the various types of bagpipes.

³⁰⁰ Some scholars accuse various publishers of “blatant plagiarism” although this may simply refer to purchased copies. For instance, O’Sullivan (1958;78,79,266) in discussing tunes attributed to Carolan, describes how some of the tunes from the Neal collections were published again in Dublin (“with many mistakes and probably without permission”) in John Lee’s *A Favourite Collection of the so much admired old Irish Tunes, the original and genuine compositions of Carolan, the celebrated Irish Bard* (1780, A-111). I suggest that mistakes would not have happened from direct copying. They are more likely to represent transcriptions from different performers. Up to thirty-six tunes from Lee, as well as the contents of Thumoth’s collections, were again published by London publishers Samuel, Ann and Peter Thompson’s *Hibernian Muse*, c. 1787, a collection which achieved a high circulation. Finally, the contents of both Neale (1726) and Lee (1780) as well as some unique Carolan tunes collected from direct sources, are found in John Milholland’s *Collection of Ancient Irish Airs* published in Belfast in 1810.

Many of the Scottish musician-publishers first went into print in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. An example is the edition dated 1750 (Urban 1750, A-193) which contains "The Highland Laddie Written Long Since by Alan Ramsay, and now sung at Ranelagh and all the other gardens; often fondly encor'd, and sometimes ridiculously hiss'd". Allan Ramsay (1686-1758), with whom the songs "Yellow Hair'd Laddie" and "Maggie Lawder" are also connected, was a prominent poet, publisher and playwright from the Edinburgh area³⁰¹ and published many other collections of songs set to melodies either connected with the country dance repertory or else specially composed sharing the same characteristics (A-172 and A-173). Other titles show how music masters were dedicating their compositions to their pupils. Examples are *A collection of Strathspey Reels and Country Dances Etc. with a Bass for the Violincello or Harpsichord humbly dedicated to Mrs Farquharson of Monaltrie by Robert Petrie at Kirkmichael Perthshire* (A-162) and *Irish Airs arranged for the Harp by M.A.C. dedicated to my pupil, Miss Josephine Sullivan* (A-122). Later titles reflect the introduction of the piano, such as *A Collection of Scots, Galwegian and border tunes for the violin and Pianoforte, selected by Robert Riddell of Glenriddell* (1794, A-175). Robert Riddell (1755–1794), was Laird of Friar's Carse, near Dumfries, and a close associate and neighbour of Robert Burns.

One of the best known composers of dance tunes for the violin was William Marshall (1748-1833) from Banffshire in north-eastern Scotland, who was in the service of Alexander Gordon, 4th Duke of Gordon, or the Marquess of Huntly (and also known informally as "Cock o' the North"). Marshall's two hundred and fifty-seven compositions were published in three influential tunebooks,³⁰² with many of his tunes named in honour of his patrons, such as "The Marchioness of Huntly" and "The Marquis of Huntly's Farewell".³⁰³

The number and variety of publications in Appendix 4 suggest that their authors were extremely productive composers and performers. However, with few exceptions, most of their original publications achieved limited circulation and are now long forgotten. The main body of their musical output might not have survived until today were it not for a smaller group of much more prolific professional musician-publishers who incorporated

³⁰¹ Allan Ramsay is credited with being an inspiration to popular romantic poet Robert Burns (1759-1796). <http://www.robertburns.org/encyclopedia/RamsayAllan1686-1758.728.shtml> viewed 24/11/13.

³⁰² Marshall published two collections of his work via the publishers Neil Steward of Edinburgh: *A Collection of Strathspey Reels with a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsichord* in 1781 (A-120) (republished by Alexander Robertson of Edinburgh in 1822 and 1845) and *Marshall's Scottish Airs, Melodies, Strathspeys, Reels, &c. for the Piano Forte, Harp, Violin & Violoncello* in 1822 (A-121). A third collection, *Volume 2nd of a Collection of Scottish Melodies Reels Strathspeys Jigs Slow Airs &c. for the Piano Forte, Violin and Violoncello* (A-122) was published posthumously in 1845. <http://www.nefa.net/archive/songmusicdance/fiddles/musicians.htm#marshall> viewed 03/02/13.

³⁰³ Marshall's dance tunes subsequently entered the London country dance publications, such as "The Marquis of Huntly's Fling" (Preston 1796, D-176), "The Marquis of Huntly's Highland Fling" (Preston 1810, D-186), "The Marquis of Huntly's Quickstep" (Longman and Broderick, 1790, D-129) and "The Marquis of Huntly's Strathspey" (Longman and Broderick, 1790, D-128).

many of these melodies into their own publications. The combined published output of this group, who were all also Scottish, attained national recognition and essentially created the core of today's "traditional" Scottish dance tune repertoire.

One of the first was James Oswald (1710-1769), a violinist and composer from Crail, in Fife. He moved to London in 1741 where, amongst other things, was appointed as the chamber composer to King George III in 1761. He also founded a publishing business exploiting the new metropolitan enthusiasm for all things Scottish, or "Caledonian" as it was often termed,³⁰⁴ but his most enduring legacy is the twelve editions of the *Caledonian Pocket Companion* (1747-59, A-151) which is a tutor for the flute. Figure 5.8 is one of its melodies, again much longer and elaborate than the older versions of this tune (Figures 5.2 and 5.3). The fact that the first part has differences in detail to both these previous versions probably reflects Oswald's unique variant of this widely recognised song.



Figure 5.8. "The Yellow Haired Laddie" from Oswald's *The Caledoneon Pocket Companion* (1747, A-151).

³⁰⁴ James Oswald published two sets of compositions in 1736 (*Collection of Minuets*) and 1740 (*Curious Collection of Scots Tunes*), as well as *The Caledonian Pocket Companion for the Flute* (c.1750) in fifteen volumes, which was a collection of Scottish popular melodies. <http://www.allmusic.com/artist/james-oswald-p174328> viewed 16/04/12. He also probably composed "The East Neuk of Fife" and "The Flowers of Edinburgh", two classic reel tunes of the Scots fiddle repertory, and wrote tunes for some of Robert Burns' song lyrics which were included in his *Caledonian Pocket Companion*.

The second edition of *Caledonian Pocket Companion* (c.1750) contains some country dances from the English society ball repertory. One is Playford's "Red House" (Figure 4.3) which is described as the tune for a "Scotch rant" (song) called "Bonnie (or Canty) Annie" (the title deriving from its lyrics "Whaur will our goodman [or Guidman] lie"/"Where will bonny Annie lie"). By virtue of the title of this collection, this is the first example I found whereby unequivocally English dance tunes entered a repertory which was marketed as being Scottish.

Another well-known publishing concern of this period was that of the Gow family from Perthshire. Neil Gow (1727-1807) was a violinist, composer and dancing master to successive Dukes of Atholl.³⁰⁵ His dance tunes, together with those of his four sons, became widely known thanks to the fact that his third son Nathaniel (1763-1831) also founded a successful publishing business. The most popular books were four volumes of *Gow's [Complete] Repository of the Dance Music of Scotland* dated from 1799 to 1817 (A-69, A-70, A-72 and A-73) which were "as played by Neil Gow and Sons". Other tune-books of the Gow family included the titles listed as A-58 to A-67, A-70, A-74 to A-81, D-633 to D-637, and (in partnership with publishers William Shepherd of Edinburgh,) D-543 and D-547. Overall, the Gow publications date from 1795 to 1823. The tunes were arranged for harp, pianoforte, violin and violincello. Figure 5.9 overleaf is an example of how the tunes were still sometimes accompanied by dance choreographies. The style of choreography differs markedly to those in the London publications (such as Figures 4.1, 4.8 and 4.9 from Playford, Wright and Thompson respectively). This is illustrative of the independence of the profession of the dancing masters in Scotland as opposed to the majority of the profession in England, who would have mainly referred to the style of choreography favoured by the London publishers illustrated in Figures 4.1, 4.8 and 4.9.

³⁰⁵ Neil Gow (1727 – 1807) was the son of a plaid weaver from Dunkeld who taught himself to play as a child before being coached by a John Cameron, dance master to a peer called Sir George Stewart, 17th of Grandtully, 5th Baronet (1750-1827) from Ballechin, Logierait, Perthshire, Scotland. Aged 18, Gow was invited by the William Murray, Marquis of Tullybardine and eldest son of the first Duke of Athole (1687-1745) to play for Bonnie Prince Charlie prior to their departure on the final Rebellion which led to the Pretender's defeat at Culloden and the death of Tullibardine in the Tower of London. <http://www.scotsites.co.uk/ebooks/jacobitememoirs7.htm> viewed 03/11/2012. Details of Gow from "A Brief Biographical Account of Neil Gow", Author: Anon., *attrib.* Rev. Dr. Macknight (1809), published in "*The Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany*", Vol.71 Jan. 1809, <http://www.scotmus.com/texts/the-scots-magazine/a-brief-biographical-account-of-neil-gow.html>, viewed 05/02/12.

Elsie Marly. Country Bumpkin.

FIGURES of the OLD COUNTRY BUMPKIN.
See Original Tune page 38 First Repository.

Go along the room and return.

Set to each partner & turn her; then reel three & three, as the dart directs.

Go along the room and return.

Go along the room and return.

The Dance re- vers here.

Go along the room and return.

The Dance re- vers here. Ends thus.

Then A goes through the same figures and is succeeded by C.

N.B. At the end of the figures, Three Gentlemen generally join the Dancers, & the whole is concluded by 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 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, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

End of Gow's 4th Repository.

Figure 5.9. “Elsie Marly” from *Gow's Repository of Dance Music of Scotland, Part Fourth* (1817) by Nathaniel Gow (A-73).³⁰⁶

This tune is not original. It was copied from the lesser known Bremner's *A Collection of Scots Reels or Country Dances with a Bass for the Violincello or Harpsichord*, dated 1757 (A-22) (Fleishmann 1998:290), although the Gows' version has an additional third part. As with this example, many of Gow's dance tunes are traceable to older collections. Other tunes were copied from the “Drummond Castle” manuscript (M-132), including “Drummond Castle” (Figure 2.2) and “Because he Was a Bonnie Lad” (Figure 2.1). Both melodies are assumed to have been readily available to Gow, as he was a neighbour of, and possible apprentice to, dancing master David Young (Duncan 1998). Another example is “Andrew Carr” (Figure 5.10) which differs again from previous versions by virtue of the spelling of its name, and its increased complexity reflecting the Gow playing style.

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ANDREW CARR, A JIG.

Figure 5.10: “Andrew Carr”, from *Gow's Repository of Dance Music of Scotland, Volume 1* dated c. 1799 (A-69).³⁰⁷

³⁰⁶ [http://imslp.org/wiki/Gow%27s_Repository_of_the_Dance_Music_of_Scotland_\(Various\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Gow%27s_Repository_of_the_Dance_Music_of_Scotland_(Various)) viewed 3/5/12.

However, as with Oswald, the Gows also published English sourced tunes, such as this version of “Princess Royal” (Figure 5.11) which is adapted from the versions in Figures 4.8 and 5.1, again reflecting the typical Gow fiddle style. I highlight the fact that the title of the book in which it was published indicates the tunes were “original Scots”.



Figure 5.11 “The Princess Royal” from Gow’s *Part Second of the Complete Repository of Original Scots Tunes, Jigs, Strathspeys Dances for the Harp, Pianoforte, Violin and Violincello etc* (1802, A-70). (Llanerch 1988:36, C-73).

The next important Scottish publisher I encountered when compiling Appendix 3 was James Kerr of Glasgow. In the 1870’s, he published twelve books called *Kerr’s Famous Collections for the Violin*, including titles such as *Pretty Tunes of All Nations* and *Popular Dance Music for the Violin*. The most relevant to this study are books 1, 2, 10 and 11 which are known as *Kerr’s Merry Melodies* (1870, A-104). These consisted of approximately four hundred and forty-five dance tunes including reels, strathspeys, hornpipes, jigs and marches derived again from a variety of sources, both Scottish and English, including tunes from Oswald, Marshall and Gow. *Kerr’s Merry Melodies* series is significant because it achieved a wide circulation in both North America and Britain. Many of the dance tunes were adopted by Morris (sword) dancers of Northern England in the late nineteenth century (Heaton 2012:35,43).

The widespread popularity and availability of the published output of Marshall, Oswald, Gow and Kerr, meant that their dance tunes were widely copied to the nineteenth century hand-written manuscripts already described.³⁰⁸ Jigs and hornpipes were just as

³⁰⁷ [http://imslp.org/wiki/Gow%27s_Repository_of_the_Dance_Music_of_Scotland_\(Various\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Gow%27s_Repository_of_the_Dance_Music_of_Scotland_(Various)) viewed 3/5/12.

³⁰⁸ A tune called “Major Molle’s (of the 9th Regiment of Foot) Reel” was published by Andrew Gow in 1809. It is in Hardy’s manuscript (M-68) and also referred to in *Far from the Madding Crowd* (Hardy, 1874:412): “a fiddler who had begun playing by the door of the tent, [and] the four bowed old men with grim countenances and walking sticks in hand who were dancing Major Malley’s Reel to the tune”. John Miller’s manuscript (1799, M-92) also contains a reel called “Neill Gow” (X35) and a strathspey (X86) against which is written in a different hand “by ?? Gow”.

acceptable to the Scottish players as reels and strathspeys. This is evident from the titles of such tune-books like Marshall's *Collection of Scottish Melodies, Reels, Strathspeys, Jigs, Slow Airs* etc (A-126). Gow's *Complete Repository* (first part, Llanerch Press 1988, C-73) contains forty reels, thirty-nine strathspeys and fourteen jigs. The presence of some of these jigs, hornpipes and other familiar non-Scottish melodies may have appeared in the Scottish repertory simply because these two publishers incorporated and adapted melodies from the books printed, or music played, in London.³⁰⁹

Included within this category of tune-books by musician-publishers, are those by players of the bagpipes. As stated previously, bagpipes were not part of the ballroom culture nor remotely connected with dancing masters. No music specifically for the bagpipes was published by the major music publishers (Carolan 2012:4) and they are unconnected with the published country dances of Appendix 3 described in the previous chapter. I previously described how bagpipes were mentioned in the titles of two publications from 1713, which I suggest coincided with the beginning of an interest in the instrument among the middle classes. At this time, the only known bagpipe played in Britain and Ireland was the "pastoral" or "border" bagpipe of the Scottish Borders.³¹⁰ These were mouth-blown with conically bored chanters and have been linked to the French "musette", reportedly introduced from France by the Scottish aristocracy. From the 1740's, craftsmen thought to have originated from the Scottish Borders relocated to coastal ports such as Dundee, Glasgow, Newcastle and Dublin, and began experimenting with various types of improvements to the bagpipes using the wider range of materials obtained from Britain's overseas trading activities. Those in Glasgow and Dundee with access to ebony and ivory from West Africa, developed the Great Highland Pipes. These being extremely loud, they were adopted by military regiments for the purpose of marching and orientating troops in battle. Other craftsmen in Newcastle and Dublin developed the bellows-blown variety which became known as "smallpipes"³¹¹ which were more of a chamber instrument. The etymology of the

³⁰⁹ I have not researched the distinction between Scottish and English dance tunes prior to the eighteenth century.

³¹⁰ Paul Roberts writing on the Village Music Project website (source: http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/info_files/atkinson_info.htm_viewed_19/10/12) and quoting Collingwood Bruce & Stokoe (1882, A-45) describes how they were used to play the "gathering" tunes for raising the tenants and followers of a Border chieftain or laird to war, a practice that extended up to the Jacobite Uprisings (1688 to 1745). For this reason, they were often known as the "raising" or "gathering" pipes. The "gathering tunes", however, was in a distinctive and evocative variation form, including "pibrochs", which are quite distinct from the "division" variation forms which are the basis for dance tunes. The Atkinson manuscript (Newcastle, c.1684, M-18) contains music of both genres.

³¹¹ Pastoral pipes such as those made by Edinburgh pipemaker called Robertson (1725-1802), of which one set is in the Chantry Museum, Morpeth, are generally accepted as being the most common type among the gentlemen players of the late eighteenth century. They had an open, keyless chanter, bellows, two drones and a simple two-key regulator which, according to McLoud (2002:1), were the "common ancestor" of subsequent smallpipe forms. Other pipemakers, such as Kenna (originally from Mullingar, but trading in Dublin),

bagpipes over the mid to late eighteenth century is complex as many different forms were simultaneously being experimented with in Ireland, Northumbria and Scotland. Their nomenclature is similarly convoluted as the term “Union” pipes were sometimes, but not always, used from the 1760’s onwards to apply to any type of smallpipes, irrespective of their location or degree of sophistication (Donnelly 2002:4).³¹²

The first known instructional book specifically for smallpipes in Britain and Ireland was published in 1743 and was Geoghegan’s *Complete Tutor for the Pastoral or New Bagpipe to which is Added A Collection of some familiar Aires, light Jigs, &c Curiously Adapted to that Instrument*. Carolan (2012:5) states that the instrument was a two octave-plus chromatic bellows pipes with a keyless, open chanter with a lowest note of middle C, with the second octave achieved by over-blowing. This was not the most innovative type of smallpipes in circulation at the time. Although Geoghegan is thought to have been a native of Co. Westmeath (Donnelly 2002:11), the repertory in this book is more suggestive of a metropolitan influence. All the tunes’ names were English, and, although many seem to be new, I suggest it is likely they originated from stage shows, such as “Monkey or Meg’s Hornpipe” (p.24), or “New Mile End Fair” (p.21). There are, however, some which appeared in older published tune-books, such as the hornpipe “Ravenscroft’s Fancy” which is a near replica of the version in Walsh (c.1730) (A-201). There are also two “Scotch Measures”, whose sources I have not succeeded in tracing.

A later collection associated with the bagpipes, published in approximately 1774, is Lee’s *Celebrated Irish Tunes by Walker Jackson* (A-113). This is not so much a tutor as a collection of melodies of the dance tune genre which was attributed to a “Piper” Jackson.³¹³ I have not found any information as to the type of bagpipes involved. According to Breathnach (1974-5), there were two composer-pipers called Jackson, both of whom were Anglo-Protestant landowners.³¹⁴ Breathnach identified ninety unique compositions but suggested that, as with the Gow family, one or both Jacksons were credited with tunes they probably never composed. Whether the work of one or two people, there exist many melodies with “Jackson” in the name, such as “Jackson’s Night

developed the design further such as through improvements like adding one or more keys to the chanter. There are two sets of Kenna’s dated 1760’s or 1770’s in the Chantry Museum.

³¹² Breathnach (1985b:16) suggested the term “union” signified the union of a regulator with a chanter. An example of an early use of the term is from 1788, when a Denis Courtney, “an itinerant musician of great fame in the British provinces”, gave a recital on the “union pipes” in the Free Masons’ Hall, London. This is thought to be the first performance of bagpipes on the London stage (Carolan 2012:7). However, given the widespread use of the name, the smallpipes he played need not have been precursors of the uilleann pipes we know today.

³¹³ Carolan, Nicholas, “Jackson, Walker.” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed September 1, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14031>.

³¹⁴ One lived in a mansion in Co. Monaghan and owned famous racehorses named after parts of the pipes. A second, “Walker” Jackson, lived in Co. Limerick and was a big mill-owner who lived in a castle called “Castle Jackson” and died in 1798.

Cap”, “Jackson over the Water”, “Jackson’s Frolic”, “Jackson’s Dream”, “Jackson’s Morning Brush”, “Jackson’s Delight” and “Jackson’s Bouner Bougher” (Figure 5.12).³¹⁵

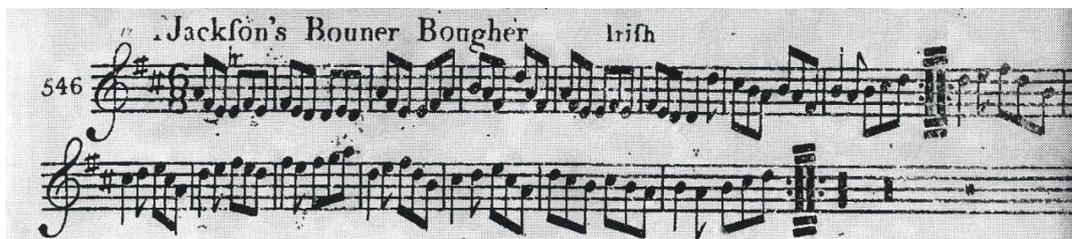


Figure 5.12. “Jackson’s Bouner Bougher” from Aird’s Volume 3 (1788, A-13).

A later collection of tunes, dating between 1797 and 1800, was published by a player stated by Donnelly (2001:10) to have played bellows-blown bagpipes with a keyless chanter and one regulator. This was Patrick O’Farrell and his *Collection of National Irish Music for the Union Pipes* (A-140 to A-144).³¹⁶ His likeness on the title page shows the instrument as having two drones (Cheape 2010:104). O’Farrell is said to have been from Clonmel, co. Tipperary, but is known to have performed on the London stages, including the musical drama called “Oscar and Malvina” for which he played the overture, at Covent Garden in 1798. In 1804, he was selling music and instruments from his London home.³¹⁷ The contents of his tune-books indicate a mixture of influences. Some of the names of his melodies evoke Ireland, such as “Shannon’s Flowry Banks”, “Pay the Reckoning” and “Nora Creena”. Whether they were original or older tunes which were re-named I have not established. Some tunes are definitely attributed to his countrymen, including Turlough Carolan and “Piper” Jackson. “Carolan’s Receipt for Drinking” and “Planxty Connor” are attributed to the former, and one example of several attributed to the latter is Figure 5.13, which has been developed from Jackson’s Bouner Bougher (Figure 5.12). Whilst its first two parts are concordances of Figure 5.12, the additional third part cannot reasonably be described as an embellished variation of either of them.

³¹⁵ This name is suggested by Breathnach (1996) to be a corruption of the Irish *Bonn ar bóthar*.

³¹⁶ The full title is *Collection of National Irish Music for the Union Pipes Comprising a variety of the Most Favorite Slow and Sprightly Tunes set in proper Style and Taste with Variations and Adapted Likewise for the German Flute, Violin, Flagelet, Piano and Harp with a Selection of Favorite Scotch Tunes Also a Treatise with the most Perfect Instructions ever yet Published for the Pipes*.

³¹⁷ http://www.capeirish.com/ref_lib/ofpc/intro4.pdf viewed 02/09/13.



Figure 5.13. “Morgan Rattler”, from O’Farrell (c.1806, A-142).³¹⁸

The changing of the name to “Morgan Rattler” is connected with the melody’s association with Irish music hall songs of the 1780’s and 1790’s.³¹⁹ “Jackson’s Delight” was re-named to the widely recognized “Irish Washerwoman” for the same reason.

O’Farrell’s version of “Black Joke” (a tune name similarly subject to different spellings due to its immense popularity as a song melody)³²⁰ also now has an additional third part (Figure 5.14 overleaf).

³¹⁸ <http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/Papers/ofarrellspc2.pdf> viewed 12/12/11.

³¹⁹The meaning of a “morgan rattler” is obscure, but the term is traceable to various songs published in Ireland in the 1780’s and 1790’s in the context of a lothario. It may relate to a popular play or review. One song dates from the 1780’s called “Darby O’Gallagher, or the Answer to Morgan Rattler” (Carpenter 1998:399). Another song called “Morgan Rattler” by Paddy O’Rafferty was published in Limerick in c. 1790 (British Library catalogue, I have not verified the tune). A third is a chapbook by W. Goggin in Limerick (c. 1785). The song “Oh had I in the clear but Five Hundred a year”, published by B. Cooke, Dublin, c. 1795, was written to the melody, and these lyrics have given rise to further alternative titles: “Five Hundred a Year,” “If I Had in the Clear” and “The Land of Potatoes”. The three part version is also found in publications from this period, such as Petrie’s first and third collections (1790-1800, A-162, A-164), Preston (1796, A-169) and Gow (c.1795, A-61). Sources: Folkopedia, (http://folkopedia.efdss.org/Tune_Index), http://folkopedia.efdss.org/Morgan_Rattler-Song and the Fiddler’s Companion, http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/MOO_MORM.htm#MORGAN_RATTLER viewed 15/02/11.

³²⁰ The term black “joke” (or joe, joak etc.) persists throughout the musical repertory of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, both as further songs using this melody or else incorporating the term in the lyrics. Dennant (2013). One example is the song “Sublime was the warning which Liberty spoke” by Thomas Moore (1779-1852) which was set to this tune.



Figure 5.14. “The Black Joke” from O’Farrell (c.1806, A-142).³²¹

Finally, O’Farrell’s books also contain a large proportion of older Scottish tunes, such as “Yellow Hair’d Laddie”, “Maggie Lauder”, “Killiecrankie” and “Felton’s Highland Laddie”. The origins of O’Farrell’s melodies are therefore varied. Some undoubtedly reflect his involvement in the London stage, but others evoke his native Ireland. However, in terms of the melodic characteristics that define the genre, there is no differentiation between them.

In Northumbria, another type of bellows-blown smallpipes was developed by closing the chanter permanently, adding more keys, and eliminating the regulator. John Peacock, from Morpeth, was a well known performer of the Northumbrian smallpipes in Newcastle. His *Favourite Collection of Tunes adapted for the northumbrian small pipes, violin or flute* (A-156) was published in 1805. A greater proportion (than O’Farrell’s) of his tunes’ names are in his local dialect, such as “O Say Bonny Lass”, “My An Kind Dearie”, “I’m Ower Young to Marry Yet”, “My Dearie Sits Ower Late Up” and “The Bonny Pit Lad”. In contrast to the prevailing sympathies of the Hanoverian establishment which, as I observed, ensured Bonapart was absent from the names of any ballroom dances, one of Peacock’s tunes does refer to the enemy:- “Bonapart’s Expedition”. However, as with O’Farrell’s tune-books, many of Peacock’s tunes are also traceable to earlier collections. Examples are “Money Musk” (Thompson 1780, D-264, Preston 1786 and 1798, D-167 and D-187) and “Buttered Peas” (Walsh 1731, 1735 x 2 and 1760, D-300, D-301, D-310, D-302, Johnston 1740 D-98 and Thompson 1765 D-262), as well as the Scottish “Highland Laddie” and “Because He Was a Bonnie Lad” described earlier. Figure 5.15 is an example which is developed from the two-part Playford tune, “Mad

³²¹ <http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/Papers/ofarrellspc2.pdf> viewed 12/12/11.

Moll”, (Figure 4.2, subsequently found in Thompson 1765 D-262 / 824), which has now been lengthened to seven parts.³²²



Figure 5.15. “The Peacock follows the Hen”, from Peacock’s *Favourite Collection of Tunes* (1805:46, A-156).³²³

This example similarly demonstrates that, as with O’Farrell, Peacock was exposed to the wider performing arts. The reason “Mad Moll” became known as “Peacock Followed the Hen” is nothing to do with his name, but because it was used for a song called “Brose and Butter” which was published in a popular book of Scottish songs, *Merry Muses of Caledonia* (1799) where its lyrics include the phrase “the peacock follows the hen”. The popularity of this melody for other songs has given rise to a variety of alternative names over time.³²⁴

Figures 5.13 and 5.15 above both underwent name changes as a result of their use for popular songs performed in reviews and plays. Scottish literary giants Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) from Edinburgh, and Robert Burns mentioned previously, also both drew heavily on dance tunes for their songs. Scott’s song in honour of the Jacobite hero “Bonnie Dundee” which he published in Scott’s *Caledonian Muse* and elsewhere, was set to the country dance of the same name which is in Playford (1686 to 1703, D-8 to D-13).³²⁵ The Scottish song “Bonnie Annie”, which used “The Red House” melody as

³²² It was subsequently shortened for the benefit of learners, as shown by Figure 1.7,

³²³ <http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/musicfiles/manuscripts/peacock.pdf> viewed 10/10/11.

³²⁴ The “Mad Moll” melody was used for the bawdy song “Nicht Owre” in Herd’s *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs, Heroic Ballads* (1776 II.203-4). This includes the lyrics “Brose and Butter”, and this phrase became adopted as the name of the tune in Bremner’s *Collection of Scots Reels IV* dated 1757. However, an altered version of the song is found in a Robert Burns (Adam MS) dated 1785-6, and this version of the song then appears in *Merry Muses of Caledonia* (1799 pp. 38-9) with lyrics that include “The Peacock Follows the Hen”. Yet another title, “Cuddle me, Cuddy”, is also derived from lyrics and was published in Bell’s *Rhymes of Northern Bards* (1812:322). Its current association with Northumbria was achieved after its inclusion into Bruce and Stokoe’s *Northumbrian Minstrelsy* (1882, A-25) and Cawhall’s *A Beuk o’ Newcassel Sangs* (1888). Source: http://www.traditionalmusic.co.uk/song-midis/Nicht_Owre.htm viewed 03/02/13, after Chambers (1847).

³²⁵ Scott’s song has been used as a regimental march by several Scottish regiments in the British Army as well as the Confederate troops during the American Civil War. It was also parodied by Lewis Carroll in “Through the Looking Glass” and by Rudyard Kipling in “The Jungle Book”.

mentioned earlier, appears in Herd's *Scots Songs Volume II* (1776:110) in the major mode rather than the original Mixolydian in Playford.³²⁶ Through a separate route, this song also evolved into another well-known song today called "Do you ken John Peel", thereby establishing a rival historical connection with Cumbria.³²⁷ This divergent history also explains why two different modal versions are known today.³²⁸ The music hall industry of the nineteenth century clearly drew on these melodies.

This category of published tune-books arose from the pursuits of gentlemen musician-performers and the increased interest in playing instruments for pleasure. They contained pre-existing dance tunes which were often lengthened by adding elaborate variations, allowing players to demonstrate their virtuosity on violin, flute or bagpipes. Many musician-publishers enhanced their repertoires and collections by adding their own tunes which often reflected their origins or dialect. Many melodies from the country dances were used for songs and were renamed accordingly, either evoking their stage origins or the poems of the Scottish poets. This again perpetuated the endurance and popularity of certain melodies, although their varieties of forms increased as they were adapted for different purposes. The contribution of these publications to the "antiquarianisation" process was the fracturing of what had become a pan-British and Irish musical culture dominated by melodies printed by the London publishing houses, into more regionalised and personalised repertoires. This resulted in the adoption of the wider expectation that any one dance tune was the product of one or other of these regions.

³²⁶Sources: http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/REA_RED.htm and <http://mudcat.org/thread.cfm?threadid=4518> viewed 07/07/11, quoting Gilchrist (1941:80-4) and others.

³²⁷ In the 1850's, John Percival Graves overheard "Bonnie Annie" being sung by the mother of his friend John Peel, the leader of the Calderbeck hunt in Cumbria, who died in a hunting accident in 1854. Graves kept the tune but added new lyrics "D'ye Ken John Peel / with his coat so grey". In 1866, this account from an interview with Graves was documented with the song in *Songs and Ballads of Cumberland, to which are added Dialect and other Poems* published by "Sidney Gilpin" [aka Mr George Coward] who sanitized Graves' lyrics and used only the third part of the melody. This version became popular among the hunting fraternity. It was heard by a William Metcalfe, organist at Carlisle cathedral, being sung at a farewell dinner in Carlisle. Metcalf noted the words, tracked down the original first strain of "Bonnie Annie", and published the result in 1868. The following year Metcalfe was invited to sing his version at the annual dinner in London of the Cumberland Benevolent Institution. As a result, his version gained a wider recognition beyond local hunting circles, and eventually spread throughout the English speaking world. The simple version of the song and tune is the anthem of the Border Regiment in Cumbria and is also adopted by fans of Carlisle United football club. It was echoed throughout the comic novel, *Finnegan's Wake* (1939) by James Joyce. The song is included in *Cumbrian Songs and Ballads* by Keith Gregson, Dalesman, 1980. Gilchrist (1941), Gregson (1978) and <http://mudcat.org/thread.cfm?threadid=4518> viewed 06/04/12. "Do you ken John Peel" was included in the 1940's collection *The Songs We Sang: A Treasury of American Popular Music*, followed by *The American Song Treasury: 100 Favorites* by Theodore Raph (Dover, 1986 originally published in 1964). The melody then became nationally popular in America as a jingle for a Pepsi Cola advert. <http://mudcat.org/thread.cfm?threadid=4518> viewed 06/04/12.

³²⁸ The major version is called "The Red House of Cardiff" and is the melody for a dance by the "Lizzie Dripping" dance side in Sheffield. It was taken from *Blodau'r Grug* (1992, C-53) which was itself copied from "The Red House of Cardiff" / "Tycoch Caerdydd" from Bennett (1896, A17, Figure 5.19). The minor version of the tune is included in *Crux* (2005, WildGoose Studios) by Sheffield band "Crucible", which was sourced directly from the Playford version (Figure 4.3).

5.4 Collections of Dance Tunes for Military Use

I now examine the contribution that the military made to the history of dance tunes. Many of the tunes in the published books of country dances (and copied to manuscripts) were martial in flavour by virtue of their names. The largest proportion of country dance publications coincided with the Napoleonic Wars, which was a period when military barracks were constructed in many provincial towns. There is circumstantial evidence that military bands were sometimes used as the musical consort for balls, and this is corroborated by details of the manuscripts in the ownership of serving soldiers such as that of Benjamin Cooke and John Miller. Campbell (2012:34) quotes Camus (1976:31) who says “the musicians of the three British Guard regiments [in America] up to 1783 consisted of excellent players taken from the king’s and commercial theatres, whose only military responsibility was to play the changing of the guard daily”. The military bands drew on popular melodies not only for their own mess balls and entertainments, but also for marching to. The “new famous Tune of the Coal Black Joke” was controversially played by the Coldstream Guards marching through London in 1729, the same year it was first published in that city (Dennant 2013:311-2). Murray (2001:84) points out that the sound of the military bands “remained the same no matter what the occasion or function might be, and that the tempo at which the more popular ballroom dances of the period were performed was very similar to that at which the soldiers marched in the drill square”.

Many of the published collections of tune-books in Appendix 4 suggest they were specifically intended for military bands, particularly those dated in the late 1700’s. A popular instrument was the fife, which was a portable instrument that accompanied the military on campaign. An example tune-book was Preston’s *Entire New and Compleat Instructions for the Fife* (1796, A-169). However, my tune histories demonstrated that the most influential series of tune books was that of James Aird (1782-1801) of Glasgow. This was because very many of the tunes appear in these books. Aird’s were six volumes dating between 1788 and 1801 called *A Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs adapted for the fife, violin or german flute, humbly dedicated to the Volunteers and Defensive Bands of Great Britain and Ireland* (A-11 to A-16). With the exception of melodies such as the patriotic anthem “Rule Britannia” and the lament “Neil Gow’s Lamentation for Abercairney”, their contents are dominated by two-part, sixteen bar melodies which could be used for either marches or dances. Some of Aird’s tunes have names like “Quick Step 71st Regiment” and are not immediately traceable. However, many are found in existing country dance publications. For instance, “Soldier’s Joy” is a direct copy from Thompson (1780, D-267), “Birks of Abergelde” is a variant of the versions in Wright (1727, A-204), Walsh (1735, D-310, 1745, D-305 and 1755, D-

306) and Johnson (1740, D-98 and 1750, D-107),³²⁹ and “Leshley’s March” is from Playford as described previously. Also included are “The Yellow Hair’d Laddie”, “Maggie Lawder”, “Rakes of Mallow” and “Because He was a Bonnie Lad”, and both the two part version of “Jackson’s Bouner Bougher” which is found in volumes 1 and 3 (1788, A-11 and A-13) (Figure 5.12) and the three part “Morgan Rattler” in volume 5 (1797, A-15). Figure 5.16 is another tune attributed to “Piper” Jackson called “The Job of Journey Work”.



Figure 5.15. “The Job of Journey Work” from Aird’s Volume 3 (1788, A-13).

As a consequence of Britain’s colonial expansion, these publications were carried throughout the British Empire in the pockets and kit bags of the military bandsmen. Both the published tune books such as Aird and unpublished manuscripts containing tunes copied from it have been catalogued in locations across North America.³³⁰ The persistence of certain well known tunes at home is sometimes attributed to their significance during the American Civil War. One example is the well-known march “The British Grenadiers”.³³¹ Other tunes whose histories seem to have incorporated an appreciable amount of time overseas are “Hunt the Squirrel”, “Moon and Seven Stars”, “Tripping up Stairs” (Rowlands 2009), “Soldier’s Joy” and “Haste to the Wedding”. “Morgan Rattler” (Figure 5.13) is found in manuscripts compiled by John Fife (1780-1804, M-58) and Thomas Molyneux (undated, from Nova Scotia). Fife was a sailor from

³²⁹ This tune has a large number of concordances in circulation coupled with a variety of different names. There is also a “Birks of Abergelde [old scotch]” in Wilson Terpsichore (1809, D-333) and Wilson Companion (1816, D-330), and a “Burks of Abergeldy” in Bland & Weller (1800, D-32).

³³⁰ For instance, Henry Livingstone, a Major in the 3rd New York Regiment in 1775. He became a surveyor and real estate speculator, an illustrator and map-maker, a poet and a prominent land-owner in the Hudson Valley during the American Revolution, and finally Justice of the Peace for Dutchess County. He was also musician, and presumably a dancer, as he was elected a Manager for the New York Assembly’s dancing season of 1774-1775, along with his third cousin, John Jay, later U.S. Chief Justice of Governor of New York. His copybook dated 1775 contains tunes such as “Haste to the Wedding”. Source http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/HAS_HAZ.htm viewed 03/02/13.

³³¹ The march “The British Grenadiers” originated in Playford’s *The New Bath* (Volume I, Editions 7 to 18 from 1686 to 1728). It was printed in *Edinburg Musical Miscellany* (1738) and another version exists from 1745. It became traditional for the tune to be played for the march past of all British fusilier regiments (Murray 1994:179) with the title referring to “grenadiers” who were originally soldiers of the English army who threw grenades. By the time of the American Revolution (1774) the tune was well known on both sides of the Atlantic through its use by both armies. It was played by British military musicians during the Battle of Brandywine (Pennsylvania) in 1777. It also appears in the manuscripts of colonial militiamen William William (Rhode Island, 1775), Henry Brown (1789) and Mr. Thompson (1790); whose post-Revolutionary pride is expressed in their renaming the tune “Vain Britons, Boast No Longer”. The tune, played as more of a polka, is entrenched in today’s Cotswold Morris repertory through its collection from the village of Longborough, Gloucestershire. Source: http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/BRIDGE_BRITT.htm viewed 17/02/13. It is also used for Silkstone Green’s dance “Dodworth”.

Perthshire who was involved in battles in the Mediterranean and the Caribbean,³³² and Molyneux was an Ensign with the 6th regiment. That the tunes were also used as dances in colonial outposts may be deduced from the following frame from a satirical cartoon strip (Figure 5.17 below) depicting the fortunes of a planter newly emigrated from England to the Caribbean.



Figure 5.17. Cartoon strip entitled “Johnny Newcome in the Island of Jamaica”, anonymous, dated 1800. The caption reads “*Johnny capers a la Samboese to the tune of Morgan Rattleher*”. (Ferguson 2003:76).

The territorial gains achieved by Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries inspired further patriotic and triumphalist songs which also used dance tunes, possibly favouring the major key. For instance, Admiral George Rodney, who was featured in the names of several country dance tunes of the ballrooms such as “Admiral Rodney’s Triumph” in Thompson 1788 (D-239 / D-857), was also the inspiration for a song called “Rodney’s Glory” published in about 1785, which used the tune “Princess Royal”.³³³ Ten years later, the same tune was combined with a poem called “The Arethusa” as the melody for another song chronicling the successful outcome (for Britain) of an engagement between the ship of that name and a French frigate in

³³² <http://www.colonialdancing.org/Easmes/Biblio/B062358.htm> viewed 04/05/12.

³³³ “Rodney’s Glory” celebrated the famous victory in 1782 over Count de Grasse’s French fleet at the islets called the Saintes, near Dominica in the Caribbean. Known as “The Battle of the Saints”, Rodney’s resounding victory was the reason the West Indies remained under British control rather than French. The ballad takes the audience into the heat of the battle with the narrator placing great emphasis on forging a British identity through fighting wars against the French and Spanish. Source: <http://digital.nls.uk/broadsides/broadside.cfm/id/15129> viewed 15/01/13. The song was written by poet and adventurer Owen Roe O’Sullivan who was from the Sliabh Luachra region of County Kerry, and who witnessed this victory as an ensign with the Royal Navy. “Rodney’s Glory” then became known in Ireland as the name of a long dance.

1778.³³⁴ Admiral Rodney was also connected to the popular march, “Brighton Camp”.³³⁵ This tune has been proposed to have begun life as a song about the military encampments emplaced along the coast of England in 1758-9 to watch for the widely anticipated French invading fleet (and controlled by Admiral Rodney amongst others), which, after the threat subsided, were ridiculed in pantomime and farce in the London theatres. In Ireland, “Brighton Camp” is known as “Girl I Left Behind Me” following its use for a song called “The S(p)ailpin Fanach” (or “The Rambling Laborer”), according to a song sheet printed in Dublin in 1791. Thomas Moore also used it for his song “As slow our ship,” published in *Irish Melodies* (1818, A-132).

The last decade of the eighteenth century was also the period when the Scottish military regiments were deployed to Ireland to subdue the Irish Rebellion. The Miller and Cooke manuscripts date from this campaign. Grattan Flood (1905:ChXXII) highlights the bandsmen’s use of Oswald’s 1750-52 tune-books in introducing Jacobean-age Williamite Scottish tunes to Ireland, such as “Over the Water to Charlie” and “The Campbells are Coming” which are found in the Miller and Cooke manuscripts. One musician-publisher named Smollett Holden, described as “the most eminent British composer of military music in his time”,³³⁶ kept a music shop in Dublin and published titles such as *A Collection of (24) Quick and Slow Marches* (A-86). The Scottish militia also brought with them the Great Highland Pipes, which were known as the “War Pipes” in Ireland. Performance skills on these Pipes were being promoted at this time by some military regiments such as the Seaforth Highlanders and Gordon Highlanders. One such skill was the pibroch (piobaireachd or ceòl mór), whereby the simpler divisioned melodies typifying dance tunes and marches were elaborated through the development of formal variations.

The military had a vast appetite for the dance tune melodies. It used them to march to, to foster comradry and cohesion within the ranks, and its band members invariably doubled as hired consorts for entertainments and performances. Publishing firms such as Aird of Glasgow and Holden of Dublin printed tune-books to cater for them, and their products were dispatched throughout Britain and Ireland and across the expanding British Empire. Being such a powerful mechanism of transmission, the military made a significant contribution to the history and dissemination of traditional dance tunes. I

³³⁴ The patriotic song “The Arethusa” was incorporated within a small opera or musical entertainment, “the Lock and Key”, written by William Shield and performed in 1796. Kidson (1894:667).

³³⁵ Thomas Hardy also mentions “Brighton Camp” in the scene notes to “The Dynasts” (an epic-drama of the war with Napoleon published in three parts, 1904, 1906 and 1908).

³³⁶ Smollett Holden kept his music shop at 26 Parliament Street, Dublin, at the end of the eighteenth century. Although he also published tune-books of pre-existing “Irish” and “Welsh” melodies (A-85, A-87, A-88), he was described by Petrie in his *Ancient Music of Ireland* (1855) as “the most eminent British composer of military music in his time”. Source: Frank Kidson’s entry in “Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians” published in 1904, http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/kid_txt1.htm#624 viewed 17/01/13.

suggest this contribution is now under-appreciated, but to ignore it encourages the development of romantic and improbable theories involving “lateral diffusion” and “oral transmission”. The significant role of the military and its current lack of recognition could be regarded as another stage of “antiquarianisation”.

5.5 Collections published by “Collectors” who “Collected” from Vernacular Players

The culmination of the “antiquarianisation” process was the “collecting” of the dance tunes in the field by “Antiquarians”. These men were educated in “art music” of the Baroque and Classical genres. In encountering a musical culture among untutored people which they considered to be different to their own elitest culture, they used words like “ancient” or “primitive” to describe its features. I suggest this is the final stage in the antiquarianisation process, as it resulted in the tunes being assumed to be both “traditional” to the area where they were collected, and to be of exaggerated antiquity. I use certain dance tunes already introduced in order to describe some of their typical notated characteristics, including the alterations made to them as a result of their having been “collected” in this way. By “collected”, I mean that a dance tune was transcribed by an intellectual Antiquarian “collector” in the field from the playing or singing of an individual from the working classes who was not using music scripts, and therefore presumed by the collector to be musically illiterate.

The first such collectors in this category were Anglo-Welsh intellectuals in the mid 1700’s, who studied what they regarded as being the remnants of the bardic harp tradition. The earliest known collections were Parry and Williams’ *Ancient British Music*³³⁷ (1742, A-154) and Parry’s *British Harmony being a Collection of Ancient Welsh Airs* (1781, A-155). This was followed by Edward Jones’ *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* (1784, A-96). However, even these earliest collections of this so-called “ancient” music contained English country dance tunes. Of the four melodies from the latter reproduced in Fleishmann (1998:403-4), one, “Hela’r Ysgyfarnog” or “Hunting the Hare” (Figure 5.18) is a concordance of Figure 4.9 from Thompson (1777, D-238/856).

³³⁷ Full title is *Ancient British Music or a Collection of Tunes Never before Published, which are retained by the Cambro-Britons (more particularly in North Wales) and supposed, by the Learned to be the Remains of the Music of the Ancient Druids, so much famed in Roman History.*

2091 HELA'R YSGYFARNOG [Hunting the hare] 69c

Double jig C a¹ a² ::| b a² 20⁸ See 1821

Figure 5.18. “Hunting the Hare” from Jones (1784, A-96). (Fleishmann 1998:404).

A century later, musicologist Nicholas Bennett (1823–99) published two collections called *Alawon Fy Ngwlad: [or The Leys of the Land] N Bennett's Collection of Old Welsh Airs* (1896, A-17, A-18). They include biographies of certain Welsh harpists, such as John Jones, who was employed as a harper at Llanover Court, near Cardiff. These collections also include English country dance tunes. An example is Figure 5.19, which is a concordance of Playford's “Red House” (Figure 4.3).

TYCOCH CAERDYDD (PIB-DDAWNS) – The Red House of Cardiff (a pipe-dance)
Andante maestoso.

Figure 5.19. “The Red House of Cardiff” / “Tychoch Caerdydd” from Bennett’s Volume 1 (1896, A17).

Since the *Dancing Master* series (from 1695 to 1728), this tune had also been in *Oswald's Pocket Companion for the Flute Vol II*, (1743-5, A-151) and Hurd's *Scotts Songs* (1776) as well as others I described in pages 145 and 153-4. By Bennett's time, it was undoubtedly a widely recognised melody, but the fact that its original name was used suggests the harpers had acquired the tune in its original form as a country dance, rather than from any of its subsequent incarnations as songs.

These two examples also show how the names of the tunes were not only given Welsh translations, but also artificial Welsh provenances. There is no mention of Cardiff in the original “Red House”. Other Playford tunes in the Bennett collection include “Hunting the Squirrel” / “Hela'r Wiwer”, “Greensleaves” / “Yr Hèn Eōg Lewys” and “The Cushion

Dance” / “Dawns Y Glustog”. Tunes derived from later country dance collections include two named after the aforementioned Admiral Rodney (“Rodney’s March” / “Gorymdaith Rodney” and “Rodney’s War March” / “Ymdaithdon Rodney”). There are many other original Welsh-sounding titles, such as “Men of Aberffraw’s Fancy” / “Consêt Gwŷr Abberffraw”, although I have not researched their possible origins. It is perfectly likely that new melodies were composed by the harpers in the popular country dance style, for elite balls.

This is also stated to have been a practice used by Irish harper Turlough Carolan (see footnote # 79, page 56). The music played by the Irish harpers was first transcribed and published by Edward Bunting from Co. Amagh, who was hired to do so at the 1792 Belfast Harp Festival.³³⁸ Bunting’s collections were published in three volumes as *A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland*, dated 1796, 1809 and 1840³³⁹ (A-27, A-28 and A-29). Figure 5.20 is his version of “Princess Royal”, which Bunting transcribed from the playing of an Irish harper called Arthur Neal, and it is noted it is labelled, by Bunting as being “by Carolan”.



Figure 5.20. “The Princess Royal” from Bunting’s *The Ancient Music of Ireland*, Vol 3, (1840:35, A-29).³⁴⁰

³³⁸ This followed five Irish harp festivals organized by a gentleman called James Dungan in Granard, Co. Longford, between the years of 1781-5. Grattan Flood (1905:XXVII) <http://www.libraryireland.com/IrishMusic/XXVII.php> viewed 06/03/13.

³³⁹ The final volume was titled simply *The Ancient Music of Ireland* and includes a “dissertation” on the harpists and their music.

³⁴⁰ [http://imslp.org/wiki/The_Ancient_Music_of_Ireland_\(Bunting,_Edward\)#Volume_3:_The_Ancient_Music_of_Ireland](http://imslp.org/wiki/The_Ancient_Music_of_Ireland_(Bunting,_Edward)#Volume_3:_The_Ancient_Music_of_Ireland) Viewed 15/01/13.

I mentioned other Anglo-Irish collectors, Goodman, Forde, Hudson and Pigot, in chapter 3 because they did not publish their manuscripts. However, they contributed various of their collected melodies to Bunting, as well as to subsequent published Irish collectors, namely George Petrie (1790-1866), Patrick Weston Joyce (1829-1914) and Captain Francis O'Neill (1848-1936) (O'Sullivan 2001:83).

Some of the melodies George Petrie collected were donated to Bunting and Smollet Holden for publication.³⁴¹ Others were published as the *Petrie Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland* (1855, A-157) (re-published 1882, A-158), but the majority of Petrie's melodies were edited and published posthumously in *The Complete Collection of Irish Music as Noted by George Petrie* in three parts between 1882 and 1902 (A-159, A-160 and A-161). His work has been re-published by Cooper and Ó Laoire (2005).

Petrie was succeeded by P W Joyce who was an Irish educationalist and "popular historian".³⁴² He published three volumes of tunes, *Ancient Irish Music* in 1873 (A-97), *Irish Music and Song* (1901, A-98) and *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs* in 1909 (A-99). About half the tunes were reportedly recollected by Joyce from his childhood in rural Co Limerick, and the remainder drawn from the manuscripts of Forde (M-59) and Pigot (M-100). An example from Joyce's collection is "Job of the Journeywork" (Figure 5.21 overleaf).

³⁴¹ Cooper, David. "Petrie, George." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed September 1, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/51127>.

³⁴² http://www.itma.ie/digitallibrary/score/Joyce_OIFMS viewed 31/10/13.



Figure 5.21. "The Job of Journeywork" from Joyce (1873, A-97).

The "collecting" activities of Petrie and Joyce were undertaken in the aftermath of the Famine when there was considerable population diaspora to the United States. Chicago was a common destination. American collections are generally outside the scope of this study, but those of Police Superintendent Captain Francis O'Neill (1848-1936) are included since they had a significant influence on later repertories due to their widespread subsequent availability in Britain and Ireland. O'Neill emigrated from Cork to Chicago, where he published 1,850 dance tunes in *O'Neill's Music of Ireland* in 1903 (A-148), followed by 1,001 tunes in *The Dance Music of Ireland* (1907, A-149).³⁴³ His sources were other Irish immigrants to that city, military pipers, performers, existing published collections including Bunting and Petrie's, and other manuscripts including one of Hudson's.³⁴⁴ Figure 5.22 is an example from *O'Neill's 1001* (1907, A-149).

³⁴³ The latter was known simply as *O'Neill's 1001* or "The Book" amongst folk musicians of the 1960's and 1970's, and was a major source for the "The Chieftans". Source: Brian Stafford, uilleann piper, personal communication 2011.

³⁴⁴ O'Neill bequeathed this manuscript to the University of Notre Dame, Indiana. A microfilm of it is in the National Library of Ireland (MS4718) (O-Sullivan 1958:82).

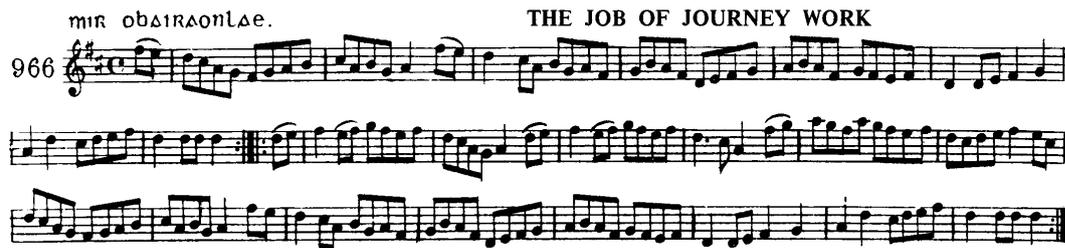


Figure 5.22. “The Job of Journey Work” from O’Neill (1907:166, A-149).

The final significant Irish collector was Francis Roche (1866-1965) from Limerick, who was a contemporary of O’Neill’s but whose collections of tunes are generally less well known. His first and second collections of tunes were published in 1912 and 1927 (re-published by Ossian 1993, C-81), and the last, called *Volume 4 - Airs and fantasies – a book of operatic selections, ballads and traditional airs*, in 1931. Some of his melodies were collected from local players. However, others were dances and “pipe marches” (presumed to be for the Great Highland Pipes) derived from earlier in his life when his family ran a dance academy in Limerick city. An example of one of his tunes is Figure 5.23. I will discuss these three different versions of “The Job” later.

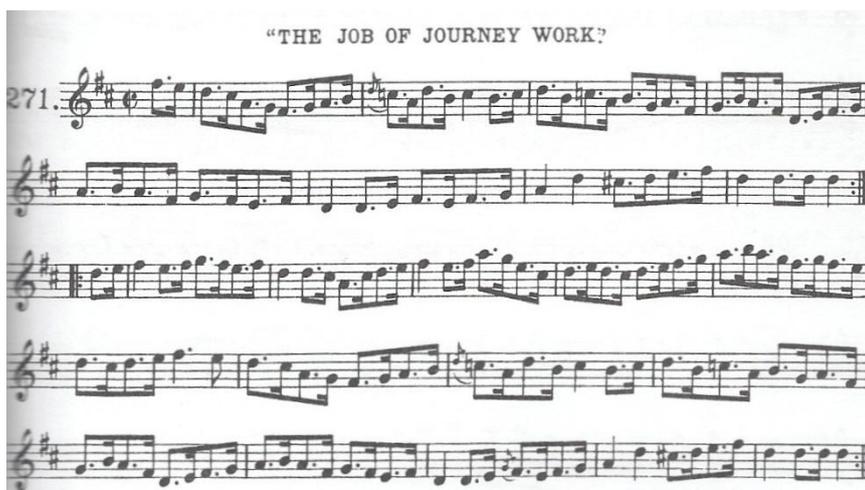


Figure 5.23. “The Job of Journey Work”, from Roche 1912 (Ossian 1993:29, C-81).

Some of these collectors were also prominent proponents of the discipline of Antiquities and would have been described, then as now, as “Antiquarians”. George Petrie was, from 1851, the president of the Society for the Preservation and Publication of the Melodies of Ireland. This was an institution aiming to preserve, classify and publish “the traditional airs noted in private collections and others among current currency amongst the peasantry” (Fleishmann 1972:195).

In England, the Musical Antiquarian Society was founded in 1840 for the “publication of scarce and valuable works by early English composers”, such as Purcell, Byrd, Wilbye,

Morley, Weelkes and Dowland.³⁴⁵ One of its co-founders was William Chappell (1809-1888) who was a member of a prominent music publishing family. Although he is not known to have collected music from the field, his scholarship has a relevance to the history of the dance tune genre because of his recognition of many tunes with their older, printed sources. One example is the tune “Haste to the Wedding”, which Chappell (139-40:129) described as “more frequently to be heard upon the chimes of country churches than any other, and usually played when a wedding is about to take place”. This tune is also in the Hardy manuscripts (M-68), and is mentioned in *Under the Greenwood Tree* (1872:218) “..as the afternoon advanced the guests gathered on the spot [a meadow beneath an ancient tree], where music, dancing, and the singing of songs went forward with great spirit throughout the evening. ... Five country dances, including “Haste to the Wedding,” two reels, and three fragments of hornpipes, brought them to the time for supper....”

The Society of Antiquities of Newcastle upon Tyne founded the Northumbrian Small Pipers Society in the 1890's to “encourage the art of playing the Northumberland smallpipes, to preserve the melodies peculiar to the English border, and to exhibit the musical pastimes of Sword Dancing, and the other traditional accompaniments of our folk music”.³⁴⁶ Their collection of locally played dance tunes was collated into the *Northumbrian Minstrelry* (1882, A-44) and included “Go to Berwick Johnny” (a concordance of Figures 3.12 and 3.13), “Peacock followed the Hen” or “Cuddle me Cuddy” (from Figure 5.15), “Andrew Carr” (a concordance of Figures 3.11, 5.6 and 5.10) and “Because He Was a Bonnie Lad” (Figure 2.1) which is a concordance from the versions in Young (1734, M-132) and Gow (1799, A-69).

Frank Kidson (1855-1926) was also a prolific collector of melodies and songs, which were published in *Traditional Tunes: A Collection of Ballad Airs, Chiefly Obtained in Yorkshire and the South of Scotland; Together with their Appropriate Words from Broad-sides and from Oral Tradition* (1891) and *A Garland of English Folk-Songs, Being a Collection of Sixty Folk-Songs, with pianoforte accompaniments by Alfred Moffat* (1926). Many of the melodies in the former were subsequently reproduced in *Folk Songs from the North Country, with their Traditional Airs, ed. by Ethel Kidson, arranged for medium voice with piano accompaniment by Alfred Moffat*, (1927) and *English Peasant Songs, with their Traditional Airs, Being the Third (and Last) Selection of Sixty Folk Songs from the Frank Kidson Collection* (1929).³⁴⁷ One of Kidson's first

³⁴⁵ Source: <http://oxfordindex.oup.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095602700>.

³⁴⁶ <http://www.northumbrianpipers.org.uk/index.php?page=History> viewed 05/01/11. Although the Society was disbanded, its core motives were later adopted by the Northumbrian Pipers' Society which was established in 1928

³⁴⁷ http://folkopedia.efdss.org/wiki/Frank_Kidson viewed 25/04/13.

publications was entitled *Old English Country Dances Gathered from Scarce Printed Collections and Manuscripts* (1890), in which the following version of “Red House” is found (Figure 5.24 below).



Figure 5.24. “Red House” from Kidson’s *Old English Country Dances* (1890:4).³⁴⁸

This melody, as with all those in this book, was copied directly from one of the country dance publications that Kidson refers to, namely, Playford’s *Dancing Master* (12th edition, 1703 and 1716) or Walsh’s *Dancing Master* (1719 etc), or else a script from a ballad opera such as *Polly* (1729), *Lover’s Opera* (1730) or *Fashionable Lady* (1720) (Kidson 1980:30). Kidson does not, however, specify which one.

Kidson’s contemporary was London school-teacher Cecil Sharp (1859-1924)³⁴⁹ who collected four thousand, nine hundred and seventy-seven dance tunes from the field between 1906 and 1914,³⁵⁰ which he published in various formats as either sole author or collaborator. The collectors I have described so far ignored any accompanying dances, reflecting how dancing had become increasingly irrelevant to the melodies (although according to Fleischmann (1972:210), some Irish dances were given to Petrie by Joyce). However, Sharp uniquely promoted the melodies in conjunction with their dances, whose choreographies he assiduously transcribed and published as companion “Parts” or “Volumes” to every booklet of melodies.

³⁴⁸ [http://imslp.org/wiki/Old_English_Country_Dances_\(Kidson,_Frank\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Old_English_Country_Dances_(Kidson,_Frank)) viewed 11/05/14.

³⁴⁹ Having had no previous involvement in antiquarian studies, Cecil Sharp began collecting vernacular music after a chance encounter with Morris dancers in the Cotswold village of Headington, Oxfordshire, on Boxing Day 1899.

³⁵⁰ Source: EFDSS website, which also states that Sharp’s fine copy manuscripts reside at Clare College, University of Cambridge. All other manuscripts and artefacts, including his field notebooks, correspondence and photograph collection, reside in the Vaughan Williams Library, EFDSS, London. <http://library.efdss.org/cgi-bin/textpage.cgi?file=aboutSharp> viewed 04/03/12.

Sharp's first series, the "Morris Book" (A-228 to A-238), was published in five parts between 1907 and 1913. It contained dances he collected from Morris sides from various Cotswolds villages. An example was "Dearest Dickie" (Figure 2.5) whose origin I have not convincingly traced,³⁵¹ but others were demonstrably older melodies, many of which had been re-named along the way. One such was "Rigs O' Marlow" (Figure 5.25) which is a concordance of "Rakes of Mallow" (Figure 5.7). This tune (under a variety of various names) also appears in various forms in several unpublished hand-written manuscripts including those of John Clare (M-43, Figure 3.2) and John Moore (book 1, P20 M-94).

14

RIGS O' MARLOW.
STICK DANCE.

Collected and arranged by
Cecil J. Sharp and Herbert C. MacIlwaine.

INTRODUCTION.
(Once to yourself.)

♩ = 176.

A

DANCE.
Play 4 times.

B

Fine.

The musical score is presented in two systems, A and B. System A contains the first two systems of music, and System B contains the next two. Each system consists of a piano accompaniment (left hand) and a fiddle melody (right hand). The piano part features a steady bass line with chords and single notes. The fiddle part is more melodic, with many sixteenth-note runs. The score is divided into sections: an introduction, a dance section (A), and a second dance section (B). The dance sections are marked with numbers 1 through 8, indicating specific measures or phrases. The piece concludes with the word 'Fine'.

Figure 5.25 "Rigs O' Marlow" from Sharp's *Morris Dance Tunes Set 1* (1907:14, A-229).

³⁵¹ "Dearest Dickie" has been stated (eg. on Fiddlers' Companion website, http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/DE_DEL.htm viewed 4/4/11) to be a variant of a jig in B flat major called "The Marquis of Harlington" (after the eldest son of the Duke of Devonshire) in Preston's *Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1801* (D-840), as well as a 16 bar double jig called "The Marquis" in William Tildesley's manuscript dated c. 1860's (M-115). From the versions I have viewed, I do not consider these associations to be convincing.

Another was “Sailor’s Hornpipe”, which Sharp collected from fiddlers Henry and Tom Cave and which he suspected was “clearly not right name” and possibly associated with music hall (Heath-Coleman 2012:191).³⁵² As with Petrie, who noted sometimes fifty variants of the same tune (Fleischmann 1972:203), Sharp also noted variants from different locations and musicians. For instance, his “Old Black Joe” from Bradby (Sharp and MacIlwaine 1913, A-237) was a variant of “Black Joke” from Adderbury (Sharp and MacIlwaine 1919:31-2, A-238), and both are versions of Figures 4.10 (page 91), 4.12 (page 93) and 5.14 (page 152). He also collected several versions of “Princess Royal”, probably reflecting the tune’s widespread recognition as a result of its use for popular songs as described in page 157. One of these versions is Figure 5.26.

PRINCESS ROYAL (FIRST VERSION).

FOOT-UP
 TRACK.....Advance six feet.....
 HANDS.....s.b. s.f. s.b. s.f.
 STEPS.....r. l. r. h.r. l. r. l. h.l.

.....stop.....

s.b. s.f. s.b. s.f. s.b. s.f.
 r. l. r. h.r. l. r. l. h.l. r. h.r. l. h.l.

.....Retire backwards.....to.....Position.

s.b. s.h.f. l. in. r. in. s.h.b. s.h.f.
 r. ∩ l. r.b. l.b. R L
 b.s._____

JIG.
 (Advance to right.....Advance to left.....
) show r. show l.
 the r. l. r. l. r. l. r. h.r. l. r. l. r.
 s.s.l b._____ r b.

Figure 5.26. “Princess Royal” from Sharp’s *The Morris Book Part 3* (1910:63, A-232).

Sharp’s subsequent *Country Dance Book* series (A-210 to A-227) was intended to be of social dances (i.e. village or “barn dances”) from rural locations in Warwickshire,

³⁵² He was right. In fact, this tune has had a few names. It was “English Clog Hornpipe” in *Kerr’s Fourth Collection of Merry Melodies* (1870’s:29 No. 272 A-100), “Almack’s Hornpipe” in *Ryan’s Mammoth Collection* (1883, A-177), the “Empire Hornpipe” in Craig’s *Empire Violin Collection of Hornpipes* (1880’s, A-48), and “Whittee Deem [Wittle Dene] Hornpipe” in various manuscripts dating to the mid eighteenth century (NPS 1936:15, A-130). This is typical of melodies adopted for stage shows, particularly the hornpipes that were used for step-dancing. It is also known as “Friendly Visit” in the Irish repertoire, thanks to its inclusion in O’Neill *The Music of Ireland* (1903, A-142) (Figure 2.3) (Heath-Coleman 2012:191,198). Its appearance in two forms in the Northumbrian repertoire reflects versions derived separately, one from O’Neill’s and the second from local (Newcastle) sources.

Derbyshire, Somerset, Surrey and Devon. The first part published in 1909 contained eighteen dances. Examples of the tunes were “Haste to the Wedding”, “Brighton Camp” and “Speed the Plough”, all of which also occur in several nineteenth century manuscripts.³⁵³ After this first volume, Sharp apparently exhausted field sources so he populated the subsequent four volumes with a hundred and fifty-eight dances entirely sourced from, and attributed to, Playford’s *Dancing Master*. An example is “Goddesses” (Figure 5.27) which is an adaptation for the piano of the Playford version (Figure 4.20).

GODDESSES.

Longways for as many as will; in eleven parts.
(The English Dancing Master, 1st Ed. 1650.)

Arranged by Cecil J. Sharp.

18419
Copyright, 1911, by Novello & Company, Limited.

Figure 5.27. “Goddesses” from Sharp’s *Country Dance Book, Part 2* (1911, A-212).

Last of all, Sharp documented the music and dances of sword dancers from various locations in Tyneside, Co. Durham and Yorkshire, including Grenoside and Handsworth in Sheffield. The result was a three-part series called the *Sword Dances of Northern*

³⁵³ For instance, “Speed the Plough” appears in various versions in many British fiddlers’ manuscripts from the nineteenth century, including those of John Clare (c. 1820, M-43), William Calvert (1820, M-41), Rev. Robert Harrison (1820, M-69), and George Spencer (1831, M-109).

England (A-239 to A-246) which was published between 1911 and 1913. An example of a tune from this series is another version of “Hunt the Squirrel” (Figure 1.9) which Sharp “collected” from a fiddler named William Preece from Hertfordshire and is presented as Figure 5.28.



Figure 5.28. “Hunting the Squirrel” from Sharp’s *The Sword Dances of Northern England*, Volume 2 (1912:15, A-241).

Other English collectors at this time were social worker Mary Neal (1860-1944) and dance teacher Maud Karpeles (1885–1976). Karpeles was responsible for the posthumous publication of Sharp’s *Dancing Master* in 1927 (A-258), and the *Graded Series* between 1926 and 1934 (A-246 to A-254), which were nine volumes of Sharp’s country dances reprinted in simpler form for use in the England and Wales schools curriculum (Boyes 2010:178). Neal was also responsible for the funding of the publications of further melodies “collected” by others, including Figure 5.29, which is one final version of “Princess Royal”.

Berkshire version.

FIDDLE *♩ = 128.*
 PIANO (ad lib.)

Play bars 1 to 8 to yourself, then twice for dancing. Play bars 9 to 24 twice.
 Finish with bars 1 to 8 played twice.

Figure 5.29. “Princess Royal” Source: Neal (1910:25)³⁵⁴ which was collected by a Mrs Tuke from Berkshire Morris dancers.

With the exception of Figures 5.24 and 5.27, the examples presented here were all collected from musically uneducated, non-professional, working-class players, but they are all concordances of tunes found in older published tune-books of various types. Conclusions may be drawn by comparing these “collected” melodies with their previously printed versions. The number of alterations increase according to the interval of time passed between the date of the published version and its being transcribed from the field. For instance, the three versions of “The Job”, Figures 5.21, 5.22 and 5.23, are similar but are not direct copies. This suggests that they were each derived from a different player, with the dotted notes and cuts in Figure 5.23 indicative of the player’s more “punchy” playing style, perhaps even Roche himself. However, such are their melodic similarities that I propose these three versions all derived from a common printed source. It obviously wasn’t the jig in Aird (1788) (Figure 5.15), but it was probably from a tune-book I have not identified which slightly predates the publication date (1873) of Joyce’s collection.

³⁵⁴ <http://www.traditionalmusic.co.uk/esperance-morris-1/esperance-morris-1%20-%200125.htm> viewed 04/03/12.

The melodies arranged for piano in the collections by Bennett, Bunting and Sharp contain introductions, chording and embellishments intended to be played literally. This is consistent with the “classical” style of playing and instruction that characterises professional performances. For instance, Figure 5.29 has the instruction “play bars 1 to 8 to yourself...”. In adopting this approach, the authors replicate the manner in which they were taught to play, rather than the use of improvised ornamentations and variations which had been the normal practice over history, which was prevalent among the players from whom the tunes were collected. Roche alone was probably the only one of these collectors who had actually played the tunes for dances.

The adaption of these transcribed melodies for the piano has gone in and out of fashion. Petrie originally collected his tunes on his violin. They were first published with piano accompaniments but were reverted to the original monophonic scripts after his death in a belated return to authenticity. Sharp’s tunes were also originally adapted for the piano (mainly by George Butterworth), but in contemporary tune-books they are now invariably simplified in accordance with their increasing use in more “mobile” environments, and the preference among players today for melody instruments such as fiddle (violin), whistle, and melodeon. Paradoxically, as improvisational playing has gained momentum over the course of the Folk Revival, the scores have been correspondingly simplified. Figure 5.29 differs from all other versions of “Princess Royal” in being in a major key³⁵⁵ and I suggest a likely, though unverified, explanation for this might have been the increased popularity of one-row melodeons in the early twentieth century.

The collectors’ main motive for collecting and publishing these tunes was preservation. They wanted to prevent from disappearing into obscurity a distinctive musical culture which they imagined dated from antiquity. The tunes were regarded as heirlooms. However, the so-called authenticity of their collections warrants careful examination given the editorial liberties they sometimes took. Petrie made many melodic adjustments. According to Fleischmann (1972:211-2), as well as alterations to rhythm and barring, Petrie adjusted the tunes’ modalities from the archaic (Mixolydian, Phrygian etc.) to the harmonic major and minor scales of the Baroque and Classical periods by sharpening the seventh degree of Dorian, Aeolian or Mixolydian melodies, and flattening the sixth of Dorian tunes. This Petrie described as adapting the “crude” music for the educated public, and Fleischmann suggests it was in accord with the practice of the day. Petrie’s alterations have been identified through comparison of his field notes against the published versions of his tunes. The extent to which some other collectors made such changes may not be so traceable, but I suggest inferences could be made from

³⁵⁵ As stated in 2.3, both minor and major versions of the tune are used by Morris sides today, with the reason for the popularity being attributed to its appearance on the influential album *Morris On* (1972).

comparisons between different versions of the same tunes in different collections. For instance, O'Neill's version of "The Job" (Figure 5.22) differs in one detail from the others (Figures 5.21 and 5.23) in that it does not flatten the C sharps in the second and third bars as would be expected for its D major key (thus removing the tune's distinctive modulation). This may have been the particular way in which the player learnt it, perhaps arising from a copying error. Alternatively, it could reflect the fact that accidentals were frequently omitted in older printed sources.³⁵⁶ However, it could also have been O'Neill's well-meaning intervention akin to Petrie's. Whatever the reason, I have noticed that this modal ambiguity is common today, particularly within the Irish repertory. The fourth bar of "Garret Barry's" is one example, where sometimes the G is flattened to F#.

Some collectors were guilty of extreme interventionism such as the subjective replacement of tunes they actually collected in the field with others they acquired elsewhere. This was ironic given their stated preservationist objectives. Some, including Bunting, Joyce, Petrie, Kidson and Sharp, provided detailed explanatory notes documenting their sources, which is how we know this happened. In his *Sword Dances* series (A-239 to A-245), Sharp explained how he substituted several melodies where he considered the original tune to be "without interest". For instance, he collected a version of "Hunting the Squirrel" (Figure 5.28) in Hertfordshire but decided to publish it as the music for the rapper dances he collected from Salwell, Earsdon and Beadnell in Northumberland (Sharp 1912:preface, A-242). Other examples are his substitution of three Playford tunes "Cobblers Jig", "Country Courtship" and "May Day Dance" to accompany the "Sleights" longsword dance he transcribed from the village of Sleights in North Yorkshire (Sharp 1912:preface, A-241). As stated previously, most of the tunes the northern English sword dancers used at this time were reportedly from *Kerr's Merry Melodies* (Heaton 2012:215) but there is no evidence they had access to Playford's books. Other collectors, such as O'Neill and Roche, admitted their tunes were from a variety of sources, including named vernacular players and printed sources, but they did not disclose the source of each tune. Hudson reportedly inserted his own tunes into his collections which he "passed off" as genuine traditional melodies (O'Sullivan 2001:81) and which may well have ended up in O'Neill (A-148, A-149).

The widespread availability of facsimiles of primary sources on the Internet now makes it easier to interpret the origins and histories of some of the tunes that the collectors published. I suggest minor variations involving ornamentation, meter and name would have occurred over the passage of time since a tune was learnt from a book. Other

³⁵⁶ The resulting modal ambiguity was described in chapter 4, in the context of Playford, using information from Barlow (1985:10). Stewart (2011:2) additionally observes that early eighteenth century publishers did not have the option of the natural sign, and "neutralised" any sharp or flat notes with its opposite. This is also referred to by Roberts http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/info_files/atkinson_info.htm viewed 12/12/12, who in turn, quotes Grove v2.

changes such as modality and, in particular, translation of the name into Welsh or Gaelic, including the addition of lyrics,³⁵⁷ were likely to have been deliberate interventions by a collector. Where such interventions occurred, I propose these were the final stage of the “antiquarianisation” process.

5.6 Summary of Chapter 5

I have used dance tunes from the primary reference sources listed in Appendix 4 to describe my proposed “antiquarianisation” process. This is the process whereby dance tunes originally published for the benefit of the musically literate, mobile middle classes, have acquired, in the minds of later Antiquarian collectors, an imagined ancient and locationally static history and as a result, they were collected in the field by Antiquarians under philanthropic, preservationist motives. They were printed in resulting collections under titles emphasising their ancient or regional provenance. Consequently, some dance tunes promoted as being “new” in the published country dance books of the eighteenth century, ended up being termed “ancient” by the late nineteenth century. By this process, the dance tune genre has become increasingly thought of as having originated in antiquity, and “traditional” in nature. This is the process I call antiquarianisation.

³⁵⁷ Petrie, Bunting and Joyce all included song texts to some editions of their melodies, which in some cases were justified (having been collected originally as a song) but in other cases were English lyrics supplied by others.

6 The Re-Construction of the History of Dance Tunes

I have proposed that the dance tune genre originated among the European aristocracy in the late fifteenth century and had disseminated throughout the middle, urban classes of the entire British Isles by the end of the eighteenth century. This contrasts with received modern descriptions that imply the genre is “ancient”, “traditional”, “of the folk” and variously “Irish”, “Scottish”, or “Celtic”. This suggests there has been a process of deconstruction and subsequent reconstruction of the understanding of the genre’s history. In the previous chapter I used examples of tunes from primary reference source documents listed in appendix 4 to suggest how this process might have begun. These show how the tunes began to adopt national or regional provenances, followed by Antiquarian collectors who assumed their supposed antiquity. I now explore this further through consideration of the cultural ideologies which have perpetuated and enhanced this “antiquarianization”. I discuss the origin of the assumption that the genre was a culture of the working classes (which I call “vernacularisation”) and I also describe the “cultural survivals theory”. I argue that both are outmoded romanticised inventions drawn from anachronistic theories, and are overdue reconsideration. I refer to contemporary tune-books and literature sources to illustrate how these romantic ideas continue to dominate studies of dance tunes today.

6.1 Cultural Nationalism and Regionalism

I have provided many examples of how dance tunes are invariably regarded as belonging to some specific region of Britain or Ireland. I have suggested that in fact they originated as a pan-European aristocratic ballroom culture which entered every part of Britain Ireland firstly due to imperial standardisation (facilitated by the publishing industry and the professional dancing masters) and secondly as a result of dancing masters having to adjust their client base following changing elite fashions. I have also referred to tunes in historical tune-books to illustrate the beginnings of nationalism and sub-nationalism, or regionalism, whereby tunes began to be marketed as being associated with provincial political or administrative regions. I now provide examples of how this nationalism continues to influence the understanding of the history of the dance tune genre today.

“Scottish country dancing” has retained a relevance and accessibility throughout the historical period I have considered thanks to its sustained promotion by the topmost tiers of society, including Queen Victoria, who engaged a dancing master called Lowe when she bought Balmoral Castle in Aberdeenshire in 1852. The earliest books of country dances published in London included Walsh’s series of *Caledonian Country Dances* dating from 1733 to 1740 (A-192, also D-310 to D-316). Subsequent titles demonstrate

how Scottish dances continued to be popular throughout Britain and Ireland right from the later eighteenth century to the present day. Though not strictly “Caledonian” or “Highland”, this repertory of dance tunes could be considered as represing a continuous, unbroken tradition since the first “basse dances” were introduced by the nobility to Perthshire from the continent in the fifteenth century.

Closer examination of today’s repertory of “Scottish country dances” shows how, despite the longevity of the culture, the current repertory is somewhat hybrid due to the successive incorporation of other “non-Scottish” dances over time; some aspects of which were recognized in Flett (1964) and inadvertently alluded to by Emmerson (1971). However, the very name “Scottish country dancing” probably reflects the incorporation of the country dance style, as originally devised in London, into the Scottish repertory in the mid eighteenth century, possibly by way of tune-books published by Oswald and Gow. Field studies in the early twentieth century described by Flett (1964) charted how the incorporation of English style country dances was restricted to lowland Scotland and didn’t extend as far as the Highlands and Islands. Coupe (2010:693-4) describes how the “eightsome reel” developed in the aristocratic “Highland balls” (of the Lowland regions) over the 1880s and 1890’s by combining the melodies and steps of polished quadrille figures with the “indigenous reels”. Even the twentieth century rainy-day school stables, “Dashing White Sergeant” and “The Gay Gordons”, are English hybrids. “Dashing White Sergeant” was composed by an Englishman,³⁵⁸ and the “Gay Gordons” was a couple dance from the English ballrooms adapted to a tune by Scott Skinner.³⁵⁹

As well as Scotland, the Northumbrian repertory also had its “tradition” augmented with imports from elsewhere. Some Northumbrian tunes are “well known to be Scottish or Irish ...We lay no claim to them” (NPS 1985:Introduction). This statement may relate to recent times, whereby Irish tunes such as “Madame Bonaparte” and “Friendly Visit” were absorbed into the Northumbrian repertory probably as a result of twentieth century performances and media broadcasts. However, many tunes in the Northumbrian Pipers Society tune-books were derived from older sources such as Peacock, who in turn, reproduced and augmented melodies from a variety of sources, including the published books of country dances published in London, stage songs, and tune-books written by Scottish dance masters such as Gow and Marshall.

³⁵⁸ The tune was composed by Sir Henry Rowley Bishop (1786 -1855) who was an English composer who worked for all the major theatres of London, and is most famous for the song "Home! Sweet Home!" as well as the composer or arranger of some hundred and twenty dramatic works, including eighty operas, light operas, cantatas, and ballets. He was Professor of Music at Oxford University and the first musician to be knighted. The dance was influenced by the Scotch reel and Swedish country dances and was first published in 1826. <http://www.scotlandsmusic.com/dashing-white-sergeant.htm> viewed 27/01/13.

³⁵⁹The dance was adapted at the turn of the twentieth century adapted to a tune composed and published by James Scott Skinner in the 1880’s or 1890’s, published in his *Monikie Series* (No. 3) <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/scottskinner/display.php?ID=JSS0699> viewed 27/01/13. The *Collins Pocket Reference* (“A Guide to SCD”) states the dance was “collected by Mary Stoker”, a member of the RSDS.

By contrast, rather than accepting and incorporating into the repertory tunes from an acknowledged variety of sources, I have observed that often in England the contemporary preoccupation is to “ring-fence” tunes into ever more localized geographies, such as English counties for example. This is illustrated by recently published tune-book titles such as *Traditional Tunes from Gloucestershire* (2004, C-74), *The South Yorkshire Tunebook* (1996, C-63 and 1997, C-64) and *Before the Night was Out: Traditional Music from Suffolk* (2007, C-24). These contain tunes derived either from the playing of local players, or else tunes contained in manuscripts originating from within their stated county boundaries. The result is that specific tunes are misleadingly attributed with geographic origins. Rowlands (2009:14) assumes “Tripping up the Stairs” originated in the Scottish Borders on the basis of its appearance in eighteenth and nineteenth century manuscripts from the Borders and northern England³⁶⁰ despite his own research identifying its earliest written appearances to have been in books of country dances published in London.³⁶¹ The result is that particular tunes are increasingly and incorrectly attributed to origins from specific localities. Shepherd (2011:23) describes the “Duke of York March” in Joshua Jackson’s manuscript (1798, M-82) as being one of the tunes having a “Yorkshire flavour”. However, names with “Duke” or “Duchess” are one of the most common category in the published country dance collections of Appendix 3. From Appendix 3, I have also identified ten country dances published between 1665 and 1807 with “Duke of York” in the name,³⁶² including two completely different tunes called “Duke of York’s March”.³⁶³ This reflects the fact

³⁶⁰ Namely Vickers (1770, M-117), Sutherland (c.1785, M-111), Winship (c.1810-40, M-128), Rook (1840, M-102) and Crawhall (c.1872, M-53) (Rowlands (2009).

³⁶¹ Rowlands (2009:14) identifies the earliest known version of “Tripping up the Stairs” to be a dance tune called “Trip it Upstairs” in Johnson’s *A Choice Collection of 200 Favourite Country Dances...Vol. 4th... 1748 Perform’d at Court, Bath, Tunbridge & all publick places* (1748, D-101). Of this collection, Rowlands states “Johnston was a collector, not a composer”, which is an incorrect attribution of antiquarian motives to this commercial publication. Again according to Rowlands, the tune is repeated in two further country dance publications dated 1756 and 1757. I have verified this to be three, namely Walsh 1755/6 (D-309/845), Walsh 1755 (D-316) and Thompson (1757, D-266). Its first appearance in an unpublished manuscript was in Vickers (1770, M-117).

³⁶² “Duke of York at Berlin” (Skillern 1795), “The Duke of York” (Thompson 1762, 1765), “The Duke of York’s Birth Day” (Preston, 1807), “The Duke of York’s Cotillion” (Campbell 1790, Skillern 1791, 1796, Thompson 1791), “[The] Duke of York’s Delight” (Playford 1679, 1686, 1690 1695, 1698, 1701, 1703, 1706, 1709, 1713, 1716, 1721, 1728, Walsh 1718), “[The] Duke of York’s Fancy” (Straight & Skillern 1768, 1775, Cahusac 1790, Longman & Brod 1794), “Duke of York’s March” (Playford 1665), “The Duke of York’s Quick Step” (Longman & Brod 1795, Campbell 1796), “The Duke of York’s Rant” (Walsh 1766) and “Duke of York’s Whim” (Goulding 1789).

³⁶³ The oldest “Duke of York’s March” is in Playford (1665, D-4). A completely different “Duke of York’s March” is in Aird’s volume 4 (A-14,p.23) which is dated variously between 1778 and 1801, and resembles the version in Jackson (1798, M-82). This tune is reportedly still in use today as a regimental slow-march. It is found in the manuscripts of the fife players of the 42nd Regiment (the Black Watch) dated 1813 (National Library of Scotland, reference MSS 21739-21744) of which the Duke of York was patron. Source <http://www.campin.me.uk/Flute/Webrelease/Flute/08Black/08Black.htm> viewed 07/12/13. However, Merryweather (1994, C-75) suggested that the melody was composed by a John Gamidge in 1789 “to be played by the York Waits” (http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/DT_DUMPE.htm viewed 07/12/13) but not independently verified. Another theory (http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/DT_DUMPE.htm viewed 18/01/13) is that the march was composed in 1805, soon after the Duke of York’s appointment as Colonel of the Grenadier Guards, but this theory that does not equate with its publication date in Aird.

that that there were four different holders of the title over this period,³⁶⁴ the title being honorary and traditionally bestowed upon a royal prince with no connections to the city of York. I also identified that this tune is additionally found in unpublished hand-written manuscripts sourced from Shropshire, Cumbria and Lincolnshire so I summarize that fundamentally, the tune has no particular exclusive connection with Yorkshire.

I described how many tunes have become thought of as being “Irish” by virtue of their appearance in publications published in Dublin, which was often due to their association with ballad operas. This “Irishness” is compounded by their appearances in tune-books such as *Neal’s The Most Celebrated Irish Tunes* (1724, A-138), O’Farrell’s *Pocket Companion* (1804-10, A-141) and O’Neill’s *1001* (1907, A-149). Examples are “Maggie Lauder” (Figure 5.4)³⁶⁵ and “Rakes of Mallow” (Figure 5.1), whose so-called “Irishness” is arguable given their known earlier presence in Scotland. Nowhere is this more controversial than in relation to the tunes attributed to Turlough O’Carolan. For instance, “Princess Royal” (Figures 4.8, 5.11, 5.20, 5.26 and 5.29) has been described as both English and Irish, and even sometimes Scottish.³⁶⁶ Opinion as to whether it is of English or Irish origin remains contentious.³⁶⁷ Those supporting the Irish origin believe it was composed by Carolan and found its way into Wright’s and Walsh’s country dance collections in c.1730, when Carolan was sixty. For those favouring the English origin, the theory is that the version recalled by Arthur O’Neill and published by Bunting in 1840 (Figure 5.20) was Carolan’s adaptation of a country dance published in England, such as that of Wright’s (Figure 4.8). It may reasonably be inferred that Carolan heard the tune from the society balls and ballad operas of Dublin, a city with which he was perfectly familiar in the 1730’s. Whilst I have no definitive new evidence, I suggest that the origins of such tunes should be re-considered in the light of the historical social

³⁶⁴ The first within this period of history was James (1633-1701), younger brother of King Charles II, who was created Duke of York in 1644 and held the title until he inherited the crown in 1685. The next was Ernest Augustus, (1674-1728) younger brother of King George I, created Duke in 1716, and was a military commander during the War of the Spanish Succession. Other country dances were named after him (chapter 4). The next Duke was Edward (1739-1767), younger brother of King George III, was given the title in 1760. The fourth was Frederick Augustus (1763-1827), the younger son of King George III, who was created Duke of York in 1784 and held the title until his death in 1827. It was this last Duke who pursued a high profile military career of mixed success and inspired a scurrilous ballad now widely known as a nursery rhyme.

³⁶⁵ “About Maggie Lauder, Hardiman wrote “The air, as well as the words, of “Maggie Laird”, though long naturalised in North Britain, is Irish. When our Scottish kinsmen were detected appropriating the ancient saints of Ireland, they took a fancy to its music. Not satisfied with borrowing the art, they despoiled us of some of our sweetest airs, and amongst others, that of “Maggie Laird”. This name signifies in the original, strong or powerful Maggy, and by it was meant Ireland.” Grattan Flood (1905:ChXIX)

³⁶⁶ The Scottish provenance was claimed by *Royal Scottish Country Dance Society’s Book 2* due to its appearance in *Gow’s Repository* (1802, A-70, Figure 5.11). I even found a version of the tune on line labelled “Turlough O’Carolan (Scotland)”: <http://www.contemplator.com/carolan/princess.gif> viewed 14/04/14.

³⁶⁷ Frank Kidson (1894) argued that the original occurrence of the tune in the country dance collections of the 1730’s is evidence of its English origin. In contrast, Irish scholars Grattan Flood (1910) and O’Sullivan (1958:254) both assert its Irish origin, with the latter re-iterating the unsubstantiated statement of Grattan Flood that it was written by O’Carolan in about 1725 in honour of a daughter of a MacDermott. However, the tune was noted by Bunting to have been “composed by Carolan for the daughter of MacDermott Roe, the representative of the old princes of Coolavin”. O’Sullivan accepts that the McDermott Roes, the patrons of Carolan, were unconnected with the Princes of Coolavin (it was another family called simply the McDermotts) and they did not have a daughter at the time.

contexts that I have described in this study. Relevant in this particular case would be the fact that the adaption of popular, published country dance melodies by blind harpers was not unusual, as was evident in the collections from the playing of Welsh harpers published by Jones (1784, A-96) and Bennett (1896, A-17, A-18).

The most glaring misnomer of all is the assumption that the entire musical genre is “Irish”. This was the most commonly-held view in the literature sources I reviewed. Given the course of Irish history, there were and remain understandable motives behind the promotion of a specifically Irish musical culture both at home³⁶⁸ and abroad³⁶⁹. As Campbell (2012:57-8) states, “academics, enthusiasts and exponents of traditional music in the Republic of Ireland are similarly committed to creating an association of music with regional identity. The creation of a distinct national musical identity has been the *raison d'être* of *Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann*, the Irish cultural and musical association, since its inception in 1951”. Campbell also observes its connotation with the theory of cultural area, (*Kulturkreislehre*), as applied to folk music in Germany by Werner Danckert and Albrecht Schneider, which linked tune with history and ethnology. The result is that Ethnomusicologists often regard the “sense of place” and “cultural core” associated with folk music as an aspect of musical nationalism. However, as I began to suspect during my literature research and confirmed from my study of written musical scores, neither the dances nor the musical genre of dance tunes originated in Ireland. Any claim that they did effectively re-writes history. One illustration of this opinion is the suggestion that tunes from sixteenth century Ireland were the source of pieces written for lute and virginal in some of the English manuscripts I described, such as the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*. An example of such a theory is found in Wikipedia:

The theme was “Sellinger's Round” or “The Beginning of the World”, an Irish dance tune, as harmonised for the keyboard by William Byrd, the leading composer from the time of Elizabeth I.³⁷⁰

This implies that tunes of this musical genre travelled from Ireland to England in the sixteenth century. This is the reverse of the predominant direction of general cultural drift over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (resulting in Ireland adding to its existing artistic cultures by absorbing and assimilating cultures from Britain and the continent), as demonstrated by accounts such as Grattan Flood (1905), Breathnach (1985a,c), Ó hAllmhuráin (1998), McArdle (2008). There are indeed musical pieces

³⁶⁸ The Gaelic League, a nationalist organization founded in 1893 to promote the preservation of the Irish Language, sponsored Francis Roche's later collections (Ossian 1993, C-81).

³⁶⁹ Exile Captain Francis O'Neill (1907:1) admitted his motivation for his collecting dance tunes as being one of the “Sea-divided Gaels...[with] the love of the spirited tunes of the fatherland”.

³⁷⁰ Wikipedia entry on “Variations on an Elizabethan Theme”, 1952: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Variations_on_an_Elizabethan_Theme viewed 10/05/13.

called “The Irish Ho-Hoane”³⁷¹ and “The Irish Dumpe”³⁷² in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (Fuller Maitland and Squire 1963:VI,87 and VII,236), but there are other aspects to the historic use of the word “Irish” rather than meaning literally originating from Ireland. Firstly, the aristocratic “disguisings” and masked balls of the sixteenth century, and their successors the Early Stuart masques, were all highly emblematic and featured many regional stereotypes. An “Irish Dance” is thought to have been part of a masque called “The Masque of Flowers” (1614)³⁷³ and was accompanied by companion dances named “Cornish Dance”, “Welsh Dance” and “Scottish Dance” (Sabot 1978:619), all of which I suggest were devised by the same hired professionals.³⁷⁴ Playford’s *Dancing Master* included other “Irish” names, but there were other country dances with names evoking a variety of foreign places, such as “Jamaica”, “A la mode de France”, “A Morisco”, “America”, “Barcelona”, “Galliaro”, “The Canary’s”, “Czar of Muscovy”, and several “Sarabands” including one “to dance with Castanets”. The use of such “foreign” names for dances continued with the masked balls of the eighteenth century, such as “Spanish Gypsie”, “A la Mode de France”, “Irish Trot” and “Jamaica” in Walsh’s *The Complete Country Dancing Master, particularly those performed at the several Masquerades* (1718, D-299). Similar tune names continue to be found in early nineteenth century publications, but probably as a result of replication. None of them were collected from those literal geographic locations. As Thurston (1952:32) says in his description of Chivers’ *The Modern Dancing Master* (1822):

These dances [écossoises, Spanish dances and Circassian circles] have as little to do with Scotland, Spain and Circassia as German measles with Germany”. (Thurston 1952:32)

In addition, the term “Irish” itself has had a number of meanings over time. Not only did it once mean “nonsense” (Forsyth 2011) but over much of history up until the nineteenth century, “Irish” was used by both the Lowland Scots and the English to mean the both the people and the Gaelic language of the Scottish Highlands as well as Ireland.³⁷⁵

³⁷¹ Fleishmann (1998:2) suggests that “Irish Ho-Hoane” in the Fitzwilliam Manuscript is related to “Ochón” being Gaelic for “lament”. This may have originated from a Gaelic speaking servant of the household, for example, but there is no way of knowing.

³⁷² A “dump” was an old dance form. It is mentioned twice by Shakespeare, in “Lucrece” (ver. 161) and in *Romeo and Juliet* (IV, 5).

³⁷³ Masquarade performed on 6th January 1614 at the Banqueting House in Whitehall, to celebrate the marriage of the earl of Somerset and Lady Frances Howard. Sabot (1978:4).

³⁷⁴ There is also an “Irlender Tanz” in William Brade’s *Newe Ausserlesene liebliche Branden* (1617, Item 26) (Sabot, 1978:619). This is one of many similarities with English manuscripts which illustrate the mobile nature of the profession masquewrights.

³⁷⁵ Paul Roberts, writing on the VMP website http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/info_files/atkinson_info.htm viewed 02/05/11, observes how, thanks to their shared history (the communities were politically united with Northern Ireland through the “MacDonald Lordship of the Isles” until 1493) the Scottish Highlands and Islands were regarded as outposts of Ireland throughout the period of the Jacobite Rebellions in the early eighteenth century, with the shared Gaelic language and culture still evident at this time. Many references record how the Highland gentry prior to their disintegration in 1745 routinely hired bards and harpers from Ireland and Grattan Flood (1905:ChVIII & IX) also includes references to many

Hence, it is unsound to assume that tunes with so-called “Irish” names literally came directly from the indigenous population of modern day Ireland.

The quotation which might have been the earliest to assume the genre had Irish origins is Frank Kidson’s contribution to the first edition of *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians* in 1904:

Fitzwilliam Virginal Book ... contains three Irish airs, the earliest examples of Irish national music which we possess..... Playford's Dancing Master, has several Irish airs scattered through its different editions”.³⁷⁶

I have not made a study of the chronology of subsequent like-minded quotes, but it undoubtedly influenced later scholars, of which another example I encountered during this study is:

Irish traditional music is one of the richest treasuries of folk music in the world. Since it belongs to an oral tradition, most of it has already been lost, and what has been recorded is only partly available – in Irish collections after 1724, and before that scattered among early Scottish and English manuscript and printed collections. (Fleishmann 1998:PXVII).

Such comments by scholars such as Kidson and Fleischmann give academic authority to the assumed Irish origin of this musical genre, and their influence remains evident in subsequent popular and academic perception.

There have been equivalent attempts to assign “Welshness” to dance tunes. The apparent dearth of unpublished manuscripts suggests that in the eighteenth century, dance tunes did not penetrate Wales to any great extent, either through balls, or staged entertainments such as ballad operas or the music hall. I encountered only one reference to a Welsh manuscript, that of Alawon John Thomas (1752, M-113), which, as in common with the other manuscripts, contains dance tunes copied from both pre-existing (English) country dance publications as well as instructional tune-books such as Thurmoth (1745-50, A-189). Nonetheless, exponents of so-called “Welsh” dance tunes of this genre include bands such as Crasdant,³⁷⁷ and tune book collections such as the 1992 collection called *Blodau'r Grug – 100 Popular Welsh Folk Dance Tunes* (C-53). The Welsh National Folk Dance Society makes statements such as:

itinerant harpers existing in Scotland until the eighteenth century whose nationalities, according to modern definitions, were ambiguous.

³⁷⁶Frank Kidson’s contribution to “Irish Music – Bibliography”, http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/kid_txt1.htm#l624 viewed 05/02/13.

³⁷⁷Welsh record label “Sain” website <http://www.sainwales.com/en/artists/crasdant> viewed 07/04/13..

Playford had been collecting and publishing Welsh dances such as Meillionen and Abergenni since the mid seventeenth century a number of Welsh dances went into the British/English collections. They tended to keep their original Welsh names in translation to English, the dance "Hoffedd ap Hywel" became "Powell's Fancy" for example.³⁷⁸

An example of how certain English country dances have acquired a false "Welshness" is a dance called "Oswestry Wake". It is called "Dawns Croesoswallt" (a direct translation of the name) in *Blodau'r Grug* (1992, C-53) and subsequently in the 2012 collection *Dawnsie Twmpath* (translated as "Welsh Barn Dance") by Eddie Jones, a book described as being a "collection of popular Welsh folk dances". Incidentally, on "The Session" website it is described as a "traditional Irish jig".³⁷⁹ However, these versions of the tune have been directly copied from the books of country dances published in London in the early eighteenth century, such as Walsh's *24 New Country Dances for the Year 1716* (D-279), Walsh's *Complete Country Dancing Master 1719* (D-303), or Playford's *Dancing Master 1718* and *1728* (D-22, D-23).

The second example is the "Llanover Welsh Reel", Figure 6.1 below.

LLANOVER WELSH REEL Arr. W.S. GWYNN WILLIAMS

Handwritten notes:
 1. Horns (2cc)
 2. Jig
 3. 3 hands
 4. Harp
 5. Gallop
 6. Swing
 7. Ring
 8. Bridge
 F 1 8
 ice nut

I. TOWARDS THE HARP.

A1 Man takes the inside hand of both Women and, on first note of music, raises them to shoulder height. Man leads both Women forward . . . 4 bars, all bow and move backwards to first position . . . 4 bars.

A2 Repeat.

FIGURE OF EIGHT

A1 The "Figure of Eight" is danced between each figure, except "Round the Room" and the final "Towards the Harp." It is a kind of Hey for 3, but is definitely a figure of 8, rather than a Straight Hey. Both Women start forward, bearing towards the Harp and towards each other, passing by the right shoulder in the centre of the 8. All three dancers move round the same track, the Man starting away from the Harp towards the right and following the 1st W. round. He does not actually encounter either Woman, but crosses the centre of the 8 alone. The second time both Women meet in the centre they pass by the left.

Handwritten notes:
 1st woman left shoulder
 2nd right.

MUSIC. The first 8 bars of music (A1), repeated once (A2), are played for the "Figure of Eight" and "Towards the Harp." The second 8 bars (B1), repeated once (B2), are played for all other figures. In "Round the Room" the second 8 bars (B), are played 4 times, as there is no "Figure of Eight" before the circle.

(4)

(5)

A2 This figure is always repeated, the dancers facing in the same direction for the repetition.

Figure 6.1. Notation of the melody for the dance "Llanover Welsh Reel" arranged for Harp or Piano, published by W.S Gwynn Williams as a pamphlet in 1944 (pages 4-5) (reprinted from his *Welsh National Music and Dance*, 1933, A-82).

³⁷⁸ <http://dawnsio.com/en/dances/welsh-folk-dance-history/> viewed 02/04/13.

³⁷⁹ <http://thesession.org/tunes/12488> viewed 07/12/13.

This dance was performed in 1944 by student teachers in a University Folk Dancing Society pictured in Figure 6.2.



Figure 6.2. The Folk Dancing Team from the University of Wales who performed “Llanover Welsh Reel” in Welsh national costume at the Gymnastic Display, Inter-College Week, 1944-5.

The costume chosen by the dancers would suggest that they, not to mention the audience, were under the impression that they were performing a revived traditional dance of vernacular origin, i.e. a “folk dance”. The preface of the pamphlet which is the source of Figure 6.1 states that the dance was revived using the children of Llanover School on St. David’s Day, 1918, thanks to the recollection of the daughter of Welsh harpist Thomas Gruffydd (1815-87).

However, the reality is more complex. The pamphlet also admits that the tune is a “variant” of the dance tune “Jones’s Hornpipe”, found in Edward Jones’ *A New Set of Favourite Country Dances, Cotillons and Allemands* published about 1780-90. Although untraced for this study, this publication is expected to have been consistent with those listed in Appendix 3.³⁸⁰ Furthermore, Llanover Estate (near Cardiff), where harpist John Jones was employed (mentioned in Bennett, 1896, A-17), was the seat of an English aristocrat named Lady Llanover (1802–1896) who was one of the leaders of the picturesque romantic side of the Welsh revival, and patron of innumerable Welsh causes.³⁸¹ She is particularly remembered for the furthering (and possibly inventing) of “Celtic Studies” and encouraging the production and use of the traditional Welsh triple harp by employing a resident harpist from the 1830’s (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1994:80).

³⁸⁰ This has not been verified as this document was not found within the sources used for Appendix 3 and I was unable to locate it elsewhere. However, its name could have been given to an existing tune. Perhaps this publication by Edward Jones was selected by the resident harper because of his Welsh-sounding name.

³⁸¹ Augusta, Lady Llanover (nee Waddington) was an heiress who married Benjamin Hall, a prominent Monmouthshire landowner and industrialist, and minister in Palmerston’s government. He was responsible for the completion of the Palace of Westminster, for which was ennobled. “Big Ben” is named after him. (Hobsbawm & Ranger:1994:80). Lady Llanover also structured her household on what she considered to be Welsh traditions, including providing her staff with costumes, and is accredited with “inventing” the “national costume of Wales”. The stovepipe-style hat in particular has no known vernacular history that predates this account, and is thought to be an adaption of a lady’s riding helmet.

The Welsh National Folk Dance Society states that the dance “Llanover Welsh Reel” was performed by servants of the Llanover House mansion to entertain family and guests.³⁸² This may be true, but the entertainment was the product of a Victorian idealist creating an artificial “folk” heritage, which included so-called “traditional” Welsh dance tunes selected from books of country dances published by London publishing houses, at least one of which may have been picked because of its being associated with someone called Jones.

Hence, two English-derived country dances have been chosen in modern tune-books as having Welsh associations perhaps because Jones is a common Welsh surname, and Oswestry is a town in the Welsh borders. Incidentally, the author of the source of “Llanover Welsh Reel”, W.S. Gwynn Williams, who was responsible for the influential *Welsh National Music and Dance* in 1933 (A-82),³⁸³ is on record as saying “I started the nationalist movement within Welsh music”.³⁸⁴

Finally I consider the contribution made by the “Celtic” moniker to current studies and perception. As I stated in my literature review, the term is now widely used by commentators on “world music”, particularly those culturally and geographically distanced from the genre. This is despite the fact that proponents of the dance tune traditions in England, Northumbria and the Shetlands, for instance, will argue that these localities lie outside the so-called “Celtic Fringe”. Despite this, the term has gained prominence in recent years with respect to the dance tune genre. It has achieved academic legitimacy through book titles such as those mentioned, as well as popular recognition from commercial enterprises such the festival “Celtic Connections”, the recording business (e.g. *Celtic Tradition*, 1996, Tara Music), modern tune books (such as *Celtic Fiddle Tunes*, C-14), and innumerable websites containing dance tune notation, such as “Ceolas - the home of Celtic music on the internet” (<http://ceolas.org/ceolas.html>), and suppliers of “Celtic instruments” such as “Celtic Renaissance” (<http://www.celticrenaissancemusic.com/>). The latter advertises instruments for sale such as accordions, fiddles, bodhráns, guitars and bouzoukis,³⁸⁵ none of which are connected with either the historical Celts, or the current geographic extent of the “Celtic Fringe”.

³⁸² <http://dawnsio.com/dawnsfeydd/dawnsfeydd-llanover/ril-llanover/> viewed 23/09/12.

³⁸³ W. S. Gwynn Williams (1896-1978) was the secretary of the Welsh Folk Song Society from 1933 and editor of its Journal, and founded the Llangollen National Eisteddfod. <http://www.myglyw.org.uk/index.php?id=4340> viewed 08/11/13.

³⁸⁴ National Library of Wales website, “Warfare to Welfare” (MYGLYW) <http://www.myglyw.org.uk/index.php?id=4340> viewed 08/11/13.

³⁸⁵ “From the thump of the Bodhrán to the airy rasp of the wooden flute, celtic music is known by its instruments”. Source <http://www.ceolas.org/instruments/> viewed 07/04/13.

In the historical tune collections, its early use was in relation to publications of music for the Great Highland Bagpipe bands of the Highland military regiments. An example is Purdey's *Celtic Melodies, being a collection of original slow highland airs, pipe reels, and Cainttearachd, selected and arranged by a Highlander*, dated 1830 or before (A-170 and A-171). By the twentieth century, the term "Celtic" seems to have gained a wider definition, possibly thanks again to the Irish struggle to assert and preserve its cultural identity.³⁸⁶ Again, academic weight is provided by some scholars:

[The dance tunes] "stand as one of the monuments of a Celtic culture which had permeated north-western Europe in the past". (Fleischmann 1988).

One implication relevant to the study of dance tunes is that false significance is assumed between the melodies and the instruments now popularly perceived as being "Celtic". For instance, Figure 2.2 is a version of Gow's "Drummond Castle" which is written for the "Celtic harp". This is a complete antithesis of its original form played at the Perthshire aristocratic balls,³⁸⁷ which would have been by a string consort. The artificial raising of the relevance of the bagpipes³⁸⁸ is also evident in modern interpretations of historical collections. Scott Skinner's reel and strathspey (Figures 3.17 and 3.18) were stated, by the source location of these versions (the Aberdeen University website) to have bass lines for bagpipe drones. However, their basses were written for violincello or harpsichord. That "Trip up Stairs" was originally written for the bagpipes is assumed by Rowlands (2009) despite its first appearance in published books of country dances derived from London in the early eighteenth century, as stated earlier. His opinion is based on the fact that the tune is written in A Mixolydian, stating that "the key of "A" is often a pointer to a tune having been written on pipes" (Rowlands 2009:14). Seattle (1995:7-8) similarly suggests that Dixon's manuscript (1733, M-56) was written for the mouth-blown and conically bored "Border pipes" (or "Lowland", "half-long" or "pastoral" pipes) despite there being reportedly no indication of this in the manuscript. His argument rests on the fact that all the written versions of the tunes in the manuscript lack accidentals, despite their being present in the same tunes in older sources. He

³⁸⁶ The musical genre was regarded as a putative link to the past, "in which are embedded in the term "Celtic" layers of meaning and symbolic implication; conjuring the image of a "Golden Age" of Irish culture, a pure and ideal past" (Reiss 2003:149).

³⁸⁷ The Gow publications were typically dedicated to the "nobility and gentry of Scotland", or "the noblemen and Gentlemen of the Caledonian Hunt".

³⁸⁸ According to Carolan (2012), the bagpipes "have a long connection with vernacular musical forms in mainland Britain from the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries". This is contradicted by Merryweather (2000, 2001, 2002), who argues that the bagpipes were only introduced to Britain and Ireland in the sixteenth century as a result of the wool trade with the continent, and that depictions of bagpipes in Medieval carvings and windows in churches are images of Flemish origin and created by Flemish craftsmen. Cheape (2010) describes how a Celtic ornamented set of pipes bequested to the National Museum in Scotland in 1912 is now agreed to be a late nineteenth century reconstruction. Its date in roman numerals, 1409, confused the curators for a while. My conclusions suggest that the association of bagpipes with the dance tune genre began in the mid eighteenth century and was initiated among gentlemen players.

suggests their consequent modal changes were deliberately made by Dixon in order to fit them to a nine note keyless chanter with a limited melodic range from F to G. This meant that tunes with the tonic on F were given augmented fourths (making them F Lydian) and those with the tonic on G were given diminished sevenths (making them G mixolydian). However, it was common in the seventeenth century when music publishing techniques were still being developed, for accidentals to be omitted from the scores. Stewart (2007:63) described such omissions in early scores for the new “treble” violin.³⁸⁹ Seattle’s final justification for the bagpipes is that Dixon’s tunes all contained more variations (parts) than other previous versions of the tunes. However, the addition of complex variations on the original melody is not diagnostic of bagpipes. I have highlighted it in sixteenth century manuscripts (such as “Sellingers Round”, Figure 4.19), seventeenth century instruction books such as Playford’s *The Division Violin* (1685)³⁹⁰ and numerous eighteenth century instrumental practice books (for instance Figures 5.5, 5.7 and 5.8). I therefore suggest there are grounds for re-evaluating the instruments for which these documents were devised.

I have highlighted how the literature is defined by its modern administrative and political boundaries. Books on specific regional or national traditions include Emmerson (1971) and Collinson (1966) for Scotland, Breathnach (1996) and Brennan (1999) for Ireland, and regionally structured databases such as *Grove Music Online* and *Garland Encyclopaedia of World Music Online* which split their information on traditional music into “Irish”, “Scottish”, “Welsh” and “English”. This preoccupation with identifying musical national identities infuses Carl Engel’s *An Introduction to the Study of National Music* (1866), who, as do later scholars such as Bruno Nettl and Jan Ling, presents individual examples of particular musical pieces as being representative of populations of a single social class segregated according to national boundaries. The European nations that he described, incidentally, were relatively recently formed at his time of writing.

The term National Music implies that music, which appertaining to a nation or tribe, whose individual emotions and passions it expresses, exhibits certain peculiarities more or less characteristic which distinguish it from the music of any other nation or tribe. (Engel 1866:1).

As Campbell (2012:58) says, “music is a human creation, not a product of the soil”. Also evident among the nineteenth century scholars of folk music was the association between music and race (presumably the race of the population who happened to be

³⁸⁹ Stewart (2007:63) observes how the habit of playing “scordata”, in which the bass string of the violin is tuned to the fourth (ADAE), was common before the mid eighteenth century when players of the old *vielle* or *fidel* were adjusting to the new “treble” violin. This allowed the fingering to replicate that of the *vielle*, especially with the use of the drone note. Where music editors were unfamiliar with this technique, it often resulted in confusion in the use of key signatures, and inconsistent modes.

³⁹⁰ A Charles Simpson wrote a manual published in the seventeenth century on the art of developing divisions on variations above the bases (Stewart 2011:91).

living within these nations at the time). George Petrie hoped to establish a centre in Dublin in which “The genius and expression of our music will thus be fixed and its noblest store preserved for the admiration of future ages, and the perpetual pride of the Irish race” (Breathnach 1996:109). It was just as evident in the activities of the founders of the Folk Song Society in London, as may be seen in the inaugural address by Sir Hubert Parry³⁹¹ which appeared in the first volume of the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*.³⁹²

In the neighbouring countries of Ireland and Scotland folk-music has attracted more attentionEnglish tunes are not marked by such characteristic traits of melody and rhythm, and are rather more difficult to lay hold of. Still we have no need to be ashamed of them, for they are characteristic of the race.... All the things that mark the folk-music of the race also betoken the qualities of the race, and, as a faithful reflection of ourselves, we needs must cherish it. (Parry 1899:32).

The affinity between music and race was also evident in the writings of Cecil Sharp, beginning with the following extract from his *English Folk Song, Some Conclusions* (1907):

The subjects of many of the folk ballads that are sung in different parts of Europe, are substantially the same. Some of them have been traced to an Eastern origin, and they all appear to have been drawn from a common storehouse, the heritage, presumably, of the Arian race. (Sharp 1908:89-90).

It is this preoccupation with “national characteristics”, delineated in terms of present-day administrative and political boundaries, which has dominated all subsequent consideration in both popular and academic literature, as well as contemporary research and performance.

I conclude that this preoccupation with splitting up information on traditional forms of music according to its supposed nationality or regional provenance occludes interpretation of its historical contexts. This is because the music genre was originally a cultural entity derived from the pursuits of the uppermost stratum of a society which was highly stratified and hierarchical in nature. In the past, societies in Europe were not organised as single socio-economic classes separated by administrative boundaries as Engel and his successors seem to envisage. The patterns and movements of different types of dances mirrored the ebb and flow of the ruling dynastic empires of Europe and their patterns of trade, occupation and rule. Essentialism remains predominant nowadays in both academic and popular literature. I suggest that it is inappropriate for historical and

³⁹¹ Sir Hubert Parry (1848-1918) was Director of the Royal College of Music and Professor of Music at Oxford (Boyes 2010:26).

³⁹² Knevett (2015) gave a reasoned account of the founding of the Folk Song Society from his examination of communications and minutes of the early committee meetings. He suggested that its founders, who were of the middle and upper classes of society, had views in keeping with their social status and class interest and were not necessarily aware that in doing so they were acting politically.

interpretative studies of this musical genre, given Europe's social, political and commercial history.

6.2 The Assumption of Vernacular Origins

Nowadays, this musical genre of dance tunes is universally regarded as being a culture associated with, and originating from, the the poor, musically illiterate, labouring classes who constituted the very lowest socio-economic stratum of society. This is because certain gentlemen Antiquarian collectors encountered and described these tunes being played by people from within this class. However, some Antiquarians also studied some of the historical primary source documents which are listed in Appendices 3 and 4, and the titles and illustrations of these publications clearly reflect their intention to be used for pastimes enjoyed by the bourgeois and elite. They do not indicate any connections with the lowest social classes. Those Antiquarians could therefore have drawn the same conclusions as I have in this study. That is, they could have appreciated the original elitist contexts of the dances, observed their musical affinities with the tunes they were collecting in the field, and proposed the transfer of the culture across the social classes as I have done. Instead, they developed the theory that the dance tunes were only, and had only ever been, the culture of the poor, and that there had always been a cultural chasm separating this culture from any kind of "civilised" art-music. I now explore the reasons why they insisted on championing these "vernacular" origins.

Three Antiquarian scholars in particular were associated with studies of historical primary sources of dance tunes; W. H. Grattan Flood, William Chappell and Frank Kidson. In Ireland, Grattan Flood (1857-1928)³⁹³ reviewed several original country dance publications as well as *O'Farrell's Pocket Companion* (A-140 to A-144) in his *A History of Irish Music* (1905). In this, he linked certain dance tunes and songs with historical and political events and acknowledged the contributions to the Irish repertory made by the Scots militia. In England, William Chappell researched Playford's *Dancing Master* series and various Tudor manuscripts for the lute, virginal and cittern, which informed his *Collection of National English Airs* (two volumes, 1838-40, A-35 and A-36). This was expanded in 1855-9 (A-37 and A-38) and re-printed again in 1893 with the changed title of *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (A-39, A-40). Lastly, Frank Kidson's study of seventeenth and eighteenth century documents informed his *Old English Country Dances* (1890), *Traditional Tunes* (1891), *British Music Publishers, Printers and Engravers* (1900) and *The Beggar's Opera: Its Predecessors and Successors* (1922). In 1904, Kidson contributed three hundred and sixty-five articles on British song and

³⁹³ Grattan Flood was a historical musicologist and historian from Co. Waterford, He was also a writer and ecclesiastical composer who was given the title Chevalier by Pope Benedict XV. His works relevant to this study were *The Story of the Harp* (1905), *History of Irish Music* (1927) and *The Story of the Bagpipe* (1911). Source <http://billhaneman.ie/AFH/AFH-AppendixA.html> viewed 18/09/2012.

musical antiquity to the first volume of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. This included the quotation already cited earlier in the context of Irish music. His article for the term country dance I believe may have been the first to mention barns, village greens and country ale houses:

There can now be but little doubt that the name country dance correctly expresses what the dance really was when introduced into more refined society from the village green, the barn, or the country alehouse ... the traditional melodies employed for the dances were used by such musicians as William Byrd and his contemporaries for elaboration into virginal pieces ... appear to have had birth with the rustic and untutored musician.... The first collection of country dances was English, and was issued by John Playford.... Country dancing had sufficiently grown into favour even in Puritan times to demand a scientific work on the subject.³⁹⁴

Here, not just Playford but also William Byrd, organist and choral master for the Chapel Royal, are envisaged as being the historical equivalents the early twentieth century collectors, wandering from village to village, notebook in hand, collecting country dances for the amusement of an aristocracy apparently interested in proletarian customs. I suggest this image is anachronistic since this period in history pre-dates any kind of interest in Antiquarian pursuits. As I have demonstrated, there is no evidence that Playford undertook any "collecting" activities outside London and his country dances were no more than elements of the fashionable balls attended by the upwardly mobile bourgeois society of London, a society which was unlikely to have been remotely interested in the culture of rural villages. It was inappropriate of Kidson to assume the intellectual pursuits of his peers were also followed three centuries in the past. Nevertheless this misinterpretation of Playford's *Dancing Master* as a systematic "Antiquarian" collection of a countryside "tradition" is sustained in the literature today.

That Playford obtained his country dances from the seventeenth century village green is also the received theory in the modern literature sources I referred to for this study, including those termed "revisionist". Boyes (2010:22), undoubtedly referring to Playford, states that:

.."popular" songs and dances had been gathered by antiquarians, folklorists and musical entrepreneurs from at least the mid seventeenth century.

Marsh (2010:384,339) also hypothesizes in more detail how Playford collected the country dances from "England's villages" and then introduced them to the "court and in other highly privileged settings". He suggests Playford and his assistants "researched" or "lifted" or "collected together England's dances" in fulfilling their Grand Plan to inject the "idealized sociability of the village green into their grand domestic interiors":

³⁹⁴Entry for country dance, http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/kid_txt1.htm#l624 viewed 17/01/13.

Playford was being skillfully manipulative in mixing “country” and “court dances” in his collection; playing on the “appeal of their supposed bucolic simplicity” and combining “reassuring refinement with recognizable rusticity”. (Marsh 2010:384-5).

On occasion, dancing men and women swapped clothes and imagined life, just for a moment, in the opposite camp....it also enabled the members of each group to escape, again temporarily, into the somewhat mysterious world of the other. It brought wealthy townsfolk a taste of the country, but rustic dancing was tamed and transformed in the process. (Ibid., pp. 389.)

The eighteenth century country dance publications by publishers such as Daniel Wright, the Neale brothers and Johnston, are similarly misinterpreted in modern studies:

With the exception of Playford’s books we have so few collections of English popular music of the period.... something like Daniel Wright’s jigs must have been the core repertoire of the old country fiddlers and pipers throughout the [seventeenth] century. (Stewart 2007:1, referring to Wright’s *An Extraordinary Collection of Pleasant and Merry Humours*, 1713, A-203).

Two primary motivations – the need to preserve the repertoire and a growing sense of nationalism – led to the collecting and publishing of tune collections in Ireland, beginning with the Dublin publication of John and William Neale’s *Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes* in 1724 (A-138). (Hast and Scott 2004:60 quoting Breathnach 1986:2).

It may be that [the origin of the tune “Tripping up the Stairs”] was earlier than 1748, and Johnson cleaned up the title for a more gentile audience. The tune must certainly pre-date 1748, as Johnson was a collector, not a composer. (Rolands 2009:14, referring to Johnson’s *A Choice Collection of 200 Favourite Country Dances... Vol. 4th...1748 Perform’d at Court, Bath, Tunbridge and all publick places*” (1748, D-101)).

The historical unpublished manuscripts of Appendix 2 are also erroneously described as the work of collectors of “a folk tradition”. David Young, the dance master to the Duke of Perth, whose “Drummond Castle” manuscript I mentioned earlier, is described by Seattle (1995:14) as being “possibly the most important collector and compiler of Scottish instrumental music in the eighteenth century”. Similarly, despite being mainly comprised of tunes obviously copied from Playford’s *Dancing Master*, Malchair’s manuscript (1780’s, M-90) is described by EFDSS thus:

[Malchair’s] melodies owe much to the folk tradition; he was a pioneer collector of popular airs, and in Oxford noted several melodies from singers and musicians heard in the streets ... [such as] the singing of a poor woman and two children.³⁹⁵

This assumption that historical publications and manuscripts of dance tunes constitute “collections” from vernacular players, as stated in Kidson’s contribution to *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1904), was probably first articulated by Chappell. Chappell described some of the earliest known examples of simple phrased melodies dating back to the Medieval era. This included some sixteenth century songs whose

³⁹⁵ <http://library.efdss.org/cgi-bin/introdancebooks.cgi viewed 18/10/12>.

melodies subsequently appeared in *Dancing Master*, such as “Sellingers Round”. However, I suggest Chappell made an imaginative leap too far when he described such melodies as being “almost all genuine Country Dance tunes” (Chappell 1838:223). He presents the thirteenth century melody illustrated in Figure 6.3 below as an example of “early popular music”.



Figure 6.3. First six of twenty-nine stanzas of a melody from a parchment dated c.1260 which was used as a cover of a manuscript collection of statutes from the reign of King Edward I. (Chappell 1893:215, A-39).

Chappell interprets this tune as being “obviously popular” because of the “constant introduction of fresh figures of melody....and [the] treatment of the final note at the end of a period” (Chappell 1893:220). Chappell’s use of the term “popular” was not unique. As Harker (1985:6) points out in the context of one of Chappell’s predecessors, Phillips’ *Collection of Old Ballads* (1723-5), the term as applied by these Antiquarian publishers referred only to London’s polite society and not the rest of the British population. In the example of Jamieson’s *Popular Ballads and Songs, from Tradition, Manuscripts and Scarce Editions* (1806), Harker (1985:49) suggests the word “popular” was used to widen the potential market. I suggest Chappell’s use of the term “popular” also had the effect of perpetuating an anachronistic misinterpretation because it assigned this type of melody, in the minds of both his contemporaneous and subsequent readerships, to a social class which was different to that of the aristocracy.

Much of the dance music of this period [‘Earlier sixteenth century Dance Tunes’] is not properly related to our subject. The exotic Pavans and Galliards of Henry VIII’s time, with their stately measures and courtly titles, are in no sense popular music, and have nothing in common with a tune like the preceding [Figure 6.3] which is evidently a genuine country dance. (Chappell 1838:218)

Thus Chappell assumed that pieces with short phrases and cadences were country dances which by implication, were “vernacular”, and quite distinct to the longer,

elaborate melodies which he associated to be a manifestation of the elite. I suggest there is no justification for such a distinction. In Medieval times, melodies such as Figure 6.3 were typical of the songs composed by trouvères or troubadours who flourished in generally aristocratic circles, being cultivated noblemen (Emmerson 1971:10) even with kings among their number (Grout and Palisca 1996:62). Their composers were to all intents, the first professional musicians (Sachs 1949:83) and they were also commonly of Angevin origin, or in modern parlance, French (Wood 1949:10). Even the form of their poetry is strongly connected with the form of dance, as is suggested by names such as “ballade”, “rondelle”, “carolle” and “pastourelle”, with all the other dance terms arising from this period including “figure”, “set” and even “dance” itself. The culture of the troubadour is recognised to have entered England during the Plantagenet dynasty, particularly through the influence of Eleanor of Aquitaine (c.1124-1204), consort to King Henri II (Emmerson 1971:10). Some examples of thirteenth century “estampies”, two part dances in 6/8, as well as songs, are in Davison & Apel (1949:42-3) and I suggest these were fragments of courtly entertainments promulgated by the French-speaking Plantagenet nobility which controlled lowland Britain in Medieval times. Where Chappell has caused confusion is firstly, in his anachronistic association of Medieval song with Playford’s country dances since the two are separated by four centuries, and secondly, in assuming both were vernacular in origin. Chappell inadvisably used naively basic characteristics, namely whether the melody is “simple” or “elaborate”, to assign melodies according to a particular social class. He should instead have considered their contexts.

Chappell’s viewpoint would have been influenced by the many surviving literary and pictorial depictions of Medieval dance. These woodcuts, song sheets and poems depict circular dances which Wood (1949:8-11) interprets as involving all classes and may therefore be considered “village customs”. Wood (1949:8) observes how written and pictorial evidence show that the Medieval era dances were performed in circles and accompanied by song (“caroles”). The most common type was the “round” which gave its name to both round dances and vocal canon.³⁹⁶ However, Breathnach (1971:36) commented that the carole was a favourite pastime of the nobility in Normandy in the eleventh century, and the Normans are credited with introducing round dances into Ireland in the twelfth century. It would therefore be expected that they did the same in England. Assuming this was the case, it doesn’t mean these round dances were musically the direct ancestors of the “basse danses”. With these round dances, since

³⁹⁶ Defined as a dance in which the performers move round in a circle, i.e. a ring dance."Round Dance." The name also gave its name to the "vocal perpetual canon "Round." *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 2nd ed. rev. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed September 1, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e8731>.

The Oxford Dictionary of Music, 2nd ed. rev.. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed September 1, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e8730>.

the dance circle was a complete figure in itself, variety was achieved through different steps³⁹⁷ and rhythm, as well as by moving alternatively left and right. The rhythmic variety meant that the music was not isometric. "Round" dances, involving the dancers moving in circular figures, are certainly present in *Dancing Master* and by virtue of their declining popularity over the course of the series, are generally thought to have been "older" than the longways or square dances. However, the melodies in *Dancing Master* were isometric, so I maintain they evolved from Renaissance era "basse dances" as distinct from these Medieval "rounds" and "caroles".

Chappell also highlighted the association of one of the older tunes from *Dancing Master*, namely "Sellingers Round", with ballads describing fiddlers, hop-about, maypoles in moonlit nights, and morris dances from sixteenth century plays.³⁹⁸ However, this could have just reflected the narrative theme of the ballad itself and the plays with which it was associated (described in footnote # 212, page 107) rather than representing the social circumstances in which the tune originated.

Finally, I re-examine narrative accounts which have previously been used to suggest a musical continuum between the Medieval rounds and caroles, and the "basse dances" of the sixteenth century royal court. The term country dance was first used in print in the late sixteenth century, and this coincides with first-hand accounts about Queen Elizabeth which are widely quoted nowadays as representing the moment when the aristocracy "awoke" to the pleasures of country dances (Marsh 2010:384). The quotes are provided below.

From 1572: " Her Majestie that Saturday night was lodgid agayn in the Castell of Warwick; where she restid all Sondag, where it pleased her to have the country people, resorting to see her, in the Court of the Castell, her Majestie beholding them out of her chamber window; which thing, as it pleasid well the country people, so it seemed her Majesty was much delighted, and made very myrry." (Quoted in Nichol's Progresses, Ed. 1823, Vol. i, p. 319.) (Wood 1937:94)

From 1591: "In the evening the country people presented themselves to hir Majestie in a pleasant daunce with taber and pipe; and the Lord Montagu and his Lady among them, to the great pleasure of all the beholders, and the gentle applause of hir Majestie." (op. cit., iii, p. 95.). (ibid. pp. 94.)

From 1600: "Her Majestie is in verie good health, and comes much abroade these holidays; for almost every night she is in the presence, to see the ladies dance the old and new Country dances, with the taber and pipe." (Quoted in Chambers's *The Elizabethan Stage*, iv, II 5, from the Sidney Papers.) (ibid., pp. 94.)

³⁹⁷ A manuscript in the British Museum (Harl. 978) dated circa 1240 for such a "round" features three types of steps, the "brangle double", the "brangle simple", and the "brangle gai". Wood (1949:8).

³⁹⁸ Perhaps mindful of the songs' "Morris" theme, Chappell (1859:70-1, 1893:257-8) suggested in respect of the version in Figure 4.18, that William Byrd "filled up the harmony with an inner part that seemed intended to imitate the prancing of the hobby horse" since virginals would not sustain the tone.

The first doesn't even mention dance. The second only describes a staged dance of unknown musical nature. The third, which post-dates Morely's dance manual of 1597, seems to relate to country dances (with a capital C) being performed by the Queen's courtiers and doesn't imply any link with village dances. I therefore suggest these unrelated accounts have been unrepresentatively amalgamated, as they do not prove the dances that the "country people" performed were the same as the isometric court dances which became known as "country dances". I therefore propose a musical distinction existed between the Medieval dances depicted in pictures, and those of the Elizabethan court which evolved from "basse dances". The Medieval dances I suggest were imported with the French-speaking Norman and Angevin rulers. Consideration of their affinities with today's "traditional" or "folk" dances of parts of France such as Normandy and Brittany would be informative.

Chappell's viewpoint may also have been influenced by other cultural aspects of his day. Gentlemen collectors such as Petrie, Hudson, Pigot, Goodman and Kidson, were, over this period, collecting dance tunes in rural Ireland and England. They travelled among severely impoverished communities. George Petrie refers to the desolation wrought among the people by the Famine in the preface to his 1855 volume of tunes (Fleischmann 1972:218). Bradtke (2001:62-3) observed, in the context of Molly dances, that for agricultural workers "who existed on the edge of starvation", the opportunity to play or dance for customs and festivals was a source of vital sustenance in the winter. Players (and Morris dancers) are on record as admitting their motives for performing to be for cash (Boyes 2010:10). It is therefore reasonable to assume that the prospect of monetary gain offered by these collectors would have made a tangible impact on the size and nature of the tune repertory. If paid by the melody, new tunes would have proliferated, existing tunes would have lengthened, and new names invented. It is inconceivable that in these circumstances, the players would have restricted their offerings to only veritable "traditional", or pre-existing tunes. The names of tunes which may be traced to originating from this time were often in the language or dialect of the vernacular players (such as "Barney Brallighan" in Ireland, or "Canny Newcastle" in Northumbria) although this is not to be confused with the activities of collectors such as Bennett and O'Neill who used Welsh and Gaelic translations of the original English dance tune names for sentimental effect. Other original names reflected the players' daily activities, such as "The Maid at the Churn" or "Small Coals for Little Money", although again the degree to which these names may have been artfully romanticized is unknown. Boyes (2010:54) and Buckland (2001:49-59) both suggest certain collectors were largely oblivious of this artificiality.

Finally, I suggest consideration of the educational background of the gentlemen Antiquarian collectors is also relevant. All had a conventional "classical" music

education. I have observed today how some classically trained musicians cannot learn or play melodies by ear. It is also true of the collectors, it might explain their interpretation of this ability to be some kind of “indigenous” or “primitive” skill. I say “primitive” because the use of this word to describe the genre dates from this time.³⁹⁹ All these aspects could have contributed to the adoption of the theory, wholly mainstream by the turn of the twentieth century, that the dance tunes represented an ancient “tradition” which was the preserve only of the musically uneducated labouring classes, and utterly distinct from the “civilised” cultures of the educated elite.

Petrie writes that the music of Ireland has hitherto been the exclusive property of the peasantry...the upper classes are a different race – a race who possess no national music or, if any, one essentially different from that of Ireland. They were insensible to beauty ... he, therefore, who would add to the stock of Irish melody must seek it, not in the halls of the great, but in the cabins of the poor (Fleischmann 1972:216).

The unlettered, have always ... danced the dances of their forefathers, uninfluenced by, and in blissful ignorance of the habits and tastes of their more fashionable city neighbours (Sharp 1909:7, A-210)

This misconception that the original social context of the musical genre was of the “unlettered peasantry” is perpetuated in the modern literature. For instance, Marsh (2010) includes a CD in his book in which tunes from *Dancing Master* are being played as if in a pub, with noisy laughter and clinking beer glasses. Barlow (1985:10) states that [in the earlier, pre-1700 editions of Playford's *Dancing Master*] “all the tunes ... were often played [without accompaniment] for dancing by violin, kit, fiddle or pipe and tabor”. This is contrary to the evidence I have provided which suggests the melodies in *Dancing Master* were more likely, at the time of its publication, to have been played by five-part string consorts. There is no evidence that the sixteenth and seventeenth century working classes had access to violins or kits,⁴⁰⁰ or that they were familiar with *Dancing Master*. Modern “folk dance” sides such as “Parti Dawns Aberesc”, which perform figured dances from the Playford books wearing seventeenth century rustic village costumes,⁴⁰¹ are historically inaccurate. A modern selection of dance tunes (Sheffield 1985, C-91) contains melodies from seven published country dance books which are all listed in Appendix 3, namely Rutherford 1756 and 1759 (D-191 and D-192), Thompson 1765

³⁹⁹ Dean-Smith & Nicol (1945:211) additionally suggested that “one accustomed to the accepted manner of writing and reading music in the polyphonic age would argue that these “archaisms” [i.e. idiosyncracities of the first Edition of *Dancing Master*] suggest that their author had written out of a long memory, or was copying from some records made long before”.

⁴⁰⁰ Scholes (1934:33-5) draws the distinction that in the mid seventeenth century, it was the English nobility that was the class that owned instruments such as virginals, lutes and viols, whereas the middle and lower classes did not. This is drawn from his finding that, with the exception of trumpets, drums and Jews' harps, there was a dearth of musical instruments among the thousands of middle and lower class émigrés, mainly labourers and artisans from the countryside, who accompanied the Pilgrim Puritans in colonizing New England between 1620 and 1640.

⁴⁰¹ One of their dances is present on Youtube <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S6sJWR6UI1o> viewed 06/01/12.

and 1788 (D-262 and D-268), Walsh 1718 and 1745 (D-299 and D0313), and Kynaston 1709 (D-681). The selection is entitled *From Two Barns; Another Ten Country Dances, from Rutherford, Thompson, Walsh and Kynaston*. I have shown that the social contexts for which the original publications were prepared were unconnected with barns.

The perception of the context and playing of “traditional” dance tunes today is therefore unduly influenced by a misinterpretation of Playford’s *Dancing Master*, as well as the personal experiences and bias of nineteenth century gentlemen Antiquarians. This resulted in the musical genre being mistakenly assigned a vernacular association, and this mistake is perpetuated today.

6.3 The Cultural Survivals Theory and the Romantic Movement

I have described how these dance tunes are now thought of as a constituent of what is termed “folk” music, and that it is similarly described as such in the past. However, I found it interesting that of all the historical tune-collections reviewed for this study, the word “folk” only appears in their titles for the first time in 1907, with Sharp’s *Folk Tunes, Folk Dance Airs, and Folk Airs*; and then in 1909 with Joyce’s *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs* (although several slightly earlier collections in Appendix 4 refer to “folk song”, such as Bennett 1898:IV, A-17 and A-18). Given the history I have described for this musical genre, it seems the dance tunes would not have originally been thought of as being remotely connected to the social contexts which are now described as “folk arts” by any current definition. Indeed, before the late nineteenth century, there was no such thing as “folk music”. It is therefore illustrative to trace where this ideology and terminology came from, and examine why it is so popular today.

I established from Gelbert (2011) that the concept of the term “Folklore” dated back to philosophical and enlightenment discourse in Germany in the late eighteenth century and advanced further in the early nineteenth century.⁴⁰² “Folklore” is defined by the Folklore Society as the “overarching concept that holds together a number of aspects of vernacular culture and cultural traditions”⁴⁰³ and gave rise to the adjective “folk” as in “folk dance” and “folk music”. In England, “Folklore” was first conceptualised in 1846 by

⁴⁰² “Folklore” had its roots as *völkisch*, a German term from the early nineteenth century which combined sentimental popularist interest in German folklore with a nationalist agenda. In German, “Volk” has dual meanings. One is the equivalent to the English word “folk” in that it corresponds to “people”, with connotations of “people-powered”, “folksy” and “folkloric”. Unfortunately, in Germany, “Volk” also has patriotic connotations which were of genuine relevance during the Napoleonic wars (1803-1815) when the dispersed German-speaking city states of Central Europe were being harried by the united French-speaking Napoleonic Empire. Hence, the meaning of “Volk” in German, unlike in English, also has overtones of “nation” or “race” with a valid translation of *völkisch* also being “ethnic”. The *völkisch* ideology was subsequently abused by the Nazi party who interpreted it as the expression of the superiority of German culture and the idea of a universal mission for the German people. (Bendix, 1998). Consequently, nationalism, particularly in the context of the early history of the folk movement during which there was frequent collaboration with German scholars, is now a very sensitive topic in the Folk arts scene.

⁴⁰³ Source: <http://www.folklore-society.com/aboutus/index.asp> viewed 12/04/12.

English antiquarian William Thoms to describe "the traditions, customs, and superstitions of the uncultured classes".⁴⁰⁴ After Thoms, it was widely adopted in England by middle-class intellectuals whose interests included Anthropology and Popular Antiquities (Boyes 2010:8). One of them was E B Tylor (1832-1917) who in 1871 published *Primitive Culture: Researches into the development of Mythology; Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art and Custom* in which he proposed his "cultural survivals" theory. This was that all cultures evolve in a unilinear sequence through stages of savagery and barbarism to civilisation. Consequently, all "quaint" or "uncultured" activities outside the mainstream cultures, such as songs, games and narratives, were considered to represent manifestations of so-called "primitive cultures" which had supposedly "survived", unchanged, into the modern, "civilised" era (Forrest 1999:8-9, Boyes 2010:7). This theory gained the attention of the intellectual community. The Folklore Society was founded in 1878 as a learned society devoted to the study of traditional culture in all its forms.⁴⁰⁵ The focus of its research centred on field studies of the "rural", "backward" and "primitive" country people, otherwise known as the "Folk", as a means to understand the psychology of early man.⁴⁰⁶

Albeit unknowingly, the folk [at first a rather insubstantially defined body of "country-people" who knew "old fashioned" songs, tales or beliefs] were found to offer the key to understanding the development of the culture – the means for elucidating the "unwritten history of the past" (Boyes 2010:8-9).

"Folklore" is a wide-ranging discipline. Many of its topics are unconnected with the subject of this study. Nevertheless, because the dance tune genre was included within its sphere of study, I explore why the Folklore ideology perpetuated the mistaken perception that the genre was from pre-Medieval antiquity, and consequently, continues to influence the focus of scholarship today.

The Folklorists sympathetic to the "cultural survivals theory" imagined today's Morris dancers to have been doing the same thing since the time of the barbarian tribesmen of Tacitus' allegorical description. An important reason for this was the association of the tunes with Morris dances and Mummers plays which were also interpreted to be representative of pre-historic paganism. This idea, which developed among German-speaking scholars in the mid nineteenth century, entered England thanks to the so-

⁴⁰⁴ Percy Scholes, *The Oxford Companion to Music*, OUP 1977, article "Folk Song".

⁴⁰⁵The Folklore Society website <http://www.folklore-society.com/about/> viewed 12/04/12.

⁴⁰⁶ The Folklorists' enthusiasm for field studies of vernacular subjects was an anathema to the Antiquarian's preference for library-based scholarship of physical records. Some scholars have implied there was antagonism between the two disciplines. Folklorists considered the approach to studies used by Antiquarians to be outmoded and irrelevant (Boyes 2010:66). In response, Kidson dismissed Sharp's *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions* (1907) as "conjectures". (<http://www.mustring.org.uk/articles/kidson.htm> viewed 12/15/13) According to Francmanis (1997), as Sharp's influence over the Folklore movement grew, Kidson's research was side-lined and he died "obscured where once he had been considered foremost in authority" as quoted in the obituary of Frank Kidson, *Journal of the EFDSS*, 1948:135.

called “Cambridge Ritualists” in the latter nineteenth century. They proposed that elements of English medieval drama had originated in ancient Greek religious (i.e. pagan) rituals. The most influential proponent of this theory was anthropologist Sir James Frazer (1854–1941), whose *The Golden Bough* was published 1890 and reprinted frequently up until 1915. To this were accreted theories on Greek classicism by Gilbert Murray (1866-1957), deity worship, sacrifice and totemisation by E.K. Chambers (1866-1954) in *The Medieval Stage* (1903), and German and Scandinavian mythology by Thomas Ordish (1855-1924) (Hutton 1996:71-74).

Cecil Sharp drew on all these theories when he published the folk dances he had collected in England in the early twentieth century (Corrsin 2001:27). In his *Sword Dances of Northern England* (1911-3), Sharp outlined his “grand unified theory”, which was that Morris dancing (and by inference, its melodies, the publication of which his “theory” was the introductory précis) was the remnants of prehistoric, ritual ceremonies of a form commonplace to all European societies before the “civilizing” influences of Church and “art” music. Therefore, the dances he was witnessing in isolated pockets of England were manifestations of pagan and sacrificial rituals expressing the ancient tribal habits of pre-historic European humanity (Corrsin 2001:19,27). Sharp’s so-called “grand unified theory” of pan-European ritual dance therefore became orthodoxy and is manifest by the subsequent coining of the term “Sharpian” or even “Darwinian” to describe the imagined existence of figured dances over history as a “linear survival”. Further “evidence” to support this theory was offered by subsequent studies of folk dances on the continent, particularly on the Iberian Peninsula and in France, by Alford and Rodney (1935), Kennedy (1949) and Alford (1962). It is this theory which informed Hugh Ripon’s popularist book in 1975 (and by implication, EFDSS). It may still be spotted on the websites of some current Morris sides. “Paganism remains by far the commonly articulated point of view among revivalist Morris dancers.” This last statement is from Forrest (1999:4-5) but also matches my personal experience over the last ten years of the opinions expressed by traditional music players, both connected or not with Morris dancing.

Within wider topics on folklore, these “cultural survivals” and pseudo-classicism theories are now generally discredited, for instance by Hutton (1996). The reason they remain so prominent among today’s traditional music players is because of the continuing influence of the various societies which were founded on the original Folklore concept and shared the Antiquarian objective to preserve and champion the so-called “ancient”, “primitive” and “traditional” art-forms. The Folk Song Society was founded in 1898 by Frank Kidson amongst others. It was dedicated to the “collection and preservation of folk songs, ballads, tunes etc.” There followed, in 1911, the founding of the English Folk Dance Society by Cecil Sharp “to place the indigenous folk arts of England at the heart

of our cultural life". The Irish Folk-Song Society was founded in 1904, the Welsh Folk-Song Society was founded in 1908 and the Scottish Country Dance Society (later the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society, RSCDS) was founded in 1923.⁴⁰⁷ In 1932, the Folk Song Society and the English Folk Dance Society were amalgamated into the English Folk Dance and Song Society (EFDSS).⁴⁰⁸ At its "Cecil Sharp House" headquarters, Maud Karpeles organized an International Folk Dance Conference in 1935 following which the International Folk Dance Council was established, and the International Folk Music Council founded in 1947. These Societies published numerous books of music and dance which directly furnished the "Folk Revival" in the 1960's. It is these societies which continue to promote regional folk arts pursued today, as well as influencing, facilitating and supporting academic studies, supporting workshops, and publishing tune-books such as Callaghan (2007, C-7) and many others listed in Appendix 1.

This influential Folklore movement also gained the attention of the mainstream musical establishment in the early twentieth century. Composers such as Ralph Vaughan Williams, Gustav Holst, Percy Grainger and Benjamin Britten took certain dance tunes "collected" from working class players and singers and incorporated them into chamber and symphonic pieces. This process of classicization reinforces Chappell's inappropriate alliance of melodic form to social class.⁴⁰⁹ Ironically, these melodies with their highbrow associations are avoided today by players of my acquaintance.

I also noted the influence of the Folklore ideology in some twentieth century accounts of the history of Renaissance and Baroque art music which refer to supposed pre-existing "folk" influences. Examples are:

At the end of the sixteenth century the folk-tunes of the country dance became the inspiration for composers upon that recently developed instrument, the virginals (Wells 1937:83).

⁴⁰⁷ Founded by the Girl Guide Commissioner for Argyll, a Mrs Ysobel Stewart, who collaborated with a Miss Jean Milligan, a PE lecturer from Glasgow, the early years of the RSCDS re-interpreted many dances (including bona fide historical, seventeenth and eighteenth century country dances with tunes from a variety of other sources) and manipulated the style to become more elegant, athletic and "balletic". The fancy steps used in the Reels developed into competition show dances, the Highland dances, including the "Highland Fling", the foursome reel, and the Sword Dance, which have become standardised by the Scottish Official Board of Highland Dancing, the Scottish Official Highland Dancing Association, and other associations worldwide. The RSCDS now numbers some 20,000 members all over the world, and from its headquarters in Edinburgh, offers teacher training courses and holds an annual summer school.

⁴⁰⁸ <http://www.efdss.org/front/About%20Us/about-us/21> viewed 21/09/12.

⁴⁰⁹ Boyes (2010:16) provides an elegant, although hypothetical, example of the contradiction of this classicization process. "Today, "The Foggy Dew" as arranged by Benjamin Britten and sung by highly trained professionals to an audience of thousands at the Festival Hall, is still basically defined as "folksong", whilst a mother, sitting alone and lulling her child to sleep by singing "Brahms' Lullaby" is operating outside the scope of "folk" performance."

Most of the variations in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book are on slow dance tunes (as Bull's Spanish Pavan) or familiar songs (as John Mundy's *Goe From my Window*). Many folk tunes of the time [sixteenth century] also served as subjects for variation. (Grout and Palisca 1996:231).

German collections from this time [early Baroque] contain numerous pieces called Polnischer Tanz (Polish Dance), Polacca, and the like, evidence that folk-based music of Poland was coming to be well known in Western Europe. (ibid., p.315).

Country dances were associated with antimasques long before they were introduced in sophisticated Inns of Court masques. Hall [*Hall's Chronicle*, 1809] refers to "Maskes and Morrishes," and other accounts mention "disguisings and morisks" or "divers Sorts of Morisks" It has been suggested that these morrisses were folk dances serving as antimasques" (Sabol 1978:14-5).⁴¹⁰

West European folk influences were common in the baroque and classical styles of the eighteenth century. (Fletcher 2001:460).

With the exception of cited papers on Playford's *Dancing Master* and the many studies by enthusiasts of early dance (particularly the Early Dance Circle), comparatively few studies have been made of the published books of country dances such as those listed in Appendix 3.⁴¹¹ Similarly overlooked are other commercial performance arts such as ballad operas, plays, and reviews and recitals of the "gentlemen amateurs". This is despite the presence of compelling musical clues, not least the large number of tunes with multiple histories in different countries by virtue of their associations with the stage. For instance, in pages 168-9 I mentioned three well-known English Morris tunes, "Speed the Plough", "Brighton Camp" and "Haste to the Wedding", which are well-known today in England because Sharp included them in his *Country Dance Book* series (A-210 to A-227). All three were used in the nineteenth century or before, as melodies for songs in pantomimes, theatrical farces and ballad operas, staged in both Dublin and London. As a result, they are all known, in slightly different forms, in the Irish repertory. Other examples I have described were "Maggie Lauder" and "Rakes of Mallow / London" from the ballad opera culture, and "Sellinger's Round" as researched by Chappell. The provenance of these melodies with music hall is addressed by Gregory (2010) and Harker (1985). Hobsbawm and Ranger (1992) also describe many so-called "ancient" traditions which were really Victorian inventions or re-inventions, such as some of the community processions I described at the beginning. Nevertheless, there were also "doubters" in the early days of the Folklore Society who questioned the unacknowledged contributions of "chartered libertines" to what was being lauded as the "Folk" repertoire. Boyes (2010:15) described how, in recognizing music hall influences in the emerging

⁴¹⁰ This is from a section in Sabol (1978) entitled "Folk Antecedents of the Antimasque", in which he draws heavily on Sharp & Macilwaine, *The Morris Book: A History of Traditional Morris Dancing with a Description of Eleven Dances as Performed by the Morris-men of England* (1910, A-259).

⁴¹¹ It is observed that the Colonial Music Institute website <http://www.colonialmusic.org/>, from which most of Appendix 3 was sourced, is an American resource.

so-called songs of the “folk”, a Joseph Jacobs, writing in *Folk-Lore* (the publication of the Folklore Society) in 1893, described the “folk” as “a fraud”, “a delusion” and “a myth” and “simply a name for our ignorance”, and promptly left the Society.

Nevertheless, the original Antiquarians who promoted the Folklore movement remained true to their beliefs. They demonstrated considerable antipathy concerning the relevance, to their increasing collections of “folk music”, of ballad operas and stage shows. This is despite titles such as Wright’s *The Compleat Tutor for Ye Flute containing the newest instructions for that instrument likewise a collection of ye most favourite tunes collected from ballad operas etc.* (c.1735, A-206). Frank Kidson complained of hearing the “Black Joke”, “The Washerwoman” and “Father O’Flynn” played on barrel organs on every street corner⁴¹² (Kidson 1907-8:92). Francis Roche is quoted as having excluded “pieces of doubtful national origin” and expressed his animosity towards what he called “music hall trash”, quadrilles and “faked jigs and reels thrown in by way of padding” (Ossian 1993). In describing Petrie’s collections, Fleischmann (1972:216) stated “a number of non-Irish and spurious tunes are to be found, such as those contributed by the Rev. Hames Mease (which include “The Death of General Wolfe” and others from English ballad operas)”.

Boyes (2010:7) implies that the eventual triumph of the Folklore movement over its detractors was in part because it mirrored the development of social sciences in the nineteenth century. She highlights its connection to the Romantic movement, or “back-to-the-land” anti-urban populism. This involved the invented image of the bucolic countryside and the spontaneous simplicity of the “untainted, country-dwelling peasants”, or “folk”, engaging in their quintessential customs, revolting against modernity and idealizing spiritual values in the rapidly industrialising and threatening urban age. I suggest this romanticism remains predominant today. “Folk” events at which one may learn tunes in workshops (such as the East Anglian Traditional Music Day, Festival of the Edge at Much Wenlock, the Morpeth Northumbrian Gathering) are held in conjunction with exhibitions and demonstrations on the crafts of the working classes, rather than the fashions of the nobility. The genre is indelibly associated, in the minds of contributors, to be a culture of the very lowest socio economic class; serfs, yokels, beggars or crones. Village musicians are a frequent topic of academic study, such as Chandler (2001) and Heath-Coleman (2012).⁴¹³ Campbell (2007), in her study of the fiddle culture of Scotland, described only beggars and itinerants.⁴¹⁴ Again, this

⁴¹² Street players of barrel organs are known to have recycled tunes derived from ballad operas which probably explains the sources of some of the melodies in Malchair’s manuscript (M-90).

⁴¹³ It is also the output of the collectors, their biographies, and particularly the history of the societies they founded (particularly that of the EFDSS, which dominates research).

⁴¹⁴ Wilkins (2013) described a Canadian fiddle tradition and its similarities with the Shetland fiddle tradition, and linked the two to the involvement of both communities with fur trading in the seventeenth century.

modern tendency reflects wider cultural changes. Research interests of historians over the late twentieth century have been described as having moved away from traditional diplomatic, economic and political history toward approaches incorporating more social and cultural studies.⁴¹⁵ This shift seems to have reached its nadir with the self-confessed Marxist Dave Harker (1985) who argued that the twentieth century collectors were “bougeois mediators [of song material] who expropriated workers’ culture for their own social and cultural ends”.

In my view, the lack of records of vernacular dances over an extended historical period characterized by literacy and relative socio-economic stability is fairly conclusive proof of their absence. However, I have noticed a reluctance of many practitioners to countenance this. John Adams, giving a lecture on how the manuscript owners researched by the Village Music Project were predominantly of the “artisan” classes, concluded by stating that true nature of “folk music” would never be known because “the peasants left no footprint”.⁴¹⁶ In acknowledging the absence of tangible historical evidence for sword dances in Britain before the sixteenth century, Corrsin (1997:85) remarked “the most reasonable assumption is that there was little to preserve”. This was dismissed by Heaton (2012:14) who argued in favour of an unbroken tradition since Roman times which he considered had simply remained hidden from view. Breathnach (1996:35) maintained that the reason that there is no information on the nature of Irish dancing (*damhsa* or *rinche*) in Ireland before recent centuries is due to the mistranslation of original Gaelic texts. Emmerson (1971:24) admitted that in the Stuart court of the sixteenth century, dancing “was confined to basse dances, pavans and branles, there were no record of native dances of the countryside”. These viewpoints typify a preoccupation with preserving the romantically influenced Folklorists’ perception of an unchanged, “primitive” tradition even though there is no hard evidence for it. As a result, the study and objective interpretation of relevant historical documents and primary sources of melodies has been neglected.

Whereas Romanticism has now been superseded in most artistic and musical genres, with regard to the traditional dance tune genre of Britain and Ireland, it has remained remarkably persistent. The influence of Tyler’s “cultural survivals” theory, as well as Cecil Sharp’s “grand unified theory”, continues to unduly influence the focus of modern

However, she omitted consideration of the influence of published dance manuals, despite both traditions including dances with evident affinities with those in Playford’s *Dancing Master*.

⁴¹⁵ From 1975 to 1995, the proportion of professors of history in American universities identifying with social history rose from 31% to 41%, while the proportion of political historians fell from 40% to 30% (Haber, Kennedy & Krasner 1997:42). In the history departments of British universities in 2007, of the 5,723 faculty members, 1,644 (29%) identified themselves with social history while political history came next with 1,425 (25%). Source: <http://www.history.ac.uk/history-online/> viewed 03/05/12.

⁴¹⁶ Lecture given by John Adams, Director of Village Music Project, at the East Anglian Traditional Music Day, 4th September 2010. This viewpoint may explain why the “Village Music Project” is thus called, despite the fact that many of the manuscripts described in chapter 3 had no particular associations with a village.

studies. Particularly prevalent is the cult of Sharp, whose vision has been challenged by scholars such as Harker (1985), Boyes (2010), Corrsin (2001:31-2) and Heaton (2012), albeit mainly in the context of criticism of Sharp's academic superficiality and selectism rather than drawing on other, wider, historically contextualizing evidence. The size of Sharp's collection is not unusual compared to the other collectors described. However, his capacity for self-promotion and his influence on the London educational establishment assured his lasting recognition which remains influential among relevant studies today, and explains why many people's interest in English folk music, in particular, may be more accurately described as a fascination with EFSS and its history. I have also shown how proponents of the Folklore ideology influenced mainstream classical music history. The romantic themes that Folklore exalted are self-perpetuating, since they re-direct the focus of scholarship into a limited range of subjects connected with the lowest socio-economic stratum and the collectors who described them. In perpetuating the idea that folk music has always existed separately from written music, the focus of relevant research is misdirected.

6.4 Summary of Chapter 6

This chapter presented a historiography of the dance tune genre.⁴¹⁷ In assuming the dances were a culture of the lowest socio-economic classes, the tunes have been widely assumed to have been ancient, immobile, and therefore indigenous to population of the locations from where they were collected. Through the promotion of the idea of an ethnically uniform Europe which shared identical primitive belief systems and "expressive cultures", the dance tune genre, as part of folk music, has been dangerously close to being likened to geobotany.⁴¹⁸ These nineteenth century theories have encouraged an essentialist approach today which dominates interpretative studies of the history of this musical genre. I argue this is reductionist and inappropriate given Europe's socio-political history.

⁴¹⁷ Furay and Salevouris (1988:223) define historiography as "the study of the way history has been and is written – the history of historical writing... When you study "historiography" you do not study the events of the past directly, but the changing interpretations of those events in the works of individual historians".

⁴¹⁸ "National songs might, however, in many respects, be more aptly likened to the wild flowers indigenous to a country, which will thrive unaided by art, and naturally undergo slight modifications from the soil and situation in which by chance they may be placed". Engel (1866:21).

7 Conclusion

The catalyst for my study was my questioning the reasons for the exactitude imposed by some traditional music players on the literal playing of traditional dance tunes according to certain written scores. My experience was with the Northumbrian pipers' community, but similar expectations may be found in other folk and traditional communities such as competitive Highland pipe-playing and dancing, competitive Irish dancing, and the Morris Ring. This exactitude seemed to me the antithesis of the point of folk music which I thought was "the music of the people", standing for inclusivity, tolerance and individual creative impulse, as indeed, may be experienced among wider folk music communities. Instead, among some Northumbrian pipers, I encountered the rigid imposition of received values under the guise that the tunes were "traditional" and therefore utterly unchangeable. All traditions, by definition, are invented and instituted. I wanted to understand the background for the invention of this particular one and the reasons behind these symbolic acts of artistic restraint. My logic was that if I could challenge the validity for the imposed restrictions on the dance tunes which were made in the name of "the tradition", then I could justify interpreting them in my own way.

I began by questioning the orthodox theory I encountered in the literature. This was that the traditional dance music genre was a musical idiom indigenous to the people of Britain and Ireland (as with the rest of Europe), and prehistoric in origin. The model derives from the image of tribal warriors spontaneously performing linked sword dances, an image traceable to a single allegorical Roman treatise. I found no evidence at all that figured dances existed in Ireland or Britain before Medieval times. Nevertheless, this "cultural survivals" theory as the explanation for the homogeneity of folk dances and their melodies throughout Europe is the received wisdom in the folk music community. I deduced that this question – why are dance tunes so structurally similar across such large distances – simply hadn't been asked before, and as a consequence, the theory that they had primitive, ritualistic origins had not previously been seriously challenged or investigated.

I began by applying my own experience in playing dance tunes. I refuted the orthodox definition of folk music, which is that it is mainly transmitted orally, i.e. without the use of written music. Instead, I argued that the use of written scores must have made a significant contribution in the survival of the older dance tunes over time. If tunes had only ever been passed on from person to person by ear (without recourse to notation), those

which date back any length of time would have altered beyond recognition. However, tunes such as “Seven Stars” have remained recognizable for over two hundred and fifty years. I suggested this could only have happened through written music being more integral to the process of passing on of tunes than has been previously appreciated. This is not to say that learning by ear didn’t happen – of course it did (and still does) – but my argument is that without the involvement of written notation, the natural processes of introducing variations as well as incomplete recollection would otherwise have jumbled the tune repertory passed down to us far beyond its current degrees of commonality.

Applying this logic in reverse, minor changes to melody, rhythm or ornamentation between any one written version of a particular dance tune and another, can be interpreted as indicative of its having been transcribed from the playing of one or more players at a time when there were different versions in circulation due to its popularity. I also suggested that more fundamental melodic changes are generally imposed deliberately. Such examples may be a change of meter to fit in with a particular dance set, the transposing of the key in order to adapt for a different instrument or singer, or the shortening or simplifying of tunes for the benefit of learner players. Less deliberately, the name of a tune will be forgotten, imperfectly recalled, or will adopt the identity of a person, place, dance or song with which it has been associated. Counteracting these naturally occurring alterations, the major factor influencing the widespread appearance and endurance of certain tunes is their commoditization by successful performers and composers. I progressed with my study on the basis that all of these aspects I observed during my personal involvement in folk music today are no different to those that occurred in the past.

I began my research by tracing several tunes back through their appearances in historical written sources. I did not discriminate between the type of primary sources I examined, but instead noticed that they had widely varying characteristics and purposes. I grouped them accordingly. Those in my first group were all handwritten copy-books which I called “unpublished manuscripts”. Many of these are already the subjects of folk music studies. Thanks to current demand for the reprinting of their contents into contemporary tune-books, their tunes also constitute a sizeable proportion of the repertories of today’s traditional players. In examining the contents of these manuscripts, I observed how the musical pieces they contained included much more than dance tunes, such as songs, military marches and classical pieces by Handel or Paganini. I suggested they had been compiled by individuals whose repertories reflected their occupations as well as their interests, social lives and musical ability. Some individuals undoubtedly played for village bands such as those described by novelist Thomas Hardy and alluded to in the name of an on-line database of manuscripts, “The Village Music Project”, but these were a minority. By contrast, the majority of the manuscript compilers were members of the professional classes, whether

“musically literate amateurs” such as coal broker Henry Atkinson, landowner Joshua Jackson, the Rev. James Goodman, or Romantic poet John Clare, or else trained military bandmen and professional dancing masters. I concluded that the populating of these copy-books in historical times was no different than today, where players, whether professional or not, accumulate bundles of sheet music (or digital equivalents) as aides-memoires.

I then noticed that the greatest proportion of dance tunes within these manuscripts existed in identical forms within manuscripts originating from completely different locations. I did not accept that this was due to lateral diffusion by oral (aural) transmission. Instead, I suggested it was because these tunes had been copied from pre-existing published tune-books which had been commercially distributed over this correspondingly wide geography. I therefore questioned the orthodox theory that these unpublished manuscripts were the key to understanding the folk music tradition, as seems to be implied through the predominance of interest in manuscripts in contemporary tune-books such as Callaghan (2005), and the “Village Music Project” online database. I reasoned that what probably influenced their contents to the greatest extent was the nature and availability of commercially published tune-books from which the manuscript owners had copied their tunes. It was this premise which directed the remainder of my research.

I therefore examined my next category of primary sources which contained written dance tunes. This was a surprisingly large body of published booklets containing music associated with society balls of the type which are now widely appreciated thanks to Jane Austen novels. My impression from the literature was that these society balls tend to be regarded by folk music scholars as being of negligible interest or relevance because they were an elite and exclusive culture. However, they were the prime agents of social interaction among the upper and middle classes for four centuries and, given that dance melodies were the sources of some of the dance tunes in the manuscripts, I decided they deserved closer attention. I found that the dances associated with these balls were of many types, including the “minuet” and the “cotillion”, but it was the so-called “country dances” which were cogent to this study because it was these that correspond most closely in musical terms with today’s traditional dance tunes. I suggested that these “country dances”, as with the “cotillions” and “minuets”, were principally composed by professional dance masters and musicians.

I dwelt on the importance of the role of the professional dancing masters because they were the drivers for the dissemination of the ballroom dances throughout Britain and Ireland. This happened as a result of the introduction of society balls to both provincial administrative centres and fashionable leisure destinations. This was the same process of

cultural imperialism, the juggernaut of English cultural dominance, which caused the English language to penetrate to the furthest corners of Scotland and Ireland at the expense of the Gaelic languages as well as the overriding of numerous local customs including those of governance and allegiance. The architectural manifestations of this westward cultural march were the prestigious civic buildings which incorporated assembly rooms. These began appearing in most provincial towns over the 1700's. The ebullient dancing masters who organized the balls and ran the dance academies, often practiced as family firms over several generations. Many balls were also linked to military barracks, since the military bands often doubled as the musical ensembles. Dublin Castle is the best known example in Ireland and it was also common in the American colonies. This association was strengthened in England during the expansion of military barracks throughout the country during the Napoleonic Wars.

Once I understood more about the role that society balls played in the dissemination of the dances across Britain and Ireland, I investigated the background of the "country dance" specifically. It was one of the oldest types of British ballroom dance. The received wisdom was that it derived from the aristocracy mimicking the dances of the rustic "country folk". However, I traced an unbroken cultural lineage from the country dances published in Playford's *English Dancing Master* in 1651, to the highly formulaic figure dances which were court rituals practiced by powerful rulers of the nation states of continental Europe in the fifteenth century. The dances have been interpreted by Bill Tuck (2008) to be ceremonies which helped consolidate the delicate process of forging diplomatic and political (and marital) alliances. I described examples of manuscripts from Lombardy and Burgundy to show how the "bazzadanza" or "basse danse" respectively were the stylistic antecedents of the seventeenth century country dances printed by Playford's firm. The purpose and form of the written monophonic melodies and choreographies were consistent from 1450 to 1900. They were intended specifically as aides memoires for the benefit of the dancing masters.

The Burgundian "basse danses" were first documented in Britain in the sixteenth century. They arrived independently via at least two routes, one involving the Scottish royal court in Stirling, Perthshire, and the other, the English royal court at Richmond, Surrey. There were probably other introductions via prominent merchants because cultural and trading links between England, Scotland and Burgundy were legion. These dances were known across Europe. Every influential court or noble seat had its variants. In Scotland, the most common types of dance became known as "reels". I have suggested that in England, the name "country dance" appeared in about 1597 following the development of a particular type of dance which was recognized as being peculiarly English, and therefore "of our country", as opposed to the continentally-derived dances such as the "pavan" and "galliard". This dance culture was greatly promoted and

dramatized after King James VI of Scotland ascended the English throne in 1603. By this time they were not only the realm of the nobility, but also of the gentlemen of the Inns of the Court (i.e. the legal profession), and they also accompanied the Cromwellian administrators (later, the Protestant ascendancy) to Ireland. By the 1700's, the fashion for balls among the bourgeoisie had spread to all English, Irish and Scottish counties as already described. Surviving manuscripts of dancing masters in England such as the Winders of Lancashire suggest these gentlemen were teaching a variety of dance types acquired from the huge quantity of printed aides-memoires distributed by London publishing firms such as Walsh's and Thompson's. Meanwhile, the parallel culture of the dance masters indentured to the Scottish estates, such as the Duke of Perth's dancing master David Young at Drummond Castle, is reflected through the greater proportions of original tunes contained in his equivalent manuscripts, a repertory which stimulated an equally thriving culture of dancing throughout Scotland. The English and Scottish dance types were mingled with the economic and cultural union of these countries from the 1740's onwards and the commercial publications reflect this accordingly.

Great Britain (as it then was) was not the only country in which bourgeois life revolved around dances. Balls were common in all European cultural centres, including Brussels, Paris, Florence, Stockholm, Dresden, Koln, Vienna, Königsberg, Naples, Milan, and Crakow. In each case they were the preserve of the privileged and influential members of societies, whose rulers were cosmopolitan and invariably inter-related. It is this aristocratic culture arising from Renaissance origins that explains the similarities of dance tunes across Europe, and not peasant customs. Dancing masters throughout Europe sought acclaim by devising innovative signature dances. The claiming of peasant roots was not unknown, such as the "polka" in Prussia⁴¹⁹ and the "highland dance" in Scotland.⁴²⁰ Dances went in and out of fashion as commercial Assembly Rooms competed for popularity. One of these shifts in fashion occurred in England in about 1815 when the "country dance" fell out of favour to be replaced with a new craze, which was of couple dances from Prussia such as the "waltz", "polka" and "mazurka". The "country dance" survived in Scotland's castles where it was developed as a national art form facilitated by prestigious dancing masters such as Neil Gow and, later, James Scott Skinner. It ultimately attained royal patronage at Balmoral after 1852, and became a tradition for events such as hunt balls.

⁴¹⁹Popular folklore states that the polka was invented by a peasant girl in Eastern Bohemia (now 60 km east of Prague in the Czech Republic but formerly part of Prussia) and was introduced to the ballrooms of Prague in 1835. In 1840, a dancing master called Raab introduced it at the Odeon theatre in Paris, where it was seized upon by Parisian dancing masters and refined for their salons and ballrooms, and taught in dance academies. It was introduced in England by the mid 1800's. Jake Fuller, <http://www.centralhome.com/ballroomcountry/polka.htm> viewed 18/12/14.

⁴²⁰According to Pat Ballantyne, in her paper *When did Highland dancing and bagpipe playing cease to be Scottish* presented at conference entitled Understanding Scotland Musically, University of Newcastle, 20-21 October 2014, the current form of Highland dancing was popularized by a dancing master who claimed he copied the dancing of a shepherd boy.

Although vanished from the most prestigious ballrooms of England and Ireland after 1820, the country dances remained in the teaching repertoires of the dancing masters, requiring as they did rigorous instruction of their component interweaving figures. I have suggested these country dances, as well as the new couple dances, were introduced into the urban and rural working classes by these same dancing masters, who now had no choice but to continue peddling their organizational and teaching skills amidst much economically-reduced social circumstances. Similar fortunes may have befallen military bandsmen newly demobbed following the cessation of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. Anyone able to play a violin, flute or fife was in demand for dances in barns and village halls for events such as weddings. The take-up of these community dances was not uniform across the countryside. Factors encouraging their adoption would have been the availability of the appropriately skilled musicians, overall community cohesion, and philanthropic patronage from either the hereditary landowners or else the newly influential industrial barons. The dockside theatres of port towns such as Newcastle and Bristol (in which clogging and step-dancing acts were popular)⁴²¹ and the community pageants newly devised by paternalistic civic authorities also made important contributions. Factors thwarting social music-making and dancing would have been religious edict (possibly prevalent in Wales), poverty and transhumance. Of those with access to instruments, published tune-books and a degree of musical literacy, the tunes were copied into personal copy-books as already described, but those without musical literacy or the money to buy the materials, could not make such copies. Such were the gypsy community familiar to John Clare, players such as James Hill, and, of course, the unsighted.

Next, I examined why the erstwhile elite origin of these “country dances” has been forgotten and the dance tunes are now relegated, by popular and academic opinion alike, to have always been the immobile culture of the lowest socio-economic classes. This progression was illustrated by my last identified group of historical musical publications containing the dance tunes. These were an eclectic variety of books of melodies which were originally published for a variety of purposes, such as instructional books for parlour entertainments, to provide martial music for military bands, and also, apparently, as vanity projects. However, they demonstrate that over a period of about two hundred years, the dance tunes contained within these books that were originally published for the benefit of the musically literate and mobile middle classes, ended up being popularized as relicts of cultures from antiquity. I demonstrated this using some examples of tunes which were originally promoted as being “new” in the London publications of the early eighteenth century and ended up being termed “ancient”, and attributed to a certain region (such as “Welsh” or “Irish”), by the late nineteenth century.

⁴²¹ The relaxation of the Licensing Act in 1788 led to a burst of provincial theatre building, with many port towns having two, one in the town for the gentry and one in the docks for the navy. (Uglow 2014:66).

The underlying cultural driver for this seemed to be the emergence from the late eighteenth century onwards, of the Antiquarian movement. As far as the published tune-books were concerned, this was manifest not so much as a shift in the type of music sold or played, but in the way in which it was marketed. By the mid nineteenth century, the dance tunes which had been directly copied from the country dances of the society balls, were now considered to be unconnected with the elite and were a topic of interest to these Antiquarians, who wrote about them in the context of being “rustic” or “primitive”. I termed this whole process “antiquarianisation”.

One of the Antiquarians was William Chappell, who, writing in the 1830’s, either misinterpreted, or reiterated the misinterpretation of others, the purpose of dance tunes found in Medieval manuscripts and Playford’s *English Dancing Master*. Specifically, he interpreted the strophic or divisional nature of the musical pieces as being diagnostic of the lowest socio-economic classes. However, reference texts in Western music history attribute similarly straightforward melodies to the troubadours and trouvères of the Plantagenet period of rule in Medieval times. Similarly, Playford’s “country dances”, which, I suggested, were the culture of seventeenth century London bourgeoisie, were also misinterpreted by Chappell as having been derived “from the village green”. Chappell was therefore mistaken in his assignation of the “simple”, strophic melodies to the peasantry. His use of the term “popular” to describe them has also misled subsequent scholars and collectors in the field.

In my view, the late nineteenth and early twentieth century collectors such as Petrie, Kidson and Sharp were describing the remnants of the society ballroom dance melodies as played by, amongst others, the descendants of the dancing masters and band musicians. The contribution made by the remnants of the former dancing master profession also explains the dominance of the fiddle (violin) in folk music. Aside from the misinterpretations of writers like Chappell, the collectors’ interest seems to have been enhanced by the fact that they witnessed the players playing without any musical notation. This was a skill alien to those intensively trained in sight-reading as was expected of pupils of “art” music at this time. However, since the age of the Renaissance era “basse dances”, those dance masters who devised and taught the dances used scripts only as musical “aides-memoires”, or frameworks around which to improvise (Tuck 2008:20 and Barlow 1985:10). This practice continued over the Baroque period, but died out during the Classical era of symphonic compositions. Nevertheless, this practice of improvised variations, from surviving scripts and observation, remains the norm among players of these dance tunes today. The collectors regarded this as a “primitive skill” and must have been unaware that it was once normal practice in elite, “art” music too.

I referred to the succession of independent musician-publishers (as opposed to the more commoditised publishing houses such as Playford, Thomson and Walsh) which dated back to the development of print itself, when aspiring poets, actors and playwrights funded the printing and distribution of their own broadsheet ballads and “Garlands”. As I found with my research into tunes such as “Maggie Lauder”, “Highland Laddie” and “Yellow Haired Laddie”, the habit of publishing and re-publishing Scottish songs by poets and playwrights such as Allan Ramsay made a specific contribution to the history of the traditional dance tune genre, particularly during the mid eighteenth century craze for all things “Caledonian”, when many Scottish dances and songs were brought to London and Dublin by enterprising dance or music professionals who published their melodies as sheets or books. The histories of tunes such as “Princess Royal” and “Black Joke” also illustrate how songs from London and Dublin stage entertainments were also frequently interchanged with melodies for dances. Nevertheless, the repeated printing of these melodies over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries resulted in the perceived provenance of these tunes (and associated ballads) altering from their original bourgeois purpose to a proletariat origin. Players of the bagpipes such as John Peacock and Patrick O’Farrell also published their personal repertoires and therefore enhanced the perception of regional provenances, although they also drew on the music of stage and ballroom. Observations made by both Gelbert (2011) and Harker (1985) were consistent with my demonstration of the extent to which print has influenced, or even created, today’s folk music culture. The repeated publishing of the same material over several generations caused its original authors and purpose to become indistinct. Of relevance when contrasting with other countries, is the fact that in the eighteenth century, England had the most advanced publishing industry and print distribution systems in Europe (Gelbart 2011:21-2).⁴²²

Gelbert (2011) also highlighted the intensity of national consciousness among the educated elite of Britain. Causes may be traced to her advanced trading and colonial conquests, the print culture as described, and the weakening and dissolution of the Islands’ feudal governments which had been achieved by the defeat of the Jacobites, the dissolution of Scottish Highland society, and the invasion of Ireland and the implementation of its Penal Laws. By the late nineteenth century, the patriotic English literati were acutely conscious of their lack of any particular national musical identity. This was in contrast to Ireland, Wales and Scotland which were all promoting their own cultures. Hanovarian émigré and music teacher, Carl Engel (1818-1882), in his *An Introduction to the Study of National Music* (1866), drew particular attention to this by

⁴²² Gelbart (2011:22-3) also suggests this was because, unlike other European countries, England dissolved the absolute power of the monarchy and was also the first European country to pass modern copyright legislation in 1710 (whereas in other countries such as France, the issuing of royal publishing “privileges” symbolised absolutism, or the King’s continued status as the prime channel of divine inspiration). Thus in England, the concept of intellectual property appeared decades before other European countries.

highlighting Germany's domination in the field at this time. Engel has been attributed, for instance by Knevett (2015), to have provided a motivation for the foundation of the Folk Song Society in 1899. The presence, or not, of German-influenced racism in the early history of English folk music scholarship is now a frequent topic of debate thanks to the Germanic ethnocentrism associated with the development of the folklore studies in the nineteenth century, and the fact that this immediately pre-dated the events leading up to Nazism in the early twentieth century.⁴²³ Nevertheless, it is apparent in all early scholarship of folk and traditional music, that championing the concept of a "national music" was very much at the forefront of these folk music enthusiasts' minds and writings.

Nationalism in the nineteenth century was associated with an inclination to believe that a country's inhabitants and their forebears had "possessed" their territory since time immemorial (Davies, 1999). These early folk music enthusiasts championed "the ancestral heritage" by figuratively leaping over vast spans of time and identifying the people and places of the remote past with the people and places of the present. This approach is seen now with the preoccupation for carving up repertoires of dance tunes (and songs) into regions and the assignation of older melodies as being, variously, "English", "Irish", "Scottish" or "Welsh".

Cecil Sharp's promotion of the nineteenth century theory that European folk dances and music arose from the shared identical primitive belief systems and "expressive cultures" of an ethnically uniform Europe is therefore refuted. It was an anachronistic and romanticized theory, but typical of its era. Nevertheless, this theory underpinned all subsequent labours by the Folk Song Society and its successors. Folk societies, authors, enthusiasts and scholars continue to discuss dance tunes in the context of a particular nationality or region, such as "Irish", "Scottish", "Yorkshire" or "Northumbrian". Descriptions of the dance tune genre continue to allude to their antiquity and immobility. Repertoires corresponding to a particular location are devised using whatever national or regional borders the author chooses.

The perception of music as a facet of place and ethnicity has reached the height of mysticism and essentialism with the linking of the so-called "Celtic" regions, such as in Nicholas Carolan's account of Irish traditional music in *Grove Music Online* and the various publications I examined on "Celtic music". I was also surprised to find the "Germanic" moniker still in currency, as shown by Bruno Nettl writing in 1990. These monikers derived from the aesthetics of the Antiquarian movement a century ago. Previously there was no alternative theory explaining the homogeneity of European folk dances. Now I have proposed one, and supported it with evidence, I hope it

⁴²³ Engel and his compatriots in the previous century, such as Herder, Müllenhoff, Mannhardt, Danker and Schneider, were products of their time and were promoting the concept of *volksleid* (folklore) within a wider cultural and political climate championing the unification of what was, then, a number of dissociated Germanic states.

demonstrates that given Europe's socio-cultural history, such essentialism is reductionist and inappropriate when applied to the study of traditional dance tunes.

My examples of tunes demonstrated some of the liberties taken by some of the early folk music enthusiasts, who collected from the field. Examples were Sharp's selection of a tune from Hertfordshire to accompany a sword dance from Northumberland, and Petrie's alteration of the modalities of the tunes. It was such liberties which inspired recent questioning of the very existence of folk music (begun by A.L. Lloyd in the 1950's) and which resulted in the "revisionist" stance promoted by Harker (1972, 1985) and Boyes (1993). Harker also incorporated in his critique, ballad publishers dating back to the seventeenth century. Overall, my study was intended to be an independent and unbiased factual appraisal of primary sources, but upon its completion, I compared my findings with that of Harker's, and reflected on how much his stance had been influenced by his self-declared Marxist sympathies. For instance, where I used the term "musician-publishers", which is reasonably factual, Harker labelled the same group of people "mediators", accused them of "forgeries and lies" and suggested they were in the business of deliberate cultural manipulation and expropriating "working man's culture" or "the proletarian culture". His accounts of certain historical figures such as Robert Burns did not match any others I have read. Personal politics obviously infuses any written history, but there were occasions where *Fakesong* seemed to be re-writing history.

Harker and Boyes may be grouped with Chappell, Ritson and James MacPherson, in that their ideologies and expectations have obfuscated fact. They all assumed "simple" tunes arose from the illiterate rural working classes, that this "genuine folk" or "proletarian" culture always existed quite separately to "art" music. Harker and Boyes simply assumed that the original so-called "folk culture" has been misrepresented. They *also* assumed that the activity of "collecting folk tunes" was a pastime unchanged over history. Harker and Boyes both refer to Playford as if he was a latter-day collector, either of "songs of workers' culture" (Harker 1985:3) or "folk dances" (Boyes 2010:22). However, the concept of a lower class musical culture of ancient and pastoral origins, whether Gaelic or English-speaking, only emerged during the Enlightenment in the late eighteenth century (over a century after Playford), and that the term "folk music" itself did not exist before the very end of the nineteenth century (Gelbart, 2011). Through their misrepresentation of culture in contrasting historical eras, Harker and Boyes may be justifiably accused of the same inaccuracies that they levelled at their subjects. Knevelt (2015:604) has concluded there was no evidence for the political awareness of which the founders of the Folk Song Society or EFDSS are accused by Harker and Boyes. Classical musical history is generally described in terms of important personalities and I observed this tendency in studies of folk music. The scripts these Antiquarians collected

and their activities to promote them certainly deserve consideration because they had a profound influence on the accessibility to folk music that we enjoy today, but the motivations and methods of certain individuals will never be known with certainty, no matter how many speculative papers are published on the matter. What is important to understand, is that the activities of the collectors from the later nineteenth century onwards, albeit acting under paternalistic motives (some of which may seem discordant to modern aesthetics) were responsible for creating the conditions by which folk music (including dance tunes) has achieved its current vibrant and popular status. In both the “imperialist” and “antiquarian” stages of growth and promotion of the culture, print has been of fundamental significance. This fact is notwithstanding the usual absence of scripts in contemporary settings where the tunes are played now.

I have explained how aristocratic imperialism followed by intellectual Antiquarianism paved the foundations for today’s folk music culture in Britain and Ireland. My proposed history is, however, not an endorsement of *gesunkene Kulturgüter* (“sunken cultural values”),⁴²⁴ i.e. the concept that the mass of humanity is completely uncreative, and that folklore consists only of cultural elements that sink from the creative upper classes. The dance tune genre has acted as the skeleton for thousands of individual compositions which all play important roles in the history of social music-making. Any folk club or traditional music session today is testament that artistic and musical creativity emerges from all socio-economic classes by individuals with widely varying degrees of musical education and literacy. Most people’s dance tune repertoires now consist mostly of melodies associated with contemporary players or from those from the recent past. These players were predominantly non-elite and mostly non-professional (apart from local dance bands). Ceilidhs and Morris dances have developed their own identities, and their popularity today far outstrips the elite ballroom “country dances”, which are relegated to special interest societies and the occasional film. I also emphasize that my study relates only to the particular musical genre that I have called “traditional dance tunes of Britain and Ireland” as defined, and I do not suggest my conclusions apply to ballads, *sean nós*, shanties, traditional airs, *Piobaireachd* or *Ceòl Mòr*. All are just as important elements of contemporary folk music culture, and all of which will have different histories.

That Sharp’s “grand unified theory” of folk dance origins was extremely influential in twentieth century research may be illustrated by Sabol (1959, 1978), who described certain masquerade melodies as having been inspired by “folk” or “Morris dances”, citing Sharp as his source (an interpretation I would now be inclined to question). Nettl (1990) and much other musicological literature also cited Sharp as an important source. The

⁴²⁴ This theory was proposed by Hans Naumann (1886-1951), first of all in his *Primitive Gemeinschaftskulture* (or “Primitive communal culture”) in 1921 and secondly in *Grundzüge der deutschen Volkskunde* or, “Basic principles of German Folklore” in 1922 (Dow, 2014, presents English translations).

challenge posed by Harker and Boyes' "revisionist" stance was a timely counterbalance to the otherwise predominantly hagiographical treatment of Sharp and the other early folk music collectors, who were all unduly influenced by imaginative and anachronistic theories, which evolved from the Enlightenment-era fascination with an invented Gaelic bard, and one single description of pagan sword-dancers whose allegorical nature was missed.

Nevertheless, belief in Sharp's theory continues unabated. Contemporary studies have been, and continue to be, constructed for the purpose of substantiating it. I provided contemporary illustrations whereby the absence of historical records has been refused to be accepted as being indicative of the absence of existence (also palpable within the feedback I received with this dissertation). Followers of Sharpian theory will argue that the records are biased towards the intelligentsia or elite because the original rural, peasant dances were not written down. I refer to the many surviving, extremely detailed manuals of dance from the fifteenth century onwards, such as those by Domenico "de Piacenza", Thomas Morley and De Montagut. They all describe these dances as devised by masters who earned their livings promoting this culture. Not one of them described any "collecting" trips to the countryside.

Thus, the romantic and anachronistic opinions of nineteenth and twentieth century collectors continue to manipulate contemporary understanding, despite barely-believed glimpses of evidence to the contrary. I demonstrate examples of how this uncertainty is manifested with the following two excerpts.

There are those who believe that the styles of European folk music evolved to a state similar to their present one (perhaps a thousand years ago) and that the folk styles are an invaluable remnant of pre-cultivated times, even of prehistoric eras. This belief can be neither substantiated nor negated. Nettl (1990:38-9).

Here, Bruno Nettl seems to undermine comments he will make fifteen pages later which suggests that folk music dates back to pre-Medieval times. Nicholas Carolan similarly hedges his bets when he wrote for *Grove Music Online* the following, sweepingly imprecise excerpt:

[Ireland's] traditional music is largely Celtic (Gaelic or Irish) and British (English and Scottish) in origin. Its main contemporary forms are songs in Irish and English and instrumental airs and dance tunes. Apart from its functional roles in dancing and marching, the music is now primarily recreational, whereas in the past it also had mythic, supernatural and seasonal ceremonial significance. It shares many of the characteristics of the traditional music of western Europe and is related to the music of other Celtic regions, especially Scotland.....⁴²⁵

⁴²⁵ White, Harry and Carolan, Nicholas. "Ireland." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed September 1, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13901>.

I have described the progress of these dances and their associated music over history, from their nascence within elite settings, through their sudden (historically speaking) appearance and adoption among the lower socio-economic classes, then their reinvention as a topic of antiquarian interest, then a social and community culture, then a commercial commodity, and now as an academic discipline. I therefore propose that the distinctive melodic structure of these dance tunes should not be thought of as a facet of any particular socio-economic class, but is symptomatic of the affinity and familiarity most people feel for melodies consisting of short, repeated phrases with closed cadences. However, while Sharp's "grand unified theory" and other elements of "Celticism", "Gaelicism", romanticism and pastoral sentimentality remain accepted currency, we remain in the final stage of the "antiquarianization process".

7.1 Implications for Future Research

It remains for me to say a few words about the implications of my conclusions in terms of directions for future research. Folk music is omitted in most conventional music studies⁴²⁶ which otherwise concern themselves with the works and biographies of the composers responsible for pieces of music which were musically ground-breaking at the time. This would be understandable for those believing that folk music was an undistinguished, primitive entity out of which Western art music managed to emerge triumphant. To them, folk music would have represented the antithesis of artistic creativity. However, my conclusion suggests that in the Renaissance/Early Baroque periods, there was more blurring between "art" music and - for the sake of argument - what we now call "folk music". If so, there may be some interesting re-evaluations to be made on the musical influences of some composers.

None of the literature I consulted on Medieval music gave much significance to elite court dances, or their later ballroom manifestations. Grout and Palisca's *A History of Western Music* (1996:67-8) described the thirteenth and fourteenth century "estampie" (or Italian "istanpita") as monophonic or polyphonic, each with several sections ("puncta" or "partes") and with incomplete and closed cadences. This description corresponds with today's traditional dance tunes. Grout and Palisca also make the statement that "estampies happen to be the earliest known examples of an instrumental repertory that surely reaches back far beyond the thirteenth century". The fact that the music was probably connected to a dance was not considered, nor any justification for its assumed antiquity provided (probably another illustration of the tendency to ascribe simple tunes to "primitive" folk rather than courtly dance). Emmerson (1971:10) also refers to the

⁴²⁶ No folk music was mentioned in Robertson and Stevens' *The Pelican History of Music parts 1 and 2* (1960, 1969) Hurd's *An Outline History of European Music* (1968), Grout and Palisca's *A History of Western Music* (1996) and Fletcher's *World Musics in Context: A Comprehensive Survey of the World's Major Musical Cultures* (2001).

troubadours and their courtly dances (“estampies”, “ballades”, “rondelles” and “pastourelles”) but with regard to pre-Medieval times, makes the statement (without any foundation) that “it is strange that there is no mention of dance, especially when the prominent place of dance in pre-Christian festivals is so well confirmed by its survival into medieval times” (Emmerson 1971:2). Grout and Palisca (1996:231,315) suggest that undifferentiated “folk music” was mentioned briefly in the context that it had made some unspecified contribution to, firstly, Renaissance, and secondly, early Baroque classical “art” music, although again, courtly dance is not considered. Nettl (1990), as well as Eric Mackerness’ *A Social History of English Music* (1964), also referred to folk and art music “interactions” via Medieval minstrels, liturgy and liturgical drama (proposed to be sources of mystery plays) and other unspecified Renaissance exchanges, similarly ignoring dance. Some literature addressing wider aspects of music culture, such as Peter Fletcher’s *World Musics in Context: A Comprehensive Survey of the World’s Major Musical Cultures* (2001) and Christopher Marsh’s *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (2010), did not mention society balls at all. A re-examination of some of the primary sources, such as that in Davison and Apel (1949), to study possible early influences on the professional composers of “art” music, would be illustrative.

Gelbert (2011) also offered a detailed consideration of the relationship over history between art and folk music, but he similarly failed to recognize the role played by the ballroom dance culture. This is despite his discussion of Scottish dance masters and publishers James Oswald and Neil Gow, and making frequent references to simple, monophonic melodies, which he described as “Scottish [national] music” or Scottish folk music” (Gelbert 2007:31-2, 240-1) without mentioning these players’ roles as dancing masters. He therefore missed the point that they were composing these melodies with their archetypal so-called “traditional” features, for the dancing of figured dances

The nineteenth century players as described by the Antiquarians are worthwhile sociological studies in their own right, but the professional and/or middle class status of some of them is often overlooked. Studies of working class, village musicians are much more common in folk music studies than, for example, balls, masquerades and other elite pursuits. Many historical publications which were originally commercial commodities intended for the elite have been inaccurately interpreted to be collections of melodies collected from more humble origins. Stephen Campbell makes some interesting observations about how the contents of the unpublished hand-written manuscripts have been selectively filtered by scholars of folk music in order to perpetuate “the mythology of the rural idyll and a constructed folk paradigm” (Campbell 2012:48-9). To this I add that I have seen the class status of some of these historical “folk musicians” themselves (such

as Turloch Carolan, Neil Gow etc) similarly adjusted for the same reason.⁴²⁷ There is also undue focus on geographies, such as “folk tunes of South Yorkshire” (Davenport, 2000), whereas certain tunes found therein are also found in sources from other counties. Studies of players and their manuscripts should appropriately reflect the full social and occupational contexts of their owners, since these aspects are just as illustrative (if not more) than the administrative or political boundaries within which the owners and their manuscripts may have happened to have existed.

Researching dance tunes was rewarding and is now comparatively easy thanks to ever-expanding on-line resources. Breathnach (1996:64) observed frequent mismatches between the names of the dance tunes and the social and economic conditions of their supposed working-class origin. However, my research of the history of tunes found that their names often turn out to be more literally apt than is credited by those with expectations of more rural or proletarian origins. For example, Shepherd (2011:23) describes the “Duke of York March” in Joshua Jackson’s manuscript (1798, M-82) as having a “Yorkshire flavour” and Merryweather (1994, C-75) suggested it was composed to be played by the York Waits, but I established that the most likely origin was that it was a military march devised by a regiment connected with the Duke of York. By finding and examining the scripts in which they appear, one gains a glimpse of the lives of their creators, whether the authors of plays and comedies from the London and Dublin stages, the architects of the fantastical masquerades, the gentlemen balladeers of the Enlightenment, military band leaders, the publishers of pieces for parlour entertainments or the provincial dancing masters flattering their wealthy patrons. The professional composers of the melodies were legion but have generally passed into obscurity in favour of certain musicians, such as Carolan and Gow, who are described, despite circumstantial evidence, as representing “local folk culture”. I found it particularly interesting to see how the Jacobite conflicts were reflected in the names of the dance tunes originating from both sides of what was a divided (lowland Scots) community, but these are now sometimes misrepresented to promote the current separatist agenda. Overall, the roles played by professional dancing masters, stage promoters, music publishing companies and the military have tended to be neglected but might deserve more attention as topics of social history. In addition, I highlighted the role played by the publishing and distribution of instruction books for salon skills (including pianoforte, flute, and voice). Research of folk music (and song) should not be dismissive of printed source documents just because they may have been professional (or “bourgeois”) in origin.

The fortunes of elite ballroom dances, to some extent, were facets of the rise and fall of the various ruling hierarchies of Europe. Reasons for their endurance in Britain and

⁴²⁷ For instance, Emmerson (1971:51) states that “Niel Gow was born in 1727 in the Gaelic speaking community of Inver by Dunkeld... Gow was a supreme fiddler with the easy manner of a Highlander”. No other accounts of Gow suggest he was either Gaelic-speaking or a Highlander.

Ireland may be linked to Britain's comparative social stability, uninterrupted economic growth and the advanced publishing industry. Crucially, in Britain and Ireland, the tradition of social dancing persisted and adapted to the new egalitarian age, whereas in many neighbouring European countries, it didn't. The opportunities for playing and dancing (and singing) today in the British Isles is a largely unplanned classless development and the culmination of a series of happy chances over history. Comparative studies of the social and cultural histories of other European countries would be informative and would help to understand the reasons, where relevant, that equivalent creativity faltered, and to evaluate the prospects for its return.

7.2 Implications for the Playing of Music with Links to the Past

The role of special interest societies and clubs, as well as "folk music professionals", are to be lauded for providing opportunities, particularly to those without advanced musical education, to master an instrument in a social setting, to learn to dance, and to engage in beneficial community activities. Without them, innumerable social and cultural events, charitable endeavours and commercial enterprises would not be happening. Fortunately, in the main, British and Irish society today tolerates and engages with these activities. Understanding the factors behind both the enhancement and the repression of community music-making is important in ensuring its continuance – reinforcement of which, incidentally, involves more than just the promotion of public performances.

Marsh (2010:1-2) quoted how early modern England rang with music. When satirist Ned Ward⁴²⁸ walked the streets of London in the very last years of the seventeenth century, he witnessed the city waits, the blind ballad-singer, a concentration of music-makers at Bartholomew Fair with catcalls and penny trumpets, a "parcel of country scrapers sawing a tune"; music houses stood thick on by another, the boom of kettledrums and the blare of trumpets signalled the commencement of dance-shows, a consort of fiddlers, hautboy players. Music existed beyond the influence of theatre, elite tuition and print. Whilst one can draw no conclusions about the form of music in this description, the contemporary practice of playing traditional dance tunes in sessions and festivals, which are historically recent phenomena, has the additional benefit of allowing cultural and social barriers to be crossed rather than created. Not only is music the sign of a healthy society, but activities such as these can fulfil the innate need that people have for a sense of belonging. Promotion of the knowledge of traditional dance tunes is one way by which social cohesion is enhanced. Traditional dance tunes are also attractive to children, and can often motivate them to engage with pursuing a musical skill more readily than the more formalized graded pieces associated with classical music scholarship.

⁴²⁸ Edward Ward, *The London Spy: Ned Ward's Classic Account of Underworld Life in Eighteenth-Century London*, ed. Paul Hyland. East Lansing: Colleagues. 1993.

The ability to compose is common but can be thwarted by the educational and cultural expectations of a society governed by elitist orchestral and liturgical predilections. Most people's dance tune repertoires now are dominated by melodies associated with contemporary players or from those from the recent past who were fortunate enough to live in communities where personal expression was championed. Sharp, Petrie, Captain O'Neill, Lady Llanover and all the other characters involved in the founding of FSS, EFDSS, RSCDS, the Welsh Folk Society, the Northumbrian Pipers Society and many others, were responsible for this, even if they might not recognize (or approve of) the result.

However, there is a delicate balance between promotion and creative repression. My study arose out of the conflict I experienced over some people's opinion as to how one should play a piece of music which has connections with the past. Should it be played authentically, or should it be open to personal interpretation? Is the word "inaccurate" relevant to a type of music which is regarded to be common currency? Are there grounds for rejecting any newly composed piece for reasons of its inauthenticity? Does long usage deserve sanctity? I began by drawing attention to the fact that both workshops and modern commercially published tune-books are often lax in acknowledging the sources of tunes, even those which may be recently composed. Meanwhile, I also observed how tunes have evolved over the twentieth century and continue to evolve, and will do so every time someone plays without recourse to a script (or chooses to deviate from it). Irrespective of whether this evolution should or shouldn't happen (and I was aware that opinions differ widely), this debate is probably as old as music. "Maggie Lauder", "The Red House" and "Princess Royal" and all the other tunes I examined, have a modern identity suited to their current settings and contexts, and they have all had injections of commercial commoditisation along the way. Harker suggested that the collectors and musician-publishers who laid the foundation for today's folk music culture were dishonest in misrepresenting songs for "their own monetary gain". My opinion is that the publishers of these tune- and song-books were variously poets, authors, wits, playwrights, commercial publishers of popular culture, historians, antiquarians or simply enthusiasts of ballads and song, who lived in times long before Government funding was available for political, philosophical or social studies. There were no over-arching "rules" governing authenticity, only a need to make a living and create an impression, whether by exploiting personal talent or ambition, or catering to the tastes of the readership (or a combination of both), as they saw fit. The same is true today. Attention to precision to an existing score is entirely appropriate for group performances in dances and musical ensembles, as well as for competitions. However, there is a fine line to be drawn between didactic adherences to past formats for a good reason versus allowing this music, as well as creative individuals, to breathe. The two

approaches will always exist and both are valid. Care should be taken that pedagogical empowerment does not restrict creativity or compromise inclusivity or courtesy. My intention is that through my research into the history and historiography of dance tunes, some advance is made towards placing these contrasting approaches to playing traditional music into perspective, such that the times and places where either may be more appropriate are better understood and respected.

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8.2 On-Line Resources

A Traditional Music Library: <http://www.traditionalmusic.co.uk/>
Ballad Operas Online: <http://www.odl.ox.ac.uk/balladoperas/>
British Library Archive and Manuscripts: <http://searcharchives.bl.uk>,
British Library catalogue: <http://www.bl.uk/>
Ceolas: <http://www.ceolas.org/ceolas.html>
Encyclopaedia Britannica: <http://www.britannica.com/>
The English Broadside Ballad Archive: <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/22356/image>
Folk Music Society of Ireland: <http://folkmusicsocietyofireland.wordpress.com/>
Folkopedia: http://folkopedia.efdss.org/wiki/Main_Page and
[http://folkopedia.efdss.org/wiki/List_of_historical_tunebooks, some of which are available on the internet](http://folkopedia.efdss.org/wiki/List_of_historical_tunebooks,_some_of_which_are_available_on_the_internet)
Internet Archive: <http://archive.org/index.php>
Irish Traditional Music Archive: <http://www.itma.ie/>
Irish Music Collections On Line: <http://www.pipers.ie/imco/>
EFDSS: Vaughan Williams Memorial Library; Gallery of Historic Dance and Tune Books:
<http://library.efdss.org/cgi-bin/dancebooks.cgi>
Frank Kidson: His "Grove" Contributions: <http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/kidson.htm>
Folk Archive Resource North East: <http://www.folknortheast.com/>
Greg Lindahl's SCA Renaissance Dance homepage:
<http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/dance.html>
Grove Music Online: Accessed from Oxford Music Online, via University of Sheffield
Jack Campin's homepage: <http://www.campin.me.uk/>
Musical Traditions: The Magazine for Traditional Music throughout the world:
<http://www.mustrad.org.uk/>
Music of North West England website: <http://www.fiddlemusic.co.uk/north-west-music.htm>
Na Píobairí Uilleann: <http://source.pipers.ie/Section.aspx?id=9>
National Library of Scotland: Special Collections of Printed Music:
<http://digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/pageturner.cfm?id=97135480>
Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, ed. 2006: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>
Regency Dances Org: <http://regencydances.org/sources.php>
Roots of Folk: Old English, Scots, and Irish Songs and Tunes, compiled by Bruce Olsen:
<http://www.fresnostate.edu/folklore/Olson/index.html>
Ross Anderson's Music Page: <http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/music/>
Scottish Country Dance Database: <http://my.strathspey.org/dd/index/>
Stephen Corrsin's Sword Dance History Research site: <http://stephendcorrsin.com/>
The Colonial Music Institute™ Annapolis, Maryland:
<http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/Index.htm>
The Complete Works of Turloch O'Carolan: <http://www.oldmusicproject.com/occ/tunes.html>

The English Broadside Ballad Archive: <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/>,
The Fiddlers' Companion: <http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/index.htm>
The Free Dictionary: <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/>
The Music of James Scot Skinner: <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/scottskinner/>
The Music of the Sixteenth Century Broadside Ballad:
<http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/ballads/music.html>
The North East Folklore Archive: <http://www.nefa.net/index.htm>
The Diary of Samuel Pepys: daily entries from the 17th Century London diary:
<http://www.pepysdiary.com/p/2624.php>.
The Seán Reid Society: <http://www.seanreidsociety.org/index.html>
The Scottish Music Index: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Printed Collections:
<http://www.scottishmusicindex.org/bibliography.asp>
The Strathspey Server: <http://www.strathspey.org/index.html>
University of Aberdeen website: <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/scottskinner/introduction.shtml>
(viewed 15/09/12).
University of New Hampshire Library: <http://www.library.unh.edu/find/special-collections-archives>
Village Music Project: <http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/>
Wellesley College Library: http://archive.org/details/Wellesley_College_Library.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Modern Published Tune Collections

Appendix 1: Modern Published Tune Collections (mixed sources)

C #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	Forename(s)	Date	Title of Collection	Publisher & notes	C	NW
1	Ashton & Dyson	David & Chris	1985	A First Collection of Yorkshire Dance Music. Adapted from a collection in the V.W. Mem. Lib. dated 1752 . It pre-dates and is not part of the Jackson collection.	unknown		√
2	Ball	Ian	1994	One Too Many. 22 New Tunes.	Ian Ball, Mossley		√
3	Barber	Nick	2002	Nick Barber's English Choice: 96 Tunes with Chords, from English Traditional Music Sessions	Mally Publications. ISBN 1 899512 61 6	√	
4	Barnes		1986	English Country Dance Tunes			
5	Bowen	Robin Hugh	1987	Tro Llaw 200: Welsh Hornpipes	National Library of Wales, ISBN 0 907 158 25 0	√	
6	Bowen	Robin Hugh	1990	Lewelyn Alaw: Pocket Tune Book	Gwasg Teires	√	
7	Callaghan	Barry	2007	Hardcore English: 300 cracking tunes from manuscript, recorded and aural sources	English Folk, Dance and Song Society.	√	
8	Cato	Pauline	2003	Pauline Cato's Northumbrian Choice	Mally Publications	√	
9	Cooper	Pete	2006	99 English Fiddle Tunes	Schott. ISBN 1 902455 57 6	√	
10	Darke	Denis	1972	Band Call	EFDSS, London	√	
11	Davenport	Paul	1997	The South Riding Tune Book.	The South Riding Folk Network. ISBN 0-9529857-0-5		√
12	Davenport	Paul	1997	The Second South Riding Tune Book.	The South Riding Folk Network. ISBN 0-9529857-0-5		√
13	Davenport	Paul	2000	The Urban Fiddler.	The South Riding Folk Network.		√
14	Duncan	Craig		Celtic Fiddle Tunes	Mel Bay Publications		
15	Fleming-Williams & Shaw	Nan & Pat	1967	Traditional Dance Airs, Books 1 and 2	EFDSS, London	√	
16	Gore	Charles	1994	The Scottish Fiddle Music Index: tune titles from the 18th and 19th Century printed instrumental music collections, list of indexed and related collections and where to find them	Original out of print, but re-published by mally publications: www.mally.com		
17	Helsdon	Alan	2004	Hawk and Hamsler, a Selection of Norfolk tunes transcribed from aural and recorded sources	Quanting Publications, ISBN 0 9549223 0 1		

Notes:

C means referenced in Callaghan (2007) *Hardcore English: 300 cracking tunes from manuscript, recorded and aural sources*

NW means Music of North West England website: <http://www.fiddlemusic.co.uk/north-west-music.htm>. Viewed 27/11/11.

Appendix 1 (continued): Modern Published Tune Collections (mixed sources)

C #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	Forename(s)	Date	Title of Collection	Publisher & notes	C	NW
18	Kennedy	Peter	1997-9	Fiddler's Tunebook Series: Traditional Music of Britain and Ireland, Books 1-4	Dave Mallinson Publications. ISBNs 1 899512 48 9; 1 988512 49 7; 1 899512 50 0; 1 899512 51 9	√	
19	Kermode	Mike	2004	Furness Tradition Tune Book.	Ulverston.		√
20	Kirkpatrick & Harris	John & Sue	1988	Opus Pocus	Dragonfly Music	√	
21	Kirkpatrick	John	2003	John Kirkpatrick's English Choice	Mally Publications. ISBN 1 899512 62 4	√	
22	Knowles	Jamie	1995	A Northern Lass: Traditional Dance Music from the North of England	Dave Mallinson Publications. ISBN 1-899512-16-0	√	√
23	Knowles, Knowles & McGrady	Jamie, Pat & Ian	1988	Northern Frisk: a Treasury of Tunes from north west England. From NW collections compiled during the 17th, 18th & 19th centuries	Dragonfly Music	√	√
24	Howson	Katie	2007	Before the Night was Out: Traditional music from Suffolk, notated from recorded and aural sources	East Anglian Traditional Music Trust	√	
25	Hunter	James	2009	The Fiddle music of Scotland: A Comprehensive Annotated Collection of 365 Tunes with a Historical Introduction	Hardie Press		
26	Learthart & Jones	Charles & Derek	1990	Kentish Hops: 18th and 19th Century Kentish dances with contemporary tunes	Ring O'Bells Publishing, Croydon, ISBN 0 951 4285 6 X	√	
27	Lewes Armes Folk Club		2007	The Lewes Favourites	The Lewes Arms Folk Club	√	
28	Loud	Pete	2004	Pete Loud's Collection of Northumbrian, Tyneside and other Fiddle Tunes	Author	√	
29	Mallinson	Dave		English Pub Session Tunes	Mally's Traditional Music Store www.mally.com		
30	Mallinson	Dave	1988	Mally's Cotswold Morris Book Volume Two	Mally's Traditional Music Store www.mally.com		
31	Marriott & Marriott	Roger & Beryl	1976	Tunes for the Band	EFDSS, London	√	
32	McNevin	Paul	1988	A Complete Guide to Learning the Irish Fiddle	Walton Manufacturing Ltd		

Notes:

C means referenced in Callaghan (2007) *Hardcore English: 300 cracking tunes from manuscript, recorded and aural sources*

NW means Music of North West England website: <http://www.fiddlemusic.co.uk/north-west-music.htm>. Viewed 27/11/11.

Appendix 1 (continued): Modern Published Tune Collections (mixed sources)

C #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	Forename(s)	Date	Title of Collection	Publisher & notes	C	NW
33	Merryweather & Seattle	James & Matt	1997	The Plain Brown Tune Book. A Collection of Music from Saddleworth. Tunes from the Ellis Knowles MSS c.1847 Lancs., tunes from other sources, tunes in the repertoire of the Plain Brown Wrapper Band and tunes by band members.	Plain Brown Publishing Co. ISMN M-9002006-0-0		√
34	Moon	John C	1980	Music of the Fifes & Drums: Volume Three, Medleys. Contains medleys from Niel Gow's second collection, [some others] and unattributed ones	The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.		
35	Northumbrian Pipers Society		1985	Northumbrian Pipers Tunebook (reprint of first edition, 1936).	Northumbrian Pipers' Society, Newcastle upon Tyne	√	
36	Northumbrian Pipers Society		1989	The Charlton Memorial Tunebook (reprint of first edition, 1974)	Northumbrian Pipers' Society, Newcastle upon Tyne		
37	Northumbrian Pipers Society		1991	Northumbrian Pipers Tunebook, Volume 2 (reprint of first edition, 1981)	Northumbrian Pipers' Society, Newcastle upon Tyne	√	
38	Northumbrian Pipers Society		1993	The Northumbrian Piper's Yellow Pocket Book	Dragonfly Music		
39	Northumbrian Pipers Society		1993	The Northumbrian Piper's Green Pocket Book	Dragonfly Music		
40	Offord	John	2008	Greenwich Traditional Musicians Co-operative Tune Book-2008.			
41	Offord	John	1985	John of the Greeny Cheshire Way, the Famous Double Hornpipes of Lancashire and Cheshire	The Friends of Folk Music	√	
42	Offord	John	2008	John of the Green, The Cheshire Way. The famous triple-time hornpipes of Northwest England with a selection of country dance tunes of the Baroque era.	Green Man Music. (1st ed. 1985) ISBN 978-0-9556324-0-2		√
43	Peters	Brian	2002	Rattle & Roll. Tunes from the repertoire of a twentieth century traditional musician. Brian's own compositions, plus traditional pieces from the north of England and some from Wales.			√
44	Peoples	Tommy	1986	Fifty Irish Fiddle Tunes, arranged and played by Tommy Peoples	Walton Manufacturing Ltd		
45	Raven	Michael	1984	1000 English Country Dance Tunes	Author (second edition 1999)		
46	Schofield & Pickering	Bon & Julian	1973	Down Back o' t' Shoddy. Tunes & Dances	EFDSS		√
47	Seattle	Matt	1990	The Morpeth Rant	Dragonfly Music		

Notes:

C means referenced in Callaghan (2007) *Hardcore English: 300 cracking tunes from manuscript, recorded and aural sources*

NW means Music of North West England website: <http://www.fiddlemusic.co.uk/north-west-music.htm>. Viewed 27/11/11.

Appendix 1 (continued): Modern Published Tune Collections (mixed sources)

C #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	Forename(s)	Date	Title of Collection	Publisher & notes	C	NW
48	Seattle	Matt	2006	Over the Hills and Far Away	Dragonfly Music		
49	Shaw, Hutchinson & Sartin	Andrew, Paul & Paul	2000	Mr Kynaston's Famous Dance	Authors.		
50	Stewart	Pete	2005	The Day it Dawns	White House Tune Books. ISBN 0 90 7772 52 9		
51	Townsend	D.A.	1982-5	Collection of English Country Dance Tunes Books 1-3	Ferret Music. Republished in 1993 as "English Dance Music Vol. 1" by Serpent Press		
52	Walker	Paul	2006	A trip to Friesland. 100 tunes from the North West of England arranged for ceilidh dancing.	Author		
53	Welsh Folk Dance Society		1992	Blodau'r Grug: 100 popular Welsh folk dance tunes, set dances, hornpipes, polkas, marches, jigs.	Available Hobgoblin Music, Amazon etc.		
54	Williams, Curwem & Sons	G, J	1963	Welsh National Music and Dance			
55	Williamson	Robin	1976	English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish Fiddle Tunes	Flying Fish Records FF358,		

Notes:

C means referenced in Callaghan (2007) *Hardcore English: 300 cracking tunes from manuscript, recorded and aural sources*

NW means Music of North West England website: <http://www.fiddlemusic.co.uk/north-west-music.htm>. Viewed 27/11/11.

Appendix 1 (continued): Modern Published Tune Collections (single or multiple named original manuscripts)

C #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	Forename(s)	Date	Title of Collection	Publisher & notes	C	NW
56	Ashman	Gordon	1991	The Ironbridge Hornpipe: selection from the MS of John Moore, 1837, of Wellington, Shropshire	Dragonfly Music ISBN 1 872277 06 3	√	
57	Ashton & Dyson	David	1985	A First Collection of Yorkshire Dance Music: Frank Kidson's selection of tunes with Yorkshire names, from MS9723 in the VWML	No information	√	
58	Bartram & Wilson	Chris & Paul	1999	A Dartmoor Fiddler: The William Andrews Tunebook, selection from the MSS of Sabine Baring-Gould's notation of William Andrews, 1890's, Sheepstor, Devon	Wren Trust ISBN 0 9516264 3 4		
59	Bowen	Robin Huw	1987	Manuscript of Thomas David Llewelyn/ Llewelyn Alaw, 1828 - 1879			
60	Bowen, Bowen, Shepherd & Shepherd	Geoff, Liz, Robin & Rosalind	1998	Tunes, Songs & Dances from the 1978 Manuscript of Joshua Jackson, North Yorkshire cornmillier & musician	Yorkshire Dales Workshop ISBN 1 897925 17 4	√	√
61	Brocklehurst	Joan	1977	The Dorchester Hornpipe: 34 tunes from the Hardy manuscript	N. Dorset County Museum	√	
62	Coxon, Coxon, Davenport, Harrison, Peters & Walker	Jenny, Tony, Paul, John, Brian & Paul	2007	The Thomas Watts Tunebook. Selection of tunes from the MS of Thomas Watts of Peak Forest, near Buxton in Derbyshire	INWAC Publishing.	√	
63	Davenport	Paul	1996	The South Yorkshire Tunebook Vol 1: A selection from MSS from Yorkshire, Durham, the North East and West Midlands, notably that of Joshua Burnett, Worsborough, S. Yorks, 1830's	South Yorkshire Folk Network ISBN 0 9529857 0 5	√	
64	Davenport	Paul	1997	The South Yorkshire Tunebook Vol 2: A selection from MSS from Yorkshire, Durham, the North East and West Midlands, notably that of Joshua Burnett, Worsborough, S. Yorks, 1830's	South Yorkshire Folk Network ISBN 0 9529857 1 3	√	
65	Deacon	George	1983	John Clare and the Folk Tradition: A study of the musical life of the poet John Clare, of Helpston, Northants: complete with transcripts of the tunes from his MSS.	First publ. Sinclair Browne, London. Re-published 2002, Francis Boutle, ISBN 1 903427 11 9	√	
66	Dixon	Graham	1987	The Lads Like Beer: the fiddle music of James Hill	Random Publications. ISBN 0 9511752 0 5	√	
67	Dixon	Graham	1995	Remember Me: the fiddle music of Robert Whinham	Random Publications ISBN 0 9511572 1 3	√	
68	Gammie & McCulloch	Ian & Derek	1996	Jane Austen's Music: an index of the MSS and printed collections of Jane Austen, with bibliography and several incipits	Corda Music ISBN 0 9528220 0 8	√	
69	Gammon & Loughran	Vic & Anne	1982	The Sussex Tunebook: A selection from teh MSS of Michael Turner, Warnham, 1842, the Welch family, Bosham, 1800, Aylemore, W. Wittering 1796, William Voice, Handcross; and Thomas Shoosmith, Arlington	efdss. ISBN 0 85418 139 3	√	

Notes:

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MNWE means Music of North West England website: <http://www.fiddlemusic.co.uk/north-west-music.htm>. Viewed 27/11/11.

Appendix 1 (continued): Modern Published Tune Collections (single or multiple named original manuscripts)

C #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	Forename(s)	Date	Title of Collection	Publisher & notes	C	NW
70	Grossman & Renbourn	S & J	1995	Anthology of O'Carolan Music	Mel Bay Productions Inc.		
71	Harvey Pollington & Smith	Charles & Lindsay	2008	Edward Winder, His Tune Book, 1834. at Greenbank Wyresdale.	Green Man Music. Published on enhanced CD. A microfilmed copy of the manuscript is in Liverpool University Library.		√
71a	Hornby	Andy	2013	The Winders of Wyresdale. http://www.andyhornby.net/Winders.html#info			
72	Knowles	J, P & I	1993	The Joseph Kershaw Manuscript. The Music of a 19th century Saddleworth Fiddle Player.	INWAC publishing. Original in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library.	√	√
73	Llanerch Press		1988	Gows Repository of the Dance Music of Scotland, a facsimile of the undated Edinburgh edition	Llanerch Publishers		
74	Mentieth & Burgess	Charles & Paul	2004	The Coleford Jig: Traditional Tunes from Gloucestershire selection from MSS, recorded and notated sources. <SS are George Till, Stone, Thornbury-on-Severn, 1866 ; 'Greet' MS, Glos., c 1800, FW Davoll, W Midlans, 'Aston-on-Carrant' MS, Gloc., 1770	Published by editors.		
75	Merryweather & Seattle	James & Matt	1994	The Fiddler of Helperby: Selection of the MSS of Laurence Leadley, Helperby, N Yorkshire	Dragonfly Music ISBN 1 872277 18 7	√	√
76	Meurig	Cass	2004	Alawon John Thomas - A Fiddler's Tune Book From Eighteenth Century Wales	National Library of Wales 2004 ISBN 1-86225-042-1		
77	Miller & Peron	Randy & Jack	2007	William Marshall's Scottish Melodies	Fiddlecase Books		
78	Mitchell	Pat	1993	The Dance Music of Willie Clancy	Ossian Productions		
79	Northumbrian Pipers Society		1999	Peacock's Tunes (reprint of fascimile edition, published 1980)	Northumbrian Pipers' Society, Newcastle upon Tyne		
80	Northumbrian Pipers Society		2005	The fiddle music of James Hill	Northumbrian Pipers' Society, Newcastle upon Tyne	√	
81	Ossian Publicatons		1993	The Roche Collection of Traditional Irish Music (Volumes 1, 2 and 3)	Ossian Publications		
82	Roberts	Dave	1993	William Mittel His Book: Selection from the MS of William Mittell of Romney, Kent, 1799	Timespan Music Publications ISBN 1 89512 00 0	√	
83	Schofield & Say	Adrian & Julia	1997	Billy Pigg - The Border Minstrel	Northumbrian Pipers' Society, Newcastle upon Tyne		

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Appendix 1 (continued): Modern Published Tune Collections (single or multiple named original manuscripts)

C #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	Forename(s)	Date	Title of Collection	Publisher & notes	C	NW
84	Seattle	Matt	1998	Bewick's Pipe Tunes. A Collection of Tunes for Northumbrian Smallpipes and other Melody instruments, selected from the manuscripts of Robert Berwick, Gateshead.	Dragonfly Music.	√	
85	Seattle	Matt	1986/7	The Great Northern Tunebook. Vols 1-3, 600 tunes from the MSS of William Vickers 1770	Dragonfly Music	√	
86	Seattle	Matt	1995	The Master Piper, Nine notes that shook the world. A Border Bagpipe Repertoire prick'd down by William Dixon AD 1733.	Dragonfly Music		
87	Seattle	Matt	2008	The Great Northern Tune Book. William Vickers Collection of Dance Tunes AD1770. First edition published in three volumes 1986/1987.	EFDSS and Northumbrian Piper's Society.		√
88	Shatwell & Sartin	Robert & Paul	2006	A selection from the 1822 MS of Ruchard Pyle.	Hobgoblin Publications ISBN 0 9554082 0 2		
89	Shaw, Hutchinson, Sartin	Andrew, Paul & Paul	2000	Mr. Kynaston's Famous Dance. 12 Dance Tunes from The Nathaniel Kynaston Collection (1709-28) and The Beggar's Opera (1728) Accompanied by Andrew Shaw's Manual of the same name, containing dance steps & facsimiles and transcriptions of the music.			√
90	Shaw, Hutchinson, Sartin	Andrew, Paul & Paul	2000	Mr. Kynaston's Famous Dance.Vol. 2			√
91	Sheffield		1985	From Two Barns: Another Ten Country Dances, from Rutherford, Thompson, Walsh and Kynaston			
92	Shepherd & Shepherd	Robin & Rosalind	2011	Mr Joshua Jackson, Book 1798, tunes, songs and dances from the manuscript of a Yorkshire corn miller and musician			
93	Shields	Hugh	1998	Tunes of the Munster pipers: Irish traditional music from the James Goodman manuscripts	Irish Traditional Music Archive		
94	Stewart	Pete	2007	Three Extraordinary Collections. Early 18th Century Dance Music for Those That Play Publick. Thomas Marsden's Collection - 1705, Daniel Wright's Collection - c.1715 and John Walsh's Collection - c.1730	Hornpipe Music, Pentcailtland.		√
95	Sumner	Peter D	1997	Lincolnshire Collections 1: The Joshua Gibbons manuscript. Tunes from a variety of sources collected in Tealby between 1823 and 1826 by Joshua Gibbons, a papermaker	Breakfast Publications ISBN 0 9530117 04	√	√
96	Trim, Sartin, Shutler & McCulloch	Roger, Bonny, Pete, Mac	1990	The Musical Heritage of Thomas Hardy Vol. 1' 101 tunes from the Hardy family MSS	Dragonfly Music ISBN 1 872277 03 9	√	

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Appendix 2 Unpublished Manuscripts

Appendix 2: Unpublished Manuscripts

M #	Name	Forename	Date	Place of Origin	Location of original manuscript	Transcriptions	C	VM	F	VW
1	Alexander	James	1730	New York, USA	USA New York Historical Society		√			
2	Anderson	Edmund Mitchell		Glasgow	Village Music Project			√		
3	Andrew	William		Devon	Village Music Project			√		
4	Andrews	William	late 1800's	Sheepstor, Devon	Sabine Baring-gould collection, Plymouth City Library	Wren Trust (part)	√			
5	Anon.			Widdicombe, Dorset	See Woods (2009).					
6	Anon.		c. 1820	Staffordshire	Private ownership	VMP (ABC format) (called "Staffordshire MS")		√		
7	Anon.		c. 1810		Steve Campbell, private collection					
8	Anon.		1810	Carlisle, Cumbria	Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, QM9732 (part)	VMP (ABC format) (called "Carlisle MS")	√	√		
9	Anon.		1841-1860	? Tyneside	John Baty MS, Morpeth Chantry Musum, MU187 or John Baty				√	
10	Anon.		1800-1840							
11	Anon.		19th C		VWML ref 5218					√
12	Anon.				VWML ref 8198					√
13	Anon.		18th C		VWML ref 3049					√
14	Anon.		c. 1850		VWML ref 9725					√
15	Anon.				VWNML ref 9723 (called "Reels and Yorkshire Dance Tunes")					√
16	Armstrong	G C			W. Cocks collection, Chantry Museum, Morpeth			√		
17	Armstrong	Thomas			Border Library, Hexham			√		
18	Atkinson	Henry	1694/5	Morpeth, Northumberland	Newcastle Society of Antiquarians	VMP (ABC format)	√	√	√	

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VM means Village Music Project Manuscript Room: <http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/manuscripts.htm> (viewed 29/06/11)

F means FARNE <http://www.folknortheast.com/> (viewed 29/06/11)

VW means fascimile at Vaughan Williams Memorial Library: Gallery of Historic Dance and Tune Books: <http://library.efdss.org/cgi-bin/dancebooks.cgi> viewed 10/08/13.

Appendix 2 (continued): Unpublished Manuscripts

M #	Name	Forename	Date	Place of Origin	Location of original manuscript	Transcriptions	C	VM	F	VW
19	Atkinson	Henry (Stokoe)						√	√	
20	Aylemore	William	1796	W. Wittering, Sussex	Lib. Sussex Archeological Society, Lewes	Gammon & Loughran (1982) (part)	√	√		
21	Barnes	Joseph	1762	Carlisle, Cumbria	Cumbria Records Office, Carlisle	VMP (ABC format)	√	√		
22	Barnsley & Hall	Alice & J.	1790+	Derbyshire	Private collection			√		
23	Baty	John	1840-60	Bethel, Northumberland	Chantry Bagpipe Museum, Morpeth		√	√	√	
24	Bell	John	1812	Northumberland					√	
25	Bennett	Thomas	1718		Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, QM 7404	VMP (ABC format)	√	√		
26	Benwell	Amelia	1848		(Campbell)					
27	Berkeley	Rowland	1770	Aston-on-Carrant, Gloucestershire	Private location, Gloucestershire	Mentieth & Burgess (2004) C-74	√			
28	Best	Miss	c. 1850		Vaughan Williams Memorial Library		√			
29	Betham	Matthew	1838	Newby Head, Cumbria	Vaughan Williams Memorial Library QM P7415 or 9721		√			
30	Bewick	Robert	1832-1843	Gateshead	Three volumes in Gateshead Public Library	Seattle 1986 (C-84)				
31	Biggins	James	1779	Leeds, W. Yorks	Leeds Central Library / Huddersfield Library	VMP (ABC format)	√	√		
32	Blackshaw	Jas.	1837	North Shropshire	Village Music Project	VMP (ABC format)		√		
33	Bridges	Kitty	1745		VWML ref 8084					√
34	Brown	William	1797	Romford, Essex	Sutro Library, San Fransisco, USA		√			
35	Browne Family MS11		c.1800	Troutbeck, Cumbria	Armitt Library, Ambleside, Cumbria	VMP (ABC format)	√	√		
36	Browne Family MS12		c.1835	Troutbeck, Cumbria	Armitt Library, Ambleside, Cumbria	VMP (ABC format)	√	√		

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Appendix 2 (continued): Unpublished Manuscripts

M #	Name	Forename	Date	Place of Origin	Location of original manuscript	Transcriptions	C	VM	F	VW
37	Browne Family MS13		c. 1825	Troutbeck, Cumbria	Armitt Library, Ambleside, Cumbria	VMP (ABC format)	√	√		
38	Browne Family MS14		early 19th C	Troutbeck, Cumbria	Armitt Library, Ambleside, Cumbria	VMP (ABC format)	√	√		
39	Bunting	Edward			Library of the Queens University, Belfast	O'Sullivan 1958				
40	Burnett	Joshua	early 19th C	Worsborough, S. Yorkshire	D Malkin, private collection?	Davenport (1996) (part) (C-63, C-64)	√			
41	Calvert	William	1812	Leyburn, N Yorks	Lynn Wood, private collection	VMP (ABC format)	√	√		
41	Canfield		1823	Hartford, Connecticut USA	Hartford Library?		√			
42	Carter	John	1792		British Library, GM,MS A22		√			
43	Clare	John	1820-34	Helpstone, Northamptonshire	Northampton Records Office	VMP (ABC format)	√	√		
44	Clarke	William	1770	Lincoln	Private collection / Lincoln Records Office	VMP (ABC format)	√	√		
45	Clarke	William	1858	Feltwell, Norfolk	Private collection (Lyn Law), copyright owned by Anahata and Mary Humphreys		√			
46	Clews	John	1832	Stoke upon Tern, N Shropshire	Private collection	VMP (ABC format)		√		
47	Clough	Tom	various	Northumberland	Private collection		√	√	√	
48	Clough	Thomas & Henry	mid 19th - mid 20th C	Northumberland					√	
49	Cocks	W	various	Northumberland	Chantry Bagpipe Museum, Morpeth		√		√	
50	Collinge	William	1881	Bacup, Lancashire	Harold Barnes collection?			√		
51	Collingwood				Beamish museum			√		
52	Cooke	Benjamin	c.1770	Leeds, W Yorkshire	Kidson Collection, Mitchell Library, Glasgow	VMP (ABC format)	√	√		
53	Crawhall	Joseph	1872	Northumberland	Beamish Museum		√		√	

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Appendix 2 (continued): Unpublished Manuscripts

M #	Name	Forename	Date	Place of Origin	Location of original manuscript	Transcriptions	C	VM	F	VW
54	Davoll	F.W.	19th C	Staffordshire?	Private collection (Chris Beaumont)	Mentieth & Burgess (2004) (C-74)	√			
55	Dixon	Thomas J	1798	Holton-le-Moor, Lincolnshire	Lincoln Records Office	VMP (ABC format)		√		
56	Dixon	William	1733	Northumbria		Seattle (1995) (C-86)		√		
57	Doey	Jean	early 19th C		Vaughan Williams Memorial Library QM 9733 Part of		√			
58	Fife	John	c.1780 - 1804	Perth, Scotland (but also at sea)	National Library of Canada		√			
59	Forde	William				O'Sullivan (1958)				
60	Forster	A			Beamish Museum			√		
61	Fox	Charles J	1829/32	Beverley, East Yorks	Kidson collection, Mitchell Library, Glasgow	VMP (ABC format)	√	√		
62	Gibbons	Joshua	1823	Market Rasen / Tealby, Lincs	Lincoln Records Office / North East Lincolnshire Archives, Grimsby	Sumner (1997) & WVP (ABC format)	√	√		
63	Giles	William Henry	1839	Brampton, Oxfordshire	Vaughan Williams Memorial Library #2286	WVP (ABC format)		√		
64	Goodman	James Rev.	1860 to 1866	Co. Cork		Shields (1998) (C-93)				
65	Gunn	Patrick		Co.Fermanagh						
66	Hall	John	late 19th early 20th C	Spittal, Northumberland	Privately owned (Mike Yates) http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/j_hall.htm [viewed 2/12/11)					
67	Hall	William Lister	19th C	Durham	Beamish Museum			√		
68	Hardy	Thomas	early 19th C	Dorset	Private collection (Lock Collection, Dorset County Museum)			√		
69	Harrison	Rev. Robert	c. 1815	Temple Sowerby, Cumbria	Village Music Project (called "Ashover MS"), VWML ref 18473	VMP (ABC format)		√		√
70	Harrison & Wall	Joshua & David	1762 / 1775	Ashover, Derbyshire	Village Music Project	VMP (5 tunes published by EFDSS in 1927)	?	√		

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Appendix 2 (continued): Unpublished Manuscripts

M #	Name	Forename	Date	Place of Origin	Location of original manuscript	Transcriptions	C	VM	F	VW
71	Hepple	George	20th C	N / E Midlands				√		
72	Higgott's	William						√		
73	Holmain		(c. 1710-1750)	Dumfriesshire						
74	Holmes Family		1820		Beverley Records office			√		
75	Huddswell	G		Yorkshire	Mitchell, Glasgow	VMP (ABC format)		√		
76	Hudson	Henry		Ireland		O'Sullivan (1958) (part)				
77	Hughes	Albert J		North Shropshire		VMP (ABC format)		√		
78	Hughes	R	1823	Whitchurch, Shropshire		VMP (ABC format)		√		
79	Huntlea	Henry	1884	Cambridge	VWML ref 5233					√
80	Irwen	William	1838	Lake District	Lost	VWML (AGG/2/137) and VMP (ABC Format),		√		
81	Jackson	H. S. J	1823	Wyresdale, Lancashire	Private ownership	VMP (ABC format)		√		
82	Jackson	Joshua	1798	North Yorkshire	Private ownership (Jackson family)	Bowen et al (1998) & Shepherd et al (2011)		√		
83	Joyce	Patrick		Ireland		O'Sullivan (1958)				
84	Jones	John	1801	North Shropshire	Private ownership	VMP (ABC format)		√		
85	Knowles	Ellis	1847	Bolton, Lancashire	Greater Manchester County Records Office Small Collections Q158					
86	Leadley	Lawrence	early 19th C	North Yorkshire	Private ownership / York City Archive			√		
87	Liddell	Christopher		North / East England	Private ownership			√		
88	Llewellyn	Thomas	mid-late 19th C	Abadare, South Wales	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, NLW336D, NLW 329B	publ. Bowen (1987)				

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Appendix 2 (continued): Unpublished Manuscripts

M #	Name	Forename	Date	Place of Origin	Location of original manuscript	Transcriptions	C	VM	F	VW
89	Lolly	Charles	19th C	Yorkshire	Kidson collection?			√		
90	Malchair		1780's		VWML ref 3619					√
91	Millar	Robert	1820-1845	Aberdeen		http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/music/index.html				
92	Miller	John	1799	Perth	A.K.Bell Library, Perth, Scotland	VMP (ABC format)		√		
93	Mittell	William	1799	New Romney, Kent	Stolen?	VMP (ABC format)		√		
94	Moore	John		Ironbridge, Shropshire	Vaughan Williams Memorial Library ref 4493, 4494, 4495 (3 parts)			√		√
95	Moore	John W	1841	Tyneside	Private ownership	VMP (ABC format)		√		
96	Nicol	John	Late 19 th Century			FARNE			√	
97	Norris	Pte. R W	1886	Fermoy, Co. Cork, Ireland						
98	Nuttall	James	c. 1830?	Rosendale, East Lancashire		VMP (ABC format)		√		
99	Petrie	George		Ireland		O'Sullivan (1958) (part)				
100	Pigot	John		Ireland		O'Sullivan (1958) (part)				
101	Rippon	Frances	c. 1870	Yorkshire	Yorkshire Regimental Museum, York					
102	Rook	John	1840	Wigton, Cumbria	University of Cambridge (scanned, original is lost)	http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/musicfiles/rook/				
103	Ross	Elizabeth	1812	Raasay (Skye), Highlands	School of Celtic & Scottish Studies, Edinburgh University	http://www.celtscot.ed.ac.uk/documents/RossMS.pdf				
104	Sanders	George	1758	Ryton	Beamish Museum (copy)			√		
105	Scott Skinner	James	1863-1904	Scotland	University of Aberdeen http://www.abdn.ac.uk/scottskinner/introduction.shtml					
106	Shoosmith	Thomas		Sussex	Sussex Archaeological Society			√		

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Appendix 2 (continued): Unpublished Manuscripts

M #	Name	Forename	Date	Place of Origin	Location of original manuscript	Transcriptions	C	VM	F	V W
107	Skene		1838		VWML 7205, 7206 (2 parts)					√
108	Snows Hill Manor				Private ownership			√		
109	Spencer	George	1831	Leeds, Yorkshire	Mitchell, Glasgow	VMP (ABC format)		√		
110	Stables	Henry	late 19th C	Cumbria	Vaughan Williams Memorial Library	VMP (ABC format)		√		
111	Sutherland	John	c.1785		Michel Library, Glasgow	http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/music/index.html				
112	Tennyson	Eliza		Lincolnshire				√		
113	Thomas	Alawon John	1752	Wales	National Library, and Meurig (2004, C-76)					
114	Thomson	James	1702-1720		Johnson's Scottish Fiddle Music of the 18th Century					
115	Tildsley	William	1860	Swinton, Lancashire	Salford Museum and Art Gallery Ref: U318	VMP (ABC format)		√		
116	Turner	Michael		Sussex	W Sussex Records			√		
117	Vickers	William	1761-1800	Northumbria	FARNE	FARNE		√	√	
118	V. G.				VWML ref 2222					√
119	Voice	William		Sussex	Sussex Archaeological Society			√		
120	Wallace	George	1849	Alston, Northumbria	Beamish Museum			√		
121	Watson	George Henry	1883	Norfolk	Private ownership	VMP (ABC format)		√		
122	Watts	Thomas	c. 1800	Derbyshire	Private ownership, microfilm in Liverpool University Library			√		
123	Welch family		1800	Sussex	Sussex Archaeological Society			√		

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Appendix 2 (continued): Unpublished Manuscripts

M #	Name	Forename	Date	Place of Origin	Location of original manuscript	Transcriptions	C	VM	F	V W
124	Whinham	Robert	c.1860	Northumberland		Dixon (1995) Appendix 3.1.	√	√		
125	Williamson	Elisabeth	1790	unknown		WWML, QM11749	√			
126	Winder	James	1834-42	Wyredale, Lancashire	Private ownership (Winder family) See also http://www.andyhornby.net/Winders.html#info and Hornby (2013, C-71a)	VMP (ABC format)	√	√		
127	Winder	John	1789	Wyredale, Lancashire	Private ownership (Winder family) See also http://www.andyhornby.net/Winders.html#info and Hornby (2013, C-71a)	VMP (ABC format)	√	√		
128	Winship		c.1810-40						√	
129	Winnington	Ann	1815	New York	Private ownership			√		
130	Yarker		1797		VWML ref 5234					√
131	Young	David	1740	Edinburgh	MacFarlane MS / Collection					
132	Young	David	1734	Perth	Earl of Ancaster, Drummond Castle ("Drummond Castle Manuscript")					

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Appendix 3 Published country dances 1651-1827

Appendix 3: Published Country Dances: The Playford Series.

Source: Website “The Dancing Master 1651-1728 An Illustrated Compendium”, © 2006 Robert M. Keller, accessed from the website of the Colonial Music Institute <http://www.izaak.unh.edu/nhltmd/indexes/dancingmaster/>

D #	Publisher	Title of Collection	Place Published	Date
1	J Playford	The Dancing Master (1st edition)	London	1651
2	J Playford	The Dancing Master (2st edition)	London	1652
3	J Playford	The Dancing Master (3rd edition)	London	1657
4	J Playford	The Dancing Master (3rd edition)	London	1665
5	J Playford	The Dancing Master (4th edition)	London	1670
6	J Playford	The Dancing Master (5th edition)	London	1675
7	J Playford	The Dancing Master (6th edition)	London	1679
8	J Playford	The Dancing Master (7th edition) + 3 Appendices, 1687, 1688, 1689	London	1686
9	J Playford	The Dancing Master (8th edition)	London	1690
10	J Playford	The Dancing Master (9th edition) + 2 Appendices, 1697	London	1695
11	J Playford	The Dancing Master (10th edition)	London	1698
12	J Playford	The Dancing Master & New Country Dances (1702) (11th edition)	London	1701
13	J Playford	The Dancing Master (12th edition)	London	1703
14	J Playford	The Dancing Master (13th edition)	London	1706
15	J Playford	The Dancing Master (14th edition)	London	1709
16	J Playford	The Dancing Master (15th edition)	London	1713
17	J Playford	The Dancing Master (16th edition)	London	1716
18	J Playford	The Dancing Master. Volume the First (17th edition)	London	1721
19	J Playford	The Dancing Master. Volume the First (18th edition)	London	c. 1728
20	J Playford	The Dancing Master. Volume the Second (1st edition)	London	1710
21	J Playford	The Dancing Master. Volume the Second (2nd edition)	London	1714
22	J Playford	The Dancing Master. Volume the Second (3rd edition)	London	1718
23	J Playford	The Dancing Master. Volume the Second (4th edition)	London	1728
24	J Playford	The Dancing Master. The Third Volume (2nd edition)	London	c.1726

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Website "Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650 – 1833. Compiled by Robert M. Keller, accessed from the website of the Colonial Music Institute <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/index.htm>

D #	Publisher	Title of Collection	Place Published	Date	Location and reference
25	Astor, G.	Astor's Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 180[7]	London	[1807]	Library of Congress. M1450.A85 Case
26	Longman & Broderip	Six New Minuets and Twelve Country Dances...for the year 1788	London	1788	British Library. b.53.(6.)
27	Bland, A.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1792	London	1792	Cardiff Public Library. Cardiff. M. 2. Box. 685.2. p. 349.34
28	Bland, A.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1794	London	1794	British Library. a.251.(2.)
29	Bland & Weller	Bland & Weller's Annual Collection of Twenty-Four Country Dances...1797	London	1797	British Library. a.251.(3.)
30	Bland & Weller	Bland & Weller's Annual Collection of Twenty-Four Country Dances...1798	London	1798	British Library. b.55.o.(2.)
31	Bland & Weller	Bland & Weller's Annual Collection of Twenty-Four Country Dances...1799	London	1799	British Library. b.49.f.(11)
32	Bland & Weller	Bland & Weller's Annual Collection of Twenty-Four Country Dances...1800	London	1800	Cardiff Public Library. Cardiff. 685.27 Box
33	Bland & Weller	Bland & Weller's Annual Collection of Twenty-Four Country Dances...1802	London	1802	Pendlebury Library Cambridge University. XRb.850.18A. X1.(3.)
34	Bland & Weller	24 Favorite Country Dances, Hornpipes & Reels...1814	London	1814	British Library L. a.9.jj.(4.)
35	Bland & Weller	24 Favorite Country Dances, Hornpipes and Reels...1807	London	1807	Uk. a.251.(4)
36	Bland, A. & Weller	[Bland and Weller's New Collection of Scotch Dances...Vol. I] [TOC]		[ca.1797]	X-Ward.
37	Bremner, R.	For the Year 1769. A Collection of Scots Reels or Country Dances	London	1769	National Library of Scotland. Edinburgh. Glen 133
38	Longman, Lukey & Broderip	Bride's Favorite Collection of Two Hundred Select Country Dances	London	[1775]	Dundee Public Library. Dundee. G 92424 H
39	Longman, Lukey & Broderip	Bride's Favorite Collection of Two Hundred Select Country Dances	London	[1775]	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 4709
40		[Bride's Favorite Collection of Two Hundred Select Country Dances]	[London]	[1775]	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 7288
41	Bride, R.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1766	London	1766	British Library. a.9.hh.(3.)
42	Bride, R.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1768	London	1768	Library of Congress. M1450.T.93#7
43	Bride, R.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1769	London	1769	Mitchell Library. Glasgow. M9201

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Website "Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650 – 1833. Compiled by Robert M. Keller, accessed from the website of the Colonial Music Institute <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/index.htm>

D #	Publisher	Title of Collection	Place Published	Date	Location and reference
44	Bride, R.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1770	London	1770	Library of Congress. M1450.T93#11
45	Preston, J.	The Thirteenth Book for the Year 1784. Fourteen Favorite Cotillons and Country Dances	London	1784	British Library. [Photocopy at CDSS Library]
46	Cahusac, Thos.	Twelve Country Dances...for the Year 1788	London	1788	British Library. a.248.(6.)
47	Cahusac, Thos.	Twelve Country Dances...for the Year 1790	London	1790	Manchester Public Library. BR 813 (u.21(5.))
48	Cahusac, Thos.	Twelve Country Dances...for the Year 1791	London	1791	British Library. a.9.ee.(3.)
49	Cahusac, Thos.	Twelve Country Dances...for the Year 1792	London	1792	British Library. 248.(11.)
50	Cahusac, Thos.	Twelve Country Dances...for the Year 1793	London	1793	British Library. a.248.(8.)
51	Cahusac, Thos.	Twelve Country Dances...for the Year 1794	London	1794	British Library. a.248.(9.)
52	Cahusac, Thos.	Twelve Country Dances...for the Year 1795	London	1795	British Library. a.9.jj.(3.)
53	Cahusac, Thos.	Twelve Country Dances...for the Year 1796	London	1796	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.5 P6082
54	Cahusac & Sons	Twelve Country Dances...for the Year 1797	London	1797	British Library. a.9.y.(1.)
55	Cahusac & Sons	Twelve Country Dances...for the Year 1798	London	1798	British Library. a.9.y.(2.)
56	Cahusac, T. & W. M.	Cahusac's Annual Collection of Twelve Favorite Country Dances...1800	London	1800	British Library. a.248.(10.)
57	Cahusac, W. M.	Cahusac's Annual Collection of Twelve Favorite Country Dances...1801	London	1801	British Library. 55.o.(1.)
58	Cahusac, Thos.	Twenty Four Country Dances...for the Year 1758	London	1758	Mitchell Library. Glasgow. M9200
59	Cahusac, T.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1785	London	1785	X-Ward. Box II. Bk 1(9.)
60	Cahusac	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1790	London	1790	British Library. a.248.(2.)
61	Cahusac	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1791	London	1791	British Library. a.248.(3.)
62	Cahusac	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1792	London	1792	Manchester Public Library. BR 812 (w21(10))

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Website "Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650 – 1833. Compiled by Robert M. Keller, accessed from the website of the Colonial Music Institute <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/index.htm>

D #	Publisher	Title of Collection	Place Published	Date	Location and reference
63	Cahusac	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1794	London	1794	British Library. a.9.jj.(1.)
64	Cahusac	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1795	London	1795	Dundee Public Library. Dundee. G 92412 H(2.)
65	Cahusac	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1796	London	1796	British Library. a.9.ee.(4.)
66	Cahusac	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1798	London	1798	British Library. a.248.(4.)
67	Cahusac	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1799	London	1799	British Library. a.248.(5.)
68	Cahusac	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1800	London	1800	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 3055c
69	Campbell, W.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1787	London	1787	Manchester Public Library. BR 812 (w21(1))
70	Campbell, W.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1790	London	1790	British Library. a.9.z.12.
71	Campbell, Wm.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1792	London	1792	British Library. a.9.nn.(1.)
72	Campbell, Wm.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1796	London	1796	British Library. a.9.i. (1.)
73	Campbell, W.	Campbell's Fourth Collection of...Country Dances and Cotillions	London	[ca.1790- 1810]	Eastman School of Music. University of Rochester, NY. Vault M (C19.3)
74	Campbell, W.	Campbell's 5th. Collection of...Country Dances and Reels	London	[ca.1790- 1810]	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 5237(F)
75	Campbell, Wm.	Campbell's Seventh Collection of...Country Dances and Cotillions	London	[ca.1790- 1810]	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 5237G
76	Collett, Thos.	Twenty Four New Country Dances. Published by Subscription...The first six made at Attop House in Northampton Shire on the occasion of the Honourables John Spencer's coming of age.	London	[1756]	British Library. a.26.l
77	Dale, J.	Dale's Selection of...Country Dances, Reels, &c.	London	[1800]	Eastman School of Music. University of Rochester, NY. Vault MD 1645 D139
78	Dodd, T.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1795	London	1795	British Library. a.9.i.(8.)
79	Smart's Music Warehouse	For the Year 1799. Sixteen New Reels and Country Dances	London	1799	Hague. #106

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Website "Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650 – 1833. Compiled by Robert M. Keller, accessed from the website of the Colonial Music Institute <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/index.htm>

D #	Publisher	Title of Collection	Place Published	Date	Location and reference
80	Fentum, J.	Fentum's Annual Collection of Twentyfour Favourite Dances for the Year 1811	London	1811	British Library. a.9.bb.1.
81	Fentum, Jno	For the Year 1791. Eight Cotillions, Six Country Dances and a favorite new Minuet Dedicated to the Nobility & Gentry	London	1791	British Library. B.55.a(1.)
82	Rutherford, Mr.	Twelve New Country Dances, Six New Cotillons and Twelve New Minuets	London	[1775]	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QC 35.4 2223(b)
83	Welker, John	Thirty two new Minuets, Cotillions, Country Dances, Allemands and Hornpipes...1785	London	1785	Mitchell Library. Glasgow. M8926
84		The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle, 1750-1755		1750-1755	Early English Newspapers. Microfilm, Woodbridge, CT. Research Publication, 1983
85	Goulding, G.	Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1789 As they may be Performed at Court, Bath and all Public Assemblys	London	1789	Manchester Public Library. BR 812 (w21(4))
86	Goulding, G.	Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1793 As they may be Performed at Court, Bath and all Public Assemblys	London	1793	British Library. a.9.nn.(4.)
87	Goulding, G.	Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1801 As they may be Performed at Court, Bath and all Public Assemblys	London	1801	British Library. a.9.nn.(5.)
88	Goulding, G., & Co.	Twenty-four Country Dances for the Year 1806 As they may be Performed at Court, Bath and all Public Assemblys	London	1806	British Library. a.9.bb.(4.)
89	Goulding, G., & Co.	Twenty-four Country Dances for the Year 1809 As they may be Performed at Court, Bath and all Public Assemblys	London	1809	British Library. a.9.bb.(5.)
90	Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter, & Co.	[Twenty-four Country Dances for the Year 1812] As they may be Performed at Court, Bath and all Public Assemblys	London	[1812]	Mitchell Library. Glasgow. M9209
91	Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co.	Goulding & Co.'s Collection of New & Favorite Country Dances, Reels & Waltzes... 1820	London	1820	Mitchell Library. Glasgow. M8803
92	Goulding & D'Almaine	Goulding & D'Almaine's twenty-four country dances for the year 1827. : With proper figures & directi	London	1827	Uk. a.9.jj.(5.)
93	Gray, John	Twenty Four Country dances for the Year 1812	X: Priv Coll.	1812	X: Priv Coll.
94	Hime's Musical Circulating Library	Twenty Four Original Irish Dances...Book 1	Dublin	[1795?]	British Library. g.354.(1.)

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Website "Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650 – 1833. Compiled by Robert M. Keller, accessed from the website of the Colonial Music Institute <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/index.htm>

D #	Publisher	Title of Collection	Place Published	Date	Location and reference
95	Hime's Musical Circulating Library	Twenty Four Original Irish Dances...Book 2	Dublin	[1795]	British Library. g.354.(1.)
96	Hodsoll, W.	A Collection of...Fashionable Country Dances for the Year 1810	London	1810	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.3 2223(d.)
97		Imperial Magazine		[ca.1761]	Library of Congress. Rare Book Room. AP3.i3
98	[Johnson. Jno.]	[A Choice Collection of 200 Favourite Country Dances] Perform'd at Court, Bath, Tunbridge & all publick places]	[London]	[1740]	Mitchell Library. Glasgow. M9114
99	[Johnson. Jno.]	[A Choice Collection of 200 Favourite Country Dances...Vol II] Perform'd at Court, Bath, Tunbridge & all publick places]	[London]	[1742]	Mitchell Library. Glasgow. M9115
100	Johnson. Jno.	A Choice Collection of 200 Favourite Country Dances...Vol. [3]...1744 Perform'd at Court, Bath, Tunbridge & all publick places	London	1744	British Library. a.9.1.(1.)
101	Johnson. Jno.	A Choice Collection of 200 Favourite Country Dances...Vol. 4th...1748 Perform'd at Court, Bath, Tunbridge & all publick places	London	1748	British Library. a.9.a.(2.)
102	Johnson. Jno.	A Choice Collection of 200 Favourite Country Dances...Vol. 5th Perform'd at Court, Bath, Tunbridge & all publick places	London	[1750]	Library of Congress. MT 960.C485 Case
103	Johnson. Jno.	A Choice Collection of 200 Favourite Country Dances...Vol. 6th...1751 Perform'd at Court, Bath, Tunbridge & all publick places	London	1751	Bodleian Library, Oxford. Harding Mus F.346
104	[Johnson. Jno.]	[A Choice Collection of 200 Favourite Country Dances...Vol. 7th]	[London]	[1751]	British Library. a.9.kk
105	Johnson. John	A Choice Collection of 200 Favourite Country Dances...Vol. 8	London	[1753]	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2184
106	Johnson. Jno.	Twenty Four Country Dances...for the Year 1755 As they are perform'd at Court, Bath, Tunbridge, and all Publick Assemblies	London	1755	British Library. a.9.g.(1.)
107	Iohnson, I.	Caledonian Country Dances...ye 3d. Edition with Additions	London	[1750]	British Library. a.222
108	Kauntze, G.	No. 2. Kauntze's Collection of Original & Selected Music...English, Scotch, Irish & German Composers	London	[ca.1790]	Library of Congress. M1.K2 Case
109	Chapple, S.	The Ladies Mirror or Mental Companion. for the Year 1796	London	1796	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4
110	Wilkie, G. & T.	The Ladies' Pocket-Book for the Year 1794	London	1794	Lewis Walpole Library. Yale University.
111		London Magazine, The or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer, 1747-1783	London	1747-1783	Early English Newspapers. Microfilm. Woodbridge, CT. Research Publication, 1983

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Website "Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650 – 1833. Compiled by Robert M. Keller, accessed from the website of the Colonial Music Institute <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/index.htm>

D #	Publisher	Title of Collection	Place Published	Date	Location and reference
112	Longman, I	Twelve Country Dances, Reel's &c. As danced at Court, Nath, & all Polite Assemblies	London	[1802]	X-Litchman.
113	Longman and Broderip	Eighteen of the newest and most Favorite Country Dances for the year 1791	London	1791	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 5237C
114	Longman and Broderip	Longman and Broderip's Compleat Collection of 200 Favorite Country Dances	London	[1781]	British Library
115	Longman and Broderip	Twenty four New London Country Cancens for the Year 1781	London	1781	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2256b
116	Longman and Broderip	Twenty Four New Dances and Cotillions...1785	Hague. Rism A/1 AN 199	1785	Hague. Rism A/1 AN 199
117	Longman and Broderip	Twenty-Four Country Dances for the Year 1789	London	1789	British Library. a.9.ee.(1.)
118	Longman and Broderip	Twenty-Four Country Dances for the Year 1790	London	1790	British Library. a.9.z.(1.)12
119	Longman and Broderip	Twenty-Four Country Dances for the Year 1791	London	1791	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2220
120	Longman and Broderip	Twenty-Four Country Dances for the Year 1792	London	1792	British Library. a.9.nn.(2.)
121	Longman and Broderip	Twenty-Four Country Dances for the Year 1793	London	1793	British Library. a.9.i (2.)
122	Longman and Broderip	Twenty-Four Country Dances for the Year 1794	London	1794	British Library. a.9.bb.(2.)
123	Longman and Broderip	Twenty-Four Country Dances for the Year 1795	London	1795	British Library. a.9.bb.(3.)
124	Longman and Broderip	Twenty-Four Country Dances for the Year 1796	London	1796	British Library. a.9.i.(3.)
125	Longman and Broderip	Twenty-Four Country Dances for the Year 1798	London	1798	Library of Congress. M1450.T925 1798
126	Longman and Broderip	Longman and Broderip's Selection of...Country Dances, Reels &c.	London	[ca.1790]	Mitchell Library. Glasgow. M8843
127	Longman and Broderip	Longman and Broderip's Second Selection of...Country Dances, Reels &c.	London	[ca.1790]	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 5237E
128	Longman and Broderip	Longman and Broderip's Third Selection of...Country Dances, Reels &c.	London	[ca.1790]	Sandeman Public Library. Perth. Bd40
129	Longman and Broderip	Longman and Broderip's Fourth Selection of...Country Dances, Reels &c.	London	[ca.1790]	Bodleian Library, Oxford. Mus 61 d 4 (1.)
130	Longman and Broderip	Longman and Broderip's Fifth Selection of...Country Dances, Reels, Minuets & Cotillions.	London	[ca.1790]	Library of Congress. M1450.C3C6 Case

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Website "Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650 – 1833. Compiled by Robert M. Keller, accessed from the website of the Colonial Music Institute <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/index.htm>

D #	Publisher	Title of Collection	Place Published	Date	Location and reference
131	Longman and Broderip	Longman and Broderip's Sixth Selection of...Country Dances, Reels, Minuets & Cotillons.	London	[ca.1790]	Library of Congress. M1450.C3C6 #4. Case
132		Miscellaneous Correspondence, containing a variety of Subjects... Poetry		[1759]	Library of Congress. Rare Book Room. AP3.m67
133	Corbett, C.	The Merry Medley, or a Christmas Box...Country Dances	London	[1749]	Library of Congress. 18th. c. mf
134		The Midwife, or The Old Woman's Magazine, Vol. 1		1751	English Literature Periodicals. AP3.e5, reel 538, mf
135	Bennett, T.	The Musical Magazine or Pocket Companion. [6 volumes]	London	[1717-1771]	British Library. e.1747a
136	Neal, John & William	A Choice Collection of Country Dances	Dublin	[ca.1726]	National Library of Ireland. Dublin. G 1580.726
137		The New Dance Fan for 1797		1797	Birmingham City Museum, Birmingham
138	Pippard, L.	Twenty Four New Country Dances for the Year 1711	London	1711	Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.
139	Longman & Broderip	Six Cotillions and 12 Country Dances, for the Year 1791	London	1791	X: Priv. Coll.
140	Playford, Henry	New Country-Dances...1702	London	1702	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.5
141	Playford, John	English Dancing Master:, The. or, Plaine and easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, with the Tune to each Dance.	London	1651	Vaughan Williams Memorial Library
142	J. Playford	Dancing Master:, The. or, plain and easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, with the Tune to each Dance, to be played on the Treble Violin. The second Edition Enlarged and Corrected from many grosse Errors which were in the former Edition.	London	1652	Huntington Library
143	J. Playford and Z. Watkins	Dancing Master:, The. or, plain and easie Rules for the Dancing of Country-Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance. To which is added the Tunes of the most usual French Dances. And also other New and Pleasant English Tunes for the Treble-Violin.	London	1657	Glasgow University Library

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Website "Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650 – 1833. Compiled by Robert M. Keller, accessed from the website of the Colonial Music Institute <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/index.htm>

D #	Publisher	Title of Collection	Place Published	Date	Location and reference
144	J. Playford and Z. Watkins	Dancing Master:,The. or, plain and easie Rules for the Dancing of Country-Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance. To which is added the Tunes of the most usual French Dances.	London	1665	Bodleian Library
145	John Playford	Dancing Master:,The. or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances, with the Figure and Tunes to each Dance. The Fourth Edition; In which is added many new Dances, never Printed before.	London	1670	Vaughan Williams Memorial Library.
146	John Playford	Dancing Master:,The. or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances, with the Figure and Tunes to each Dance. The Fifth Edition; In which is added many new Dances, never Printed before,	London	[1675]	British Library.
147	J. Playford,	Dancing Master:,The. or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances, with the Figure and Tunes to each Dance. The Sixt[h] Edition; In which is added many new Dances, never Printed before,	London	1679	British Library.
148	John Playford	Dancing-Master:,The. or, Directions for dancing Country Dances with the Figure and Tunes to each Dance for the Treble-Violin. The 7th Edition, with Addition of several new Dances, and tunes of Dances, never before printed.	London	1686	Vaughan Williams Memorial Library
149	H. Playford	Dancing-Master:,The. or, Directions for dancing Country Dances with the Figure and Tunes to each Dance for the Treble-Violin. The Eighth Edition, with Addition of several new Dances, and tunes of Dances, never before printed.	London	1690	Vaughan Williams Memorial Library
150	H. Playford	Dancing-Master: or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance for the Treble-Violin. The Ninth Edition Corrected; with the Addition of several new Dances and Tunes, never before printed.	[London]	1695	Vaughan Williams Memorial Library; British Library
151	Henry Playford	Second Part of the Dancing-Master:,The. or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance for the Violin or Flute.An Additional Sheet of New Dances for the Second Part of the Country-Dancing-Master [1697]. Includes 2 Appendixes:	[London]	1698	British Library.
152	H. Playford and Samuel Sprint	Dancing-Master:,The. or, Directions for dancing Country Dances with the Figure and Tunes to each Dance for the Treble-Violin. The Tenth Edition, with Addition of several new Dances, and tunes of Dances, never before printed.	London	1698	British Library.
153	H. Playford	Dancing-Master:,The. or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance for the Treble-Violin. The Eleventh Edition Corrected; with the Addition of new Dances and Tunes, the whole Printed in New Character.	London	1701	Dundee Public Library.
154	H. Playford	Dancing-Master:,The. or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance for the Treble-Violin. The Twelfth Edition, containing above 350 of the choicest Old and New Tunes now used at Court, and other Publick Places. . .	[London]	1703	Vaughan Williams Memorial Library.

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Website "Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650 – 1833. Compiled by Robert M. Keller, accessed from the website of the Colonial Music Institute <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/index.htm>

D #	Publisher	Title of Collection	Place Published	Date	Location and reference
155	J. Young, J. Cullen	Dancing-Master:,The. or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance for the Treble-Violin. The Thirteenth Edition, containing above 350 of the choicest Old and New Tunes now used at Court, and other Publick Places. . .	London	1706	Vaughan Williams Memorial Library.
156	John Young, Mich. Rawlins	Dancing-Master:,The. or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance for the Treble-Violin. The Fourteenth Edition, containing above 350 of the choicest Old and New Tunes now used at Court, and other Publick Places. . .	London	1709	Vaughan Williams Memorial Library
157	John Young	Dancing-Master:,The. or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance for the Treble-Violin. The Fifteenth Edition, containing above 350 of the choicest Old and New Tunes now used at Court, and other Publick Places. . .	London	1713	British Library.
158	John Young	Dancing-Master:,The. or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance for the Treble-Violin. The Sixteenth Edition, containing above 350 of the choicest Old and New Tunes now used at Court, and other Publick Places. . .	London	1716	British Library.
159	John Young	Dancing-Master:,The. Vol. The First. or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance for the Treble-Violin. The 17th Edition, containing 358 of the choicest Old and New Tunes now used at Court, and other Publick Places.	London	1721	British Library
160	Edward Midwinter,John Young	Dancing-Master:,The. Vol. the First. or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance for the Treble-Violin. The Eighteenth Edition, containing 358 of the choicest Old and New Tunes now used at Court, and other Publick Places.	London	[1728]	Vaughan Williams Memorial Library.
161	John Cullen,John Young Alex.Livingston,Mick.Rawlin	Dancing-Master:,The. Vol. the Second. or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances with the Tunes to each Dance for Violin or Haut-boy, containing 200 Dances, Danc'd at Court and other Publick Places, 50 of which were never before Printed.	London	1713	Henry Watson Library.
162	John Young	[Fragmentary Title page.] . . .Or Directions for D . . . The Second Edition, The Whole Work. . .	London	1714	Harvard University Library.
163	John Young	Dancing-Master:,The. Vol. the Second. or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances with the Tunes to each Dance for the Treble-Violin. The Third Edition, containing 360 of the choicest Old and New Tunes now used at Court and other Publick Places.	London	1718	British Library
164	John Young	Dancing-Master:,The. Vol. the Second. or,Directions for Dancing Country Dances with the Tunes to each Dance for the Treble-Violin. The 4th Edition, containing 360 of the choicest Old and New Tunes now used at Court and other Publick Places.	London	1728	British Library
165	John Young	Dancing-Master:,The. or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance for the Treble-Violin. The Third Volume, containing Two Hundred Dances.	London	1726	British Library

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Website “Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650 – 1833. Compiled by Robert M. Keller, accessed from the website of the Colonial Music Institute <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/index.htm>

D #	Publisher	Title of Collection	Place Published	Date	Location and reference
166	Preston	Twelve Favorite Country Dances...1806 As performed at the most fashionable Balls & Assemblies	London	1806	British Library. a.252.(10.)
167	Preston, Jn.	Twenty four Country-Dances for the Year 1786 As they are performed at Court, Bath, and all Public Assemblys	London	1786	British Library. a.252.(1.)
168	Preston, Jn.	Twenty four Country-Dances for the Year 1787	London	1787	British Library. a.9.ee.(2.)
169	Preston, Jn.	Twenty four Country-Dances for the Year 1788	London	1788	British Library. a.252.(2.)
170	Preston	Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1791	London	1791	Manchester Public Library. BR 812 (w 21(7))
171	Preston & Son	Preston's Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1791	London	1791	British Library. a.252.(3.)
172	Preston & Son	Preston's Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1792	London	1792	Cambridge University. MR. 369.b.75.(1)
173	Preston & Son	Preston's Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1793	London	1793	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 3056c
174	Preston & Son	Preston's Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1794	London	1794	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 356d
175	Preston & Son	Preston's Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1795	London	1795	British Library. a.9.i.(6.)
176	[Preston & Son]	[Preston's Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1796]	[London]	[1796]	National Library of Scotland. Edinburgh. Glen 14b (1)
177	Preston & Son	Preston's Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1797	London	1797	British Library. a.252.(6.)
178	Preston & Son	Preston's Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1798	London	1798	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2182(a)

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Website "Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650 – 1833. Compiled by Robert M. Keller, accessed from the website of the Colonial Music Institute <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/index.htm>

D #	Publisher	Title of Collection	Place Published	Date	Location and reference
179	Preston, Thos.	Preston's Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1799	London	1799	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2192(c)
180	Preston, Thos.	Preston's Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1800	London	1800	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2192(g)
181	Thos. Preston	Preston's twenty four country dances for the year 1803	London	1803	Uk. a.9.jj.(6.)
182	Preston, Thos.	Preston's Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1804	London	1804	British Library. a.252.(11.)
183	Preston	Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1805	London	1805	British Library. a.252.(9.)
184	Preston	Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1806	London	1806	British Library. a.9.bb.(6.)
185	Preston	Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1807	London	1807	X-Litchman.
186	[Preston]	[Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1810]	[London]	[1810]	Mitchell Library. Glasgow. M9208
187	Preston & Son	Preston's Selection of the most favorite Country-Dances, Reels, &c.	London	[1798]	Dundee Public Library. Dundee. G 92522 H(5.)
188	Rolfe, William	William Rolfe's Elegant & Fashionable Collection of 24 Country Dances...1798	London	1798	Library of Congress. M1450.R75 1798 Case
189	Rolfe, William	William Rolfe's Elegant & Fashionable Collection of 24 Country Dances...1800	London	1800	Manchester Public Library. BR 812 (w 21(20))
190	Rutherford, David	Twelve Selected Country Dances...for the Year 1763	London	1763	British Library. a.9.gg
191	Rutherford, David	Rutherford's Compleat Collection of 200...Country Dances both Old and New...Voll. 1st.	London	[1756]	National Library of Ireland. Dublin. JM 5745
192	Rutherford, David	Rutherford's Compleat Collection of 200...Country Dances both Old and New...Voll. 2d.	London	[1759]	National Library of Ireland. Dublin. JM 5745
193	Rutherford, D.	Twenty Four Country Dances of the Year 1758	London	1758	Library of Congress. M1450.T93 Case
194	Rutherford, D.	Twenty Four French Country Dances for the Year 1766	London	1766	Library of Congress. M1450.T93 (#6) Case
195	Rutherford, D.	Rutherford's Choice Collection of Sixty of the most Celebrated Country Dances	London	[1750]	National Library of Ireland. Dublin. 78644 R1
196	Rutherford, John	Rutherford's Compleat Collection of 200 of the most Celebrated Country Dances, both Old and New	London	[1775]	National Library of Ireland. Dublin. JM 5740
197	Rutherford, John	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1780	London	1780	X: Litchman

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Website "Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650 – 1833. Compiled by Robert M. Keller, accessed from the website of the Colonial Music Institute <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/index.htm>

D #	Publisher	Title of Collection	Place Published	Date	Location and reference
198	Rutherford, John	Six Minuets and four Country Dances for the Year 1781	London	1781	British Library. a.9.(6)
199	Thompson, S. and A.	Twelve Country Dances for the Year 1779	London	1779	Library of Congress. M30.S25
200	[Sancho]	Minuets &c. &c...Composed by an African. Book 2d.	London	[1775]	British Library. b.53.b.(1.)
201	Skillern, T.	For the Year 1795. Twelve Country Dances & Cotillons	London	1795	British Library. a.9.i.(4.)
202	Skillern, T.	Skillern's Compleat Collection of Two Hundred & Four Reels and Country Dances	London	[1776]	Mitchell Library. Glasgow. M9190
203	Skillern, T.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1780	London	1780	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2297 (i)
204	Skillern, T.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1781	London	1781	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2297 (j)
205	Skillern, T.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1782	London	1782	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2297 (l)
206	Skillern, T.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1788	London	1788	British Library. a.253.(3.)
207	Skillern, T.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1789	London	1789	Manchester Public Library. BR 812 (w 21(3.))
208	Skillern, T.	TwenTwenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1790	London	1790	Manchester Public Library. BR 812 (w 21(6.))
209	Skillern, T.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1791	London	1791	British Library. a.253.(4.)
210	Skillern, T.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1795	London	1795	Dundee Public Library. Dundee. G 92412 H (i.)
211	Skillern, T.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1796	London	1796	British Library. a.9.i.(5.)
212	Skillern, T.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1799	London	1799	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2192(d)
213	Skillern, T.	The Caledonian Medley Dance. Being a Select Collection of Twelve Tunes...one Figure	London	[1787]	British Library. b.49.e.(2.)
214	Smart	Smart's Annual Collection of Twenty-four Country Dances for the Year 1796	London	1796	British Library. a.9.i.(9.)
215	Straight, T. and Skillern	Two Hundred & four Favourite Country Dances	London	[1775]	Bodleian Library, Oxford. Harding Mus F.350
216	Straight, T. and Skillern	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1768	London	1768	British Library. a.253.(1.)
217	Thompson, Peter	Thompson's Twenty-Four Country dances for the Year 1754	London	1754	British Library. a.9.jj.(8)

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Website "Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650 – 1833. Compiled by Robert M. Keller, accessed from the website of the Colonial Music Institute <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/index.htm>

D #	Publisher	Title of Collection	Place Published	Date	Location and reference
218	Thompson, Peter	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1755	London	1755	British Library. a.223.f.(1.)
219	Thompson, Peter	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1757	London	1757	Bath Municipal Library. Bath. Pamphlet B 781.50857
220	Thompson & Son	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1758	London	1758	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 7863
221	Thompson & Son	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1759	London	1759	Mitchell Library. Glasgow. M9221
222	Thompson & Son	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1760	London	1760	British Library. a.223.f.(2.)
223	Thompson & Son	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1761	London	1761	X-Ward. Packet f.
224	Thompson & Sons	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1762	London	1762	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2277(a)
225	Thompson and Sons	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1763	London	1763	British Library. a.223.f.(4.)
226	Thompson and Sons	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1764	London	1764	British Library. a.227.f.(5.)
227	Thompson, Chas. & Saml.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1765	London	1765	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 4785(1)
228	Thompson, Chas. & Saml.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1767	London	1767	British Library. a.9.hh.(4.)
229	Thompson, Chas. & Saml.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1768	London	1768	Library of Congress. M1450.T93 #8 Case
230	Thompson, Chas. & Saml.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1769	London	1769	Library of Congress. M1450.T93 #10 Case
231	Thompson, Chas. & Saml.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1770	London	1770	Mitchell Library. Glasgow. M9225
232	Thompson, Chas. & Saml.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1771	London	1771	Bodleian Library, Oxford. Harding Mus F.351
233	Thompson, Chas. & Saml.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1772	London	1772	X-Ward. Box II Bk 1(2)
234	Thompson, Chas. & Saml.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1773	London	1773	Cardiff Public Library. Cardiff. M. C. 1.67.
235	Thompson, Chas. & Saml.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1774	London	1774	Vaughan Williams Library (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 3047 T. Box I
236	Thompson, Chas. & Saml.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1775	London	1775	British Library. a.223.f.(6.)

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Website "Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650 – 1833. Compiled by Robert M. Keller, accessed from the website of the Colonial Music Institute <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/index.htm>

D #	Publisher	Title of Collection	Place Published	Date	Location and reference
237	Thompson, Chas. & Saml.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1776	London	1776	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2256c T Box I
238	Thompson, Chas. & Saml.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1777	London	1777	National Library of Scotland. Edinburgh. Mus. E.S.73
239	Thompson, Chas. & Saml.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1778	London	1778	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2277(e)
240	Thompson, Chas. & Saml.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1779	London	1779	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2277(f)
241	Thompson, Chas. & Saml.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1780	London	1780	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2277(h)
242	Thompson, Saml., Ann, & Peter	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1782	London	1782	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2277(k)
243	Thompson, Saml., Ann, & Peter	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1783	London	1783	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2277(m)
244	Thompson, Saml., Ann, & Peter	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1785	London	1785	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2256(i)
245	Thompson, Saml., Ann, & Peter	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1786	London	1786	X-Ward. Box II Bk 1(10)
246	Thompson, Saml., Ann, & Peter	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1787	London	1787	British Library. a.223.f.(9.)
247	Thompson, Saml., Ann, & Peter	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1788	London	1788	British Library. a.223.f.(10.)
248	Thompson, Saml., Ann, & Peter	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1789	London	1789	X-Ward. Box II. Bk.1(13)
249	Thompson, Saml., Ann, & Peter	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1790	London	1790	Dundee Public Library. Dundee. G 92412 H(4.)
250	Thompson, Saml., Ann, & Peter	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1791	London	1791	British Library. a.223.f.(14.)
251	Thompson, Saml., Ann, & Peter	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1792	London	1792	British Library. a.9.nn.(3.)
252	Thompson, Saml., Ann, & Peter	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1793	London	1793	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 3056(6)

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Website "Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650 – 1833. Compiled by Robert M. Keller, accessed from the website of the Colonial Music Institute <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/index.htm>

D #	Publisher	Title of Collection	Place Published	Date	Location and reference
253	Thompson, Saml., Ann, & Peter	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1794	London	1794	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 5500
254	Thompson, Saml., Ann, & Peter	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1795	London	1795	British Library. a.223.f.(15.)
255	Thompson	Thompson's Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1796	London	1796	Dundee Public Library. Dundee. G 92412 H(3.)
256	Thompson	Thompson's Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1797	London	1797	X-Ward. Packet e-7
257	Thompson	Thompson's Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1798	London	1798	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2192a
258	Thompson	Thompson's Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1799	London	1799	British Library. a.223.f.(16.)
259	Thompson	Thompson's Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1800	London	1800	Cardiff Public Library. Cardiff. 685 2
260	Thompson	Thompson's Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1808	London	1808	British Library. a.9.bb.(3.)
261	Thompson	Thompson's Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1810	London	1810	British Library. a.9.bb.(9.)
262	Thompson, Charles and Samuel	Thompson's Compleat Collection of 200 Fashionable Country Dances. Vollm II	London	[1765]	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2274
263	Thompson, Charles and Samuel	Thompson's Compleat Collection of 200 Fashionable Country Dances. Vollm III	London	[1773]	Forbes Library. Northampton, MA. V4DF.T37
264	Thompson, C. & S.	Thompson's Complete Collection of Country Dances and Cotillons	London	[1780]	British Library. a.223.i
265	Thompson, Saml., Ann, & Peter	A Favourite Collection of Country Dances for the Year 1791	London	1791	British Library. a.223.f.(13.)
266	Thompson, Saml., Ann, & Peter	Thompson's Compleat Collection of 200 Fashionable Country Dances	London	[1757]	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2291
267	Thompson, Samuel, Ann & Peter	Thompson's Compleat Collection of 200 Fashionable Country Dances. Vol. 4	London	[1780]	British Library. a.223.g
268	Thompson, Samuel, Ann & Peter	Thompson's Compleat Collection of 200 Fashionable Country Dances. Vol. 5	London	[1788]	Bodleian Library, Oxford. Harding Mus 229.e.8
269		The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure		1749-1761	Early English Newspapers. Microfilm. Woodbridge, CT. Research Publication, 1983
270	Hogg, Alex.	New London and Country Songster, The...with a variety of Country Dances, &c.	London.	1780	Eighteenth Century Reserach Publications. Reel 1034, #25

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Website "Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650 – 1833. Compiled by Robert M. Keller, accessed from the website of the Colonial Music Institute <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/index.htm>

D #	Publisher	Title of Collection	Place Published	Date	Location and reference
271	Wheatstone, C.	A Selection of Elegant & Fashionable Country Dances, Reels, Waltzs &c...1808. Book 2d.	London	1808	British Library. b.55.a.(8a.)
272	[Walsh, J.]	[Twenty Four New Country Dances for the Year 1708]	[London]	[1708]	Library of Congress. M1450.T92
273	Walsh, J.	Twenty Four New Country Dances for the Year 1710	London	1710	Library of Congress. M1450.T92
274	Walsh, J., Randall, P.	Twenty Four New Country Dances for the Year 1711	London	1711	British Library. a.10.(3.)
275	Walsh, J.	Twenty Four New Country Dances for the Year 1712	London	1712	National Library of Ireland. Dublin. JM 5739 (1.)
276	Walsh, John	Twenty Four New Country Dances for the Year 1713	London	1713	British Library. a.9.(2.)
277	Walsh, J.	Twenty Four New Country Dances for the Year 1714	London	1714	British Library. a.10.(2.)
278	Walsh, J.	Twenty Four New Country Dances for the Year 1715	London	1715	Library of Congress. M1450.T92
279	Walsh, I.	Twenty Four New Country Dances for the Year 1716	London	1716	Bodleian Library, Oxford. JM 5739 (2.)
280	Walsh, J.	Twenty Four New Country Dances for the Year 1717	London	1717	Library of Congress. M1450.T92
281	Walsh, J.	Twenty Four New Country Dances for the Year 1718	London	1718	British Library. a.10.(1.)
282	Walsh, J.	Twenty Four New Country Dances for the Year 1718	London	1718	Library of Congress. M1450.T92 1718 Case
283	Walsh, I.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1726	London	1726	National Library of Ireland. Dublin. JM 5739 (5.)
284	Walsh, I.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1727	London	1727	National Library of Ireland. Dublin. JM 5739 (3.)
285	Walsh, Iohn	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1730	London	1730	National Library of Ireland. Dublin. JM 5739 (4.)
286	Walsh, Iohn	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1731	London	1731	National Library of Ireland. Dublin. JM 5739 (6.)
287	Walsh, I.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1732	London	1732	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2281
288	Walsh, I.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1736	London	1736	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 3001

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Website "Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650 – 1833. Compiled by Robert M. Keller, accessed from the website of the Colonial Music Institute <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/index.htm>

D #	Publisher	Title of Collection	Place Published	Date	Location and reference
289	Walsh, I.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1742	London	1742	National Library of Scotland. Edinburgh. Glen 18.a
290	Walsh, I.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1745	London	1745	British Library. a.10.a.(1.)
291	Walsh, I.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1748	London	1748	British Library. a.10.a.(2.)
292	[Walsh, I.]	[Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1749]	[London]	[1748]	National Library of Ireland. Dublin. JM 5738 (2.)
293	[Walsh, I.]	[Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1750]	[London]	[1750]	National Library of Scotland. Edinburgh. Glen 18 (2.)
294	Walsh, I.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1751	London	1751	National Library of Ireland. Dublin. JM 5738 (1.)
295	Walsh, I.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1763	London	1763	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2277(b)
296	Walsh, I.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1764	London	1764	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.4 2277(c)
297	Walsh, I.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1765	London	1765	British Library. a.10.a.(4.)
298	Walsh, I.	Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1766	London	1766	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.5 4785 (3.)
299	Walsh, J.	The Compleat Country Dancing Master...1718 Particularly those perform'd at the several Masquerades	London	1718	British Library. a.4.(1.)
300	Walsh, I.	The Compleat Country Dancing Master...MDCCXXXI Particularly those perform'd at the several Masquerades	London	1731	British Library. a.4.a
301	Walsh, I.	The Compleat Country Dancing Master...MDCCXXXV...No. 157 Particularly those perform'd at the several Masquerades	London	1735	British Library. a.4.d
302	Walsh, I.	The Compleat Country Dancing Master...The 4th. Edition Particularly those perform'd at the several Masquerades	London	[1760]	Birmingham University Library. Shaw-Hellier 279
303	Walsh, J.	The Second Book of the Compleat Country Dancing Master...1719	London	1719	British Library. a.4.(2.)
304	Walsh, I.	The Second Book of the Compleat Country Dancing Master...The 3d. Edition Particularly those perform'd at the several Masquerades	London	[1736]	Birmingham University Library. Shaw-Hellier 280
305	Walsh, I.	The Third Book of the Compleat Country Dancing-Master Particularly those perform'd at the several Masquerades	London	[1745]	X-Conant.
306	Walsh, I.	The Compleat Country Dancing-Master, Volume the Third Perform'd at Court. the Theatres, Masquerades and Publick Balls	London	[1755]	Birmingham University Library. Shaw-Hellier 282

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Website “Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650 – 1833. Compiled by Robert M. Keller, accessed from the website of the Colonial Music Institute <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/index.htm>

D #	Publisher	Title of Collection	Place Published	Date	Location and reference
307	Walsh, I.	The Compleat Country Dancing-Master. Volume the Fourth Perform'd at Court. the Theatres, Masquerades and Publick Balls	London	[1755]	National Library of Ireland. Dublin. JM 6078
308	Walsh, I.	The Compleat Country Dancing-Master. Volume the Fifth Perform'd at Court. the Theatres, Masquerades and Publick Balls	London	[1755]	British Library. a.9.w
309	Walsh, I.	The Compleat Country Dancing-Master. Volume the Sixth Perform'd at Court. the Theatres, Masquerades and Publick Balls	London	[1755]	Birmingham University Library. Shaw Hellier 284
310	Walsh, I.	Caledonian Country Dances...2d Edition...No. 493 As they are perform'd at Court & Publick Entertainments	London	[1735]	National Library of Scotland. Edinburgh. Mus. E.S.66
311	Walsh, I.	Caledonian Country Dances. Book the Second...No. 606 As they are perform'd at Court & Publick Entertainments	London	[1737]	National Library of Scotland. Edinburgh. Mus. E.56.(2.)
312	Walsh, I.	Caledonian Country Dances. Book the Third As they are perform'd at Court & Publick Entertainments	London	[1740]	National Library of Scotland. Edinburgh. Mus. E.S.55.(1.)
313	Walsh, I.	Caledonian Country Dances. Book the Fourth...2d Edition As they are perform'd at Court & Publick Entertainments	London	[1745]	National Library of Scotland. Edinburgh. Mus. E.S.55.(2.)
314	Walsh, I.	Caledonian Country Dances. Vol. II. Part I	London	[1748]	National Library of Scotland. Edinburgh. Glen
315	Walsh, I.	Caledonian Country Dances. Vol. II. Part II Perform'd at Court. the Theatres, Masquerades and Publick Entertainments	London	[1751]	University of Birmingham. Music MS
316	Walsh, I.	Caledonian Country Dances. Vol. II. Part III Perform'd at Court. the Theatres, Masquerades and Publick Entertainments	London	[1755]	University of Birmingham. Music MS
317	Walsh, I., Randall, P.	For the Further Improvement of Dancing	London	1710	New York
318	Walsh, I., P. Randall	The New Country Dancing Master. The 2d. Book Perform'd at Court. the Theatres, Masquerades and Publick Balls	London	[1711]	Sandeman Public Library. Perth. N 42
319	Walsh, I.	The New Country Dancing Master. The 3d. Book Perform'd at the Theatre, at Schools and Publick Balls	London	[1728]	British Library. a.8
320	Walsh, I.	Country Dances...Part I Selected as perform'd at Court all Publick Assemblies	London	[1760]	National Library of Scotland. Edinburgh. Glen 35(1)
321	Walsh, I.	Country Dances...Part II Selected as perform'd at Court all Publick Assemblies	London	[1760]	National Library of Scotland. Edinburgh. Glen 35(1)
322	Walsh, I.	The First, Second and Third Books of the Self-Instructor on the Violin	London	[1700]	Dundee Public Library. Dundee. Mus. Cambridge University Library.76

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Website "Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650 – 1833. Compiled by Robert M. Keller, accessed from the website of the Colonial Music Institute <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/index.htm>

D #	Publisher	Title of Collection	Place Published	Date	Location and reference
323	Welch, Matthew	A Variety of English Country Dances for the present Year...By Cards	London	[1768]	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London.
324	Rutherford, John	Book XVIII. For the Year 1785. 8 Cotillions, 6 Favorite Country Dances and two Minuets As perform'd at the Prince of Wales's & other Grand Balls & Assemblies. Humbly Dedicated to the Nobility and Gentry. Subscribers to Willis's Rooms, Festino, &c.	London	1785	Dundee Public Library. Dundee. G 92532 H(1.)
325	Werner, Mr.	Humbly Dedicated to the Gentlemen & Gentry Subscribers	London	1780	Hague. 14.055
326	Wheatstone	Wheatstone's elegant & fashionable collection of 24 country dances...1810	London	1810	Uk. a.9.jj.(9.)
327	Wheatstone, C.	Wheatstone's Selection of Elegant & Fashionable Country Dances, Reels Waltzs &c...Book 5th. Including those much admired Neapolitan & Maltese Pandean Airs	London	[1810]	British Library. b.64.(5.)
328	Wills, Alexander	Ten New Fashionable Irish Dances...& three Favorite Waltzs's Humbly Inscribed by permission to the Countess of yarmouthTo which is added, The Zoaick, as Danced every night at Bath	London	[1800]	British Library. b.54.(14.)
329		Recueil de 24. Contredances Angloise les plus usite'	Amsterdam	1755	British Library. K.8.i.3.
330	Mackay, D.	Wilson Companion, A Companion to the Ball Room...Country Dances, Reels, Hornpipes, Waltzes and Quadrilles	London	[1816]	British Library. 1042.1.24.(1.)
331	Button, Whitaker & Compy.	L' Assemble'e, or Forty Eight Elegant New Dances for the year 1819	London	1819	Mitchell Library. Glasgow. M9735
332	Button, Whitaker and Breadnell	Le Sylphe, an Elegant Collection of Twenty four Country Dances...1815	London	1815	Library of Congress. M1450.S94 1815 (Case)
333	Calvert, W.	Wilson Terpsichor, The Treasures of Terpsichore, or a Companion for the Ball-Room...Country Dances...1809	London	1809	The Treasures of Terpsichore, or a Companion for the Ball-Room...Country Dances...1809
334	Wilson, T.	Treasures of Terpsichore, The Supplement	London	1811	British Library. 7921.a56
335	Wright, Daniel	Twenty Four New Country Dances for the Year	London	[1719]	Cecil Sharp Library. (EFDSS), London. QS 35.7 2276 (a.)

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: "Published Country Dance Books in the British Library Collection" accessed from the website "Village Music Project", <http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/pcroom/BLcat.htm>. Collated by John Adams.

D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
336	Adolphe, Jules	The Original Waltz Country Dances.	Jules Adolphe	1848	h.939.(3.)
337	Adolphe, Jules	The Original Waltz Country Dances.	Jules Adolphe	189?	h.942.(8.)
338	African	Minuets, Cotillons & Country Dances for the violin, mandolin, German flute & harpsichord. Composed by an African [Ignatius Sancho?] etc.		1775	a.9.b.(1.)
339	Albert, Charles Louis Napoleon d'	D'Albert's French Country Dances: Le Carillon de Dunquerque & La Boulangere. With full description of the figures.	C L N d'Albert	1859	h.828.(21)
340	Analysis of the London Ball-room:	in which is comprised, the history of the polite art, etc. [With Country Dances, Waltzes & Quadrilles.]	Thomas Tegg	1825	7920.c.8
341	Anderson, John	A Selection of the most approved Highland Strathspeys, Country Dances, English & French Dances. With a harpsichord & violoncello bass etc.	Anderson, John	1789	g.833.f.(3.)
342	Anderson, John	A Selection of the most approved Highland Strathspeys, Country Dances, English & French Dances. With a harpsichord & violoncello bass etc.	John Anderson	1795	g.229.b.(1.)
343	Anderson, John	A 2nd Selection of the most approved Highland Strathspeys, Country Dances, English & French Dances. With a harpsichord & violoncello bass etc.	John Anderson	1792	g.542.(1.)
351	Balfour, S Victor	Set of Country Dances. arranged by S V Balfour.	Riviere & Hawkes	1887	h.975.m.(49.)
352	Balls, James	Balls's Collection of Country Dances for the years 182(4) etc.	G & J Balls	1824	a.9.1.
353	Beethoven, Ludwig van (C)	7 Country Dances, for the Pianoforte.	(London)	1869	h.400.b.(17.)
354	Beethoven, Ludwig van (C)	6 Country Dances, for the Pianoforte. C.	(London)	1869	h.400.b.(15.)
355	Bertie, Earl of Abingdon, Willoughby	12 Country Dances & 3 capriccios for 2 flute & a Bass. With 3 Minuets for 2 flute, 2 violin, Horns & Bass, etc.	T Monzani	1787	g.443.d.(2.)
356	Bishop, Dancing Master, H	6 New Minuets & 12 New Country Dances ... for the year 1788.	Longman & Broderip	1788	b.53.(6.)
357	Blake, Richard	12 New Country Dances for the year 1788.	Longman & Broderip	1788	b.53.(8.)
358	Bland & Weller (P)	B & W's Annual Collection of 24 Country Dances for the year 1797, with their proper figures. For the violin & German flute etc.	A Bland & Weller (P)	1797	a.251.(3.)
359	Bland & Weller (P)	B & W's Annual Collection of 24 Country Dances for the year 1798, with their proper figures. For the violin & German flute etc.	A Bland & Weller (P)	1798	b.55.o.(2.)

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Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: "Published Country Dance Books in the British Library Collection" accessed from the website "Village Music Project", <http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/pcroom/BLcat.htm>. Collated by John Adams.

D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
360	Bland & Weller (P)	B & W's Annual Collection of 24 Country Dances for the year 1799, with their proper figures. For the violin & German flute etc.	A Bland & Weller (P)	1799	g.49.f.(1.)
361	Bowie, John	A Collection of Strathspey Reels & Country Dances & c. With a bass for the violoncello or Harpsichord 1786.	John Bowie	1789	g.934.d.(7.)
362	Bowie, John	A Collection of Strathspey Reels & Country Dances & c. With a bass for the violoncello or Harpsichord 1789.	Stewart & Co	1789	g.229.a.(1.)
363	Boys, Caroline Frances	6 New Country Dances for the year 1802.	Bland & Wellers	1802	H.1652.j.(5.)
364	Bruckfield, T. B.	8 Cotillons, 8 Country Dances, & 2 Favourite Minuets, with Directions to each Dance 1780.	Norwich	1780	a.97.
365	Budd, Thomas	12 Favourite Cotillons & Country Dances with their proper figures etc.	John Rutherford (P)	1780	a.9.o
366	Budd, Thomas	The 9th Book for the year 1781. 12 favourite Cotillons & Country Dances, with their proper figures etc.	John Rutherford (P)	1781	a.9.cc.(1.)
367	Budd, Thomas	14 favourite Cotillons & Country Dances, with their proper figures etc The 10th Book for the year 1782.	John Rutherford (P)	1782	a.9.j.(4.)
368	Budd, Thomas	The 11th Book for the year 1783. 14 favourite Cotillons & Country Dances, with their proper figures etc.	John Rutherford (P)	1783	a.9.cc.(2.)
369	Budd, Thomas	14 favourite Cotillons & Country Dances, with their proper figures; adapted for the Harpsichord or Harp. The 12th Book for the year 1784.	J. Preston	1784	a.9.j.(5.)
370	Budd, Thomas	14 favourite Cotillons & Country Dances, with their proper figures; adapted for the Harpsichord or Harp. The 15th Book for the year 1786.	J. Preston	1786	a.9.j.(6.)
371	Budd, Thomas	14 favourite Cotillons & Country Dances, with their proper figures; adapted for the Harpsichord or Harp. The 21st Book for the year 1791.	Preston & Son	1791	a.9.e.(1.)
372	Budd, Thomas	14 favourite Cotillons & Country Dances, with their proper figures; adapted for the harpsichord or Harp. The 24th Book for the year 1793.	Preston & Son	1793	a.9.q.(2.)
373	Budd, Thomas	14 favourite Cotillons & Country Dances, with their proper figures; adapted for the harpsichord or Harp. The 25th Book for the year 1795.	Preston & Son	1795	a.9.q.(3.)
374	Budd, Thomas	Budd's 31st Book of Country Dances, Reels, & Waltz's ... adapted for the Piano Forte, Harp or violin.	Preston	1801	a.9.e.(2.)
375	Budd, Thomas	6 favourite new Minuets, 4 Cotillons, & 4 Country Dances ... for the harpsichord, harp & violin. For the year 1781 [score]	John Rutherford (P)	1780	a.26.o.

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Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: "Published Country Dance Books in the British Library Collection" accessed from the website "Village Music Project", <http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/pcroom/BLcat.htm>. Collated by John Adams.

D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
376	Burkhardt, Carl	Boosey's National Dance Book, containing 100 reels, Country Dances, jigs, highland flings, strathspeys, cotillons, Spanish Dances etc	Boosey & Sons (P)	c1860	h.60.hh.(4.)
377	Burnett, William	Summer Amusement. July 29th 1782. 12 Country Dances & 3 Cotillons, entirely new, for violin & Bass, harpsichord or harp etc.	William Napier	1782	a.9.e.(3.)
378	Butler, Thomas Hamley	12 Country Dances for the pianoforte or harp.	Astor & Co (P)	1816?	h.280.(10.)
379	Button & Whitaker	B & W's 24 Country Dances, with figures by Mr Wilson. For the year 1814, adapted for the violin, German flute or oboe.	Button & Whitaker	1814?	a.9.aa.(3.)
380	Button, Whitaker & Beadnell	B, W & B's 24 Country Dances, with figures by Mr Wilson. For the year 1815, adapted for the violin, German flute or oboe.	Button, Whitaker & Beadnell	1815?	a.9.k.(2.)
381	Button, Whitaker & Company	Button, Whitaker & Compy's 24 Country Dances. For the year 1818, adapted for the violin, German flute or oboe.	Button, Whitaker & Company	1818?	a.9.k.(4.)
382	Button, Whitaker & Company	Button, Whitaker & Compy's 24 Country Dances. For the year 1819, adapted for the violin, German flute or oboe.	Button, Whitaker & Company	1819?	a.9.aa.(4.)
383	Cahusac, William Maurice	Cahusac's Annual Collection of 12 favourite Country Dances, with their Basses, for the year 1800, with proper directions to each dance.	Cahusac	1800	a.248.(10.)
384	Cahusac, William Maurice	Cahusac's Annual Collection of 12 favourite Country Dances, with their Basses, for the year 1801, with proper directions to each dance.	W M Cahusac	1801?	b.55.o.(1.)
385	Cahusac, William Maurice	Cahusac's Annual Collection of 12 favourite Country Dances, with their Basses, for the year 1805, with proper directions to each dance.	W M Cahusac	1805	a.15.b.
386	Cahusac, William Maurice	Cahusac's Annual Collection of 24 favourite Country Dances, with their Basses, for the year 1811, with proper directions to each dance.	W M Cahusac	1811	a.15.c.(2.)
387	Campbell, William, Publisher	Campbell's 7th [8th-12th,14th-16th,18th-22nd,24th,25th] Collection of the newest... Country Dances & Cotillons, for violin, harp, harpsichord, German flute.	William Campbell		b.96.
388	Campbell, William, Publisher	Campbell's 6th collection of the newest & most favourite Country Dances, Reels & Strathspey's [sic] for violin, harp, pianoforte & German flute, etc.	William Campbell	1795	b.49.e.(6.)
389	Campbell, William, Publisher	Campbell's favourite set of new Country Dances & Strathspey Reels & c. for the year 1815. For pianoforte, harp or violin, etc.	William Campbell	1815	g.352.mm.(5.)

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Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: "Published Country Dance Books in the British Library Collection" accessed from the website "Village Music Project", <http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/pcroom/BLcat.htm>. Collated by John Adams.

D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
390	Cantelo (collector & Musician at Bath)	24 American Country Dances as Danced by the British during their Winter Quarters at Philadelphia, New York & Charles Town.	Longman & Broderip	1785	b.53.(2.)
391	Carter, Charles Thomas ©	15 Country Dances, 2 Cotillons & 2 Minuets, for harpsichord, pianoforte or violin. Comp by Mr Carter & other eminent Masters. Book 1st, for the year 1794.	Goulding	1794	a.9.b.(3.)
392	Chappell & Co (P)	Chappell's 100 Country Dances, Hornpipes, Jigs, Reels & Strathspeys, arranged for the cornet-a-pistons.	Chappell & Co	1870	e.325.(2.)
393	Chappell & Co (P)	Chappell's 100 Hornpipes, Strathspeys, Jigs, Reels & Country Dances, arranged for the violin.	Chappell & Co	1873	e.251.a.
394	Chappell & Co (P)	Chappell's Selection of old English Country Dances ... arranged for the pianoforte <Old Favourites revived>	Chappell & Co	c1835	h.1203.1.(16.)
395	Chives, G M S (C)	Recueil de Dances Espagnoles, or Spanish Country Dancing made plain & easy ...in Spanish & English.	G M S Chives	1819	e.109.(1.)
396	Christmas, Charles	Christmas' selection of the most fashionable Country Dances [No 1 only - 3 pages] For the pianoforte.	Charles Christmas	c1817	g.833.aa.(1.)
397	Clarke, James	Les Charmes du bal, a collection of admired waltzes, quadrilles, Country Dances ... for the pianoforte, newly arranged by James Clarke.	James Clarke	1845?	c.40.
398	Clarke, James	Les Charmes du bal, a collection of admired waltzes, quadrilles, Country Dances ... for the pianoforte, newly arranged by James Clarke (* COPY of c.40.)	James Clarke	1845?	c.40.a.(2.)
399	Cocks & Co	R Cocks & Co's 102 National Country Dances, for pianoforte ... arranged by William Forde No 1.	R Cocks & Co	1840	g.865.a.(4.)
400		A Collection of 10 minuets for 2 violins & bass, printed in score, & 3 suites of Country Dances.	T Skillern	c1756	d.64.j
401	Collett, Thomas	Publish'd by Subscription by the Desire of several Persons of Quality 24 new Country Dances, the fist 6 made at Allthorp ...on ...John Spensor's coming of age.	Thomas Collett	1756	a.36.1.
402		A Concerto, principally form'd upon subjects taken from 3 Country Dances, accompanied by a 1st & 2nd horn.	John Johnson	1745?	h.1568.f.(1.)
403	Cooke, the Elder, Matthew	A Set of Country Dances as performed at the Grove, the Seat of the Earl of Clarendon ... opera iii	H Holland	1780?	e.342.
404	Corri, Dussek & Co	24 New Country Dances, with their proper figures for the harp, pianoforte & violin ... Dedicated to the Nobility & Gentry ... for the year 1797.	Corri, Dussek & Co	1797	b.54.(3.)
405	Corri, Philip Anthony	The Terpsichoread, 3 Country Dances, arranged for the pianoforte 1809.	Philip Anthony Corri	1809	h.330.(4.)

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Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: "Published Country Dance Books in the British Library Collection" accessed from the website "Village Music Project", <http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/pcroom/BLcat.htm>. Collated by John Adams.

D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
406	Country Dancing Master	The Compleat C Dancing Master, containing a Great variety of dances, both old & new, perform'd at several Masquerades.	H Meere for Walsh & J Hare	1718	a.4.(1.)
407	Country Dancing Master	The New Country Dancing Master 3d Book being a choice collection, with directions to each dance ... for violin or Hoboy etc.	Walsh & J Hare	1728	a.8
408	Country Dancing Master	The Compleat C Dancing Master, containing a Great variety of dances ... violin, or hautboy & most within the compass of the German flute & common flute.	I Walsh	1731	a.4.a
409	Country Dances	120 Country Dances for flute, being a choice collection of the pleasant & most airy dance tunes.	L Pippard	1711	b.49
410	Country Dances	24 new Country Dances, for the year 1713. With proper tunes & new figures or directions to each Dance. The Musick proper for the violin, hoboy or flute.	John Walsh	1712	a.30.b.(3.)
411	Country Dances	24 new Country Dances, for the year 1712. With proper tunes & new figures or directions to each Dance. The Musick proper for the violin, hoboy or flute.	J Walsh & J Hare	1712	a.9.(2.)
412	Country Dances	24 new Country Dances for the year 1714. With proper tunes & new figures or directions to each dance. Composed by several authors.	J Walsh & J Hare	1713	a.10.(2.)
413	Country Dances	A 2nd Collection of 30 new ... Country Dances... harpsichord/spinnet. The dances perform'd at court & publick ents. Irish, Welsh & Scotch.	J Walsh	1732	d.203.b
414	Country Dances	30 new & choice Country Dances, set for harpsichord or spinnet, etc.	J Walsh	1735?	e.5.r.(2.)
415	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1738. With proper Tunes, figures or directions to each dance. The tunes proper for the violin, German flute or Hoboy etc.	Benjamin Cooke	1738	a.9.d.(1.)
416	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1744. With proper Tunes, figures or directions to each dance. The tunes proper for the violin, German flute or Hoboy etc.	J Johnson	1743	a.9.s
417	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1745. With proper Tunes, figures & directions to each dance. The tunes proper for the violin, German flute or Hoboy etc	I Walsh	1744	a.10.a.(1.)
418	Country Dances	A Choice Collection of 200, with proper figures or directions to each tune. For the violin, German flute. Volumes 3, 4, 6.	J Johnson	1744-51	a.9.a
419	Country Dances	[8 pages of an imperfect collection of Country Dances, without title page]	J Johnson?	1745?	a.9.f.(3.)
420	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1748. With proper Tunes, Figures, or Directions to each Dance. The Tunes proper for violin, German flute or Hoboy etc.	I Walsh	1747	a.10.a.(2.)
421	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1750. With Proper Tunes & Directions to each Dance Set for the violin, German flute or Hoboy etc.	I Walsh	1749	a.10.a.(3.)

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Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: "Published Country Dance Books in the British Library Collection" accessed from the website "Village Music Project", <http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/pcroom/BLcat.htm>. Collated by John Adams.

D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
422	Country Dances	Caledonian Country Dances with a thorough Bass for ye Harpsichord, ye 3d Edition, with Aditions.	I Johnson	1750?	a.222
423	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1751 ...Set for the violin, German flute or Hautboy etc.	H Waylett	1751	a.9.g.(2.)
424	Country Dances	Mrs Midnight's Maggot. A New Country Dance for the Cat-Organ.		1751	1081.d.14
425	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1755 ...proper to the violin, German flute or Hoboy etc.	P Thompson	1754	a.223.f.(1.)
426	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1755 ... violin, German flute or Hoboy etc.	J Johnson	1755	a.9.g.(1.)
427	Country Dances	The City-Mall. A New Country Dance.	B Martin's Misc. Correspondence	1757	250.k.(17.)
428	Country Dances	The French Retreat. A Country Dance.	B Martin's Misc. Correspondence	1757	250.k.(17.)
429	Country Dances	A Ramble to Greenwich. A New Country Dance.	B Martin's Misc. Correspondence	1757	250.k.(17.)
430	Country Dances	A Ramble to Oxford. A Country Dance.	B Martin's Misc. Correspondence	1757	250.k.(17.)
431	Country Dances	The Tabernacle. A New Country Dance.	B Martin's Misc. Correspondence	1757	250.k.(17.)
432	Country Dances	Windsor Forest. A Country Dance.	B Martin's Misc. Correspondence	1757	250.k.(17.)
433	Country Dances	A Country Dance.		1758	250.k.(17.)
434	Country Dances	A New Country Dance.		1758	250.k.(17.)
435	Country Dances	A Country Dance.		1759	250.k.(18.)
436	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1760. With proper Tunes, Figures, or Directions to each Dance. The Tunes proper for violin, German flute or Hoboy etc.	Thompson & Son	1760	a.223.f.(2.)
437	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1762. With proper Tunes, Figures, or Directions to each Dance. The Tunes proper for violin, German flute or Hoboy etc.	Thompson & Son	1762	a.223.f.(3.)
438	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1763. With proper Tunes, Figures, or Directions to each Dance. The Tunes proper for violin, German flute or Hoboy etc.	Thompson & Son	1763	a.223.f.(4.)

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Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: "Published Country Dance Books in the British Library Collection" accessed from the website "Village Music Project", <http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/pcroom/BLcat.htm>. Collated by John Adams.

D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
439	Country Dances	12 Country Dances with their basses, for the year 1763 With proper Tunes & Directions to each Dance. The Tunes proper for violin, German flute or Harpsichord etc.	David Rutherford	1763	ga.9.gg.
440	Country Dances	24 Country Dances with their basses, for the year 1763. With proper Tunes & Directions to each Dance. The Tunes proper for violin, German flute or Harpsichord etc.	C & S Thompson	1764	a.223.f.(5.)
441	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1765. With proper Tunes & Directions to each Dance. The Tunes proper for violin, German flute or Hoboy etc.	J Walsh	1765	a.10.a.(4.)
442	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1766. With proper Tunes & Directions to each Dance. The Tunes proper for violin, German flute or Hoboy etc.	R Bride	1766	a.9.hh.(3.)
443	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1767. With proper Tunes & Directions to each Dance. The Tunes proper for violin, German flute or Hoboy etc.	R Bride	1767	a.9.hh.(5.)
444	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1767. With proper Tunes & Directions to each Dance. The Tunes proper for violin, German flute or Hoboy etc.	Charles & Samuel Thompson	1767	a.9.hh.(4.)
445	Country Dances	24 Country Dance for the year 1768. With proper Tunes & Directions to each Dance. The Tunes proper for violin, German flute or Hoboy etc.	T Straight & Skillern	1768	a.253.(1.)
446	Country Dances	24 Country Dance for the year 1770. With proper Tunes & Directions to each Dance. The Tunes proper for violin, German flute or Hoboy etc.	R Bride	1770	a.222.a
447	Country Dances	12 favourite Country Dances & 6 Cotillons, with their proper figures etc.	J Johnson	1772	a.9.e.(5.)
448	Country Dances	12 favourite Country Dances for the year 1775, with their proper figures etc.	Charles & Samuel Thompson	1775	a.223.f.(6.)
449	Country Dances	12 favourite Country Dances with figured Basses for the harpsichord, for the year 1777 with proper tunes & directions ...	J Rutherford	1777	b.55.b.(7.)
450	Country Dances	[24 Country Dances]	J Rutherford	1778	a.9.f.(1.)
451	Country Dances	16 New Dances for the violin, German flute & Harpsichord with their proper figures etc.	W Campbell	1780	9.9.e.(6.)
452	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1783, with proper ... to each dance etc.	S A & P Thompson	1783	a.223.f.(7.)
453	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1784, with proper ... to each dance etc.	W Campbell	1784	a.9.d.(3.)
454	Country Dances	A Collection of favourite Country Dances with a thorough Bass for the harpsichord etc.	William Napier	1785	a.9.j.(1.)
455	Country Dances	[24 Country Dances] (IMPERFECT)		1785	a.9.f.(2.)

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Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
456	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1785, with proper ... to each dance etc.	Thomas Cahusac	1785	a.248.(1.)
457	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1785, with proper ... to each dance etc.	S A & P Thompson	1785	a.223.f.(8.)
458	Country Dances	5 favourite new Country Dances as danced at the Assembly [P F]	N Stewart	1785	g.443.aa.(19.)
459	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1786, with proper directions to each dance etc.	J Preston	1786	a.252.(1.)
460	Country Dances	S A & P Thompson's 24 Country Dances for the year 1786 etc.	J Preston	1786	a.9.ff
461	Country Dances	12 Country Dances with basses & their figures for the Harpsichord & violin etc	William Forster	1786	a.9.j.(7.)
462	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1787 with proper directions to each dance.	J Preston	1787	a.9.ee.(2.)
463	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1787 with proper directions to each dance.	T Skillern	1787	a.253.(2.)
464	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1787 with proper tunes & directions to each dance.	S A & P Thompson	1787	a.223.f.(9.)
465	Country Dances	16 entire New Country Dances, adapted for the violin, harpsichord or pianoforte with their proper figures ...for the year 1787.	T Skillern	1787	a.9.j.(8.)
466	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1788, with proper directions to each dance etc.	J Preston	1788	a.252.(2.)
467	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1788, with proper directions to each dance etc.	S A & P Thompson	1788	a.223.f.(10.)
468	Country Dances	12 Country Dances with their basses, for the year 1788. With proper Directions to each Dance etc.	Thomas Cahusac	1788	a.248.(6.)
469	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1788, with proper directions to each dance etc.	T Skillern	1788	a.253.(3.)
470	Country Dances	Rutland Lodge, a Country Dance, A Trip to Italy, a Country Dance.	Walker's Hibernium Magazine	May 1788	P.P.6154.k
471	Country Dances	The Carnation, a Country Dance.	Walker's Hibernium Magazine	1788	P.P.6154.k
472	Country Dances	The Running Horse.	Walker's Hibernium Magazine	1788	P.P.6154.k
473	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for 1789 with proper tunes & directions to each dance etc.	Longman & Broderip	1789	a.9.ee.(1.)
474	Country Dances	[24 Country Dances for the year 1790 etc.]	S A & P Thompson	1789	a.223.f.(11.)

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
475	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1790 with proper ...dance.	W Campbell	1789	a.9.z.(2.)
476	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1790 with proper ...dance.	Longman & Broderip	1789	a.9.z.(1.)
477	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1790 with proper ...dance.	Thomas Cahusac	1790	a.248.(2.)
478	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1790 with proper ...dance.	S A & P Thompson	1790	a.223.f.(12.)
479	Country Dances	12 Country Dances with Basses & their figures for the Harpsichord or violin etc	William Forster	1790	a.9.q.(1.)
480	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1790 with proper ...dance.	Thomas Cahusac	1790	a.248.(7.)
481	Country Dances	A Bottle of Punch. A Country Dance.	Walker's Hibernium Magazine	1790	P.P.6154.k
482	Country Dances	The Gobby O! (Maria), a Country Dance.	Walker's Hibernium Magazine	1790	P.P.6154.k
483	Country Dances	Jackson's Drum.	Walker's Hibernium Magazine	1790	P.P.6154.k
484	Country Dances	Taller the Road, a Country Dance.	Walker's Hibernium Magazine	1790	P.P.6154.k
485	Country Dances	12 Country Dances with their basses, for the year 1791. With proper Directions to each Dance etc.	Thomas Cahusac	1791	a.9.ee.(3.)
486	Country Dances	24 Country Dances with their basses, for the year 1791. With proper Directions to each Dance etc.	Thomas Cahusac	1791	a.248.(3.)
487	Country Dances	24 Country Dances with their basses, for the year 1791. With proper Directions to each Dance etc.	S A & P Thompson	1791	a.223.f.(14.)
488	Country Dances	24 Country Dances. A favourite collection for the year 1791, With proper Directions to each Dance. Adapted for the harpsichord or piano forte.	S A & P Thompson	1791	a.223.f.(13.)
489	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1791, with proper directions to each dance etc.	T Skillern	1791	a.253.(4.)
490	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1791, with proper directions to each dance etc.	A Bland	1792	a.251.(1.)
491	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1792, with proper directions to each dance etc.	G Gouldng	1792	a.6.(1.)
492	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1792, with proper directions to each dance etc.	Longman & Broderip	1792	a.9.nn.(2.)
493	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1792, with proper directions to each dance etc.	S A & P Thompson	1792	a.9.nn.(3.)

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
494	Country Dances	12 Country Dances with their basses for the year 1792, with proper directions to each dance etc.	Thomas Cahusac	1792	a.248.(11.)
495	Country Dances	12 Country Dances for the year 1791, with proper directions to each dance etc.	Thomas Cahusac	1792	a.248.(12.)
496	Country Dances	24 fashionable Country Dances with their basses for the year 1792, with their proper figures & directions to each dance etc.	William Campbell	1792	a.9.nn.(1.)
497	Country Dances	12 Country Dances with their basses for the year 1793, with proper directions to each dance etc.	Thomas Cahusac	1793	a.248.(8.)
498	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1793, with proper tunes & directions to each dance etc.	G Gouldng	1793	a.9.nn.(4.)
499	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1793, with proper tunes & directions to each dance etc.	Longman & Broderip	1793	a.9.i.(2.)
500	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1794, with proper directions to each dance etc.	A Bland	1794	a.251.(2.)
501	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1794, with proper directions to each dance etc.	Thomas Cahusac	1794	a.9.jj.(1.)
502	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1794, with proper directions to each dance etc.	Longman & Broderip	1792	a.9.bb.(2.)
503	Country Dances	12 Country Dances with their basses for the year 1794, with proper directions to each dance etc.	Thomas Cahusac	1794	a.248.(9.)
504	Country Dances	Preston's 24 Country Dances for the year 1794, with proper tunes & directions to each dance etc.	Preston & Son	1794	a.252.(5.)
505	Country Dances	The Waltz.	Walker's Hibernium Magazine	1794	P.P.6154.k
506	Country Dances	12 Country Dances & Cotillons (for the year 1795) with basses & their proper figures, for the harpsichord, harp, violin & German flute.	T Skillern	1795	a.9.i.(4.)
507	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1795 ...for the violin, German flute or hautboy.	T Dodd	1795	a.9.i.(8.)
508	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1795. With Proper Tunes & Directions to each Dance etc.	Longman & Broderip	1795	a.9.bb.(3.)
509	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1795. With Proper Tunes & Directions to each Dance etc.	Messrs Thompson	1795	a.223.f.(15.)
510	Country Dances	12 Country Dances with their basses for the year 1795, with proper directions to each dance etc.	Thomas Cahusac	1795	a.9.jj.(3.)
511	Country Dances	A favourite collection of Country Dances <1795> with proper tunes & directions to each dance etc.	Fentum	1795	a.222.c.(1.)

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Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
512	Country Dances	6 New Country Dances.		1795	g.1529.g.(23.)
513	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1796, with proper directions to each dance etc.	Thomas Cahusac	1796	a.9.ee.(4.)
514	Country Dances	24 Country Dances for the year 1796, with proper directions to each dance etc.	Longman & Broderip	1796	a.9.i.(3.)
515	Country Dances.	24 Country Dances for the year 1796, with their proper figures etc.	William Campbell	1796	a.9.l.(1.)
516	Country Dances.	24 Country Dances for the year 1796, with proper directions to each dance etc.	T Skillern	1796	a.9.l.(5.)
517	Country Dances.	The Art of Sparing. A Country Dance.	Walker's Hibernium Magazine	March 1796	P.P.6154.k
518	Country Dances.	Lough Erric Side. A Country Dance.	Walker's Hibernium Magazine	1796	P.P.6154.k
519	Country Dances.	The Merry Captain.	Walker's Hibernium Magazine	June 1796	P.P.6154.k
520	Country Dances.	The Morning Dispensary. A Country Dance.	Walker's Hibernium Magazine	April 1796	P.P.6154.k
521	Country Dances.	Within a Mile of Dublin. A Country Dance.	Walker's Hibernium Magazine	June 1796	P.P.6154.k
522	Country Dances.	12 Country Dances with their basses, for the year 1797. With proper Tunes & Directions to each Dance etc.	Cahusac & Sons	1797	a.9.y.(1.)
523	Country Dances.	10 Country Dances & 4 Cotillons with their basses ... for piano forte, as they are now danc'd at Bath, for the year 1797.	J & W Lintern	1797	a.222.b.(6.)
524	Country Dances.	24 Country Dances for the year 1797. With proper Tunes & Directions to each Dance etc.	G Gouldng	1797	a.6.(2.)
525	Country Dances.	A favourite collection of Country Dances for the year 1797 with proper directions to each dance adapted for harpsichord or pianoforte etc.	Messrs Thompson	1797	a.223.c
526	Country Dances.	12 Country Dances with their basses for the year 1798 with proper tunes & directions to each dance etc.	Cahusac & Sons	1798	a.9.y.(2.)
527	Country Dances.	12 Country Dances [with their basses for the year 1798 etc.]	Cahusac & Sons	1798	a.248.(13.)
528	Country Dances.	24 Country Dances with proper directions to each dance.	Cahusac & Sons	1798	a.248.(14.)

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Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
529	Country Dances.	24 Country Dances with proper directions to each dance.	L Lavenu	1798	a.9.d.(15.)
530	Country Dances.	Bland & Weller's Annual Collection of 24 Country Dances for the year 1799 etc.	Bland & Weller	1799	b.49.f.(1.)
531	Country Dances.	[24, 1799?] NO TITLE PAGE.		1799	a.9.f.(5.)
532	Country Dances.	24 Country Dances for the year 1799.	T W & M Cahusac	1799	a.248.(5.)
533	Country Dances.	A favourite Collection (1799) With proper tunes & directions to each dance.	J Fentum	1799	b.49.f.(4.)
534	Country Dances.	Hime's Collection of favourite Country Dances for the present year 1799 With Basses & proper figures for dancing.	Hime	1799	g.137.b.(1.)
535	Country Dances.	24 New Country Dances for the year 1799.	T Skillern	1799	b.49.f.(3.)
536	Country Dances.	Riley's Collection of 24 Country Dances, 1799.	Riley	1799	b.49.f.(3.)
537	Country Dances.	3 admired Country Dances. Sir Roger de Coverley, Speed the Plough, Bonny Lads (P F)	Rhames	1800	H.1654.n.(32.)
538	Country Dances.	[A Collection of 16 Country Dances]	Preston	1800	a.252.(8.)
539	Country Dances.	[24 Country Dances for the year 1800]		1800	a.9.f.(4.)
540	Country Dances.	[12 Country Dances for their basses.]		1800	a.9.e.(4.)
541	Country Dances.	24 Country Dances for the year 1801 with proper tunes & directions to each dance etc.	G Gouldng	1801	a.9.nn.(5.)
542	Country Dances.	[24 Country Dances for the year 1801]		1802	a.9.f.(6.)
543	Country Dances.	A favourite Dance, to which is added 5 new favourite Country Dances. [P F]	Gow & Shepherd	1802	g.443.j.(3.)
544	Country Dances.	A Collection of the most fashionable Country Dances for 1805, for piano forte or harp, with proper figures...	W Hodsall	1805	b.49.e.(3.)
545	Country Dances.	24 Country Dances for the year 1805 with proper tunes & directions to each dance etc.	G Gouldng	1805	a.6.(3.)
546	Country Dances.	24 Country Dances for the year 1805 with proper tunes & directions to each dance etc.	Preston	1805	a.252.(9.)
547	Country Dances.	Morgiana. With 5 more new Country Dances. [P F]	Gow & Shepherd	1805	h.1203.ff.(3.)
548	Country Dances.	12 new & original Country Dances by a composer of eminence, danced at the most fashionable assemblies. [P F]	Kelly's Opera Saloon	1805	h.141.b.(1.)

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
549	Country Dances.	A Collection of the most fashionable Country Dances for 1806, for piano forte or harp, with proper figures...	W Hodsall	1806	b.49.e.(4.)
550	Country Dances.	24 Country Dances for the year 1806 with proper tunes & directions to each dance etc.	Preston	1806	a.9.bb.(6.)
551	Country Dances.	24 Country Dances for the year 1806 with proper tunes & directions to each dance etc.	C Wheatstone	1806	b.49.e.(5.)
552	Country Dances.	12 favourite Country Dances, arranged for Piano Forte or harp.	Preston	1806	a.252.(10.)
553	Country Dances.	24 favourite Country Dances, hornpipes & Reels with their proper figures, for the German flute & violin etc.	Bland & Weller	1807	a.251.(4.)
554	Country Dances.	24 Country Dances for the year 1808 ...	Goulding & Co	1808	a.9.bb.(4.)
555	Country Dances.	New Country Dances for the year 1808. [P F]	Kelly's Opera Saloon	1808	g.230.p.(2.)
556	Country Dances.	24 Country Dances for the year 1809 with proper tunes & directions to each dance etc.	Goulding & Co	1809	a.9.bb.(5.)
557	Country Dances.	24 Country Dances for the year 1810 with proper tunes & directions to each dance etc.	Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine & Co	1810	a.6.(4.)
558	Country Dances.	24 Country Dances for the year 1810.	Preston	1810	a.9.bb.(7.)
559	Country Dances.	A favourite Collection of popular Country Dances, arranged for the piano forte, violin & c. with their proper figures <No 1-6 (8, 9, 12, 13)>	Skillern & Challoner	1810	g.230.cc
560	Country Dances.	A favourite Collection of popular Country Dances, arranged for the piano forte, violin & c. with their proper figures <No 19-22>	Skillern & Challoner	1810	h.925.o
561	Country Dances.	A Select collection of favourite Country Dances, for the piano forte, harp flute or violin no 1-12.	Monzani & Co	1810	g.230.p.(4.)
562	Country Dances.	24 Country Dances for the year 1811 with proper tunes & directions to each dance etc.	Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co	1811	a.6.(5.)
563	Country Dances.	24 Country Dances for the year 1812 with proper tunes & directions to each dance etc.	Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co	1812	a.6.(6.)
564	Country Dances.	24 Country Dances for the year 1814 etc.		1813	a.9.y.(3.)
565	Country Dances.	7 Country Dances for the Piano Forte No 16.	G Walker	1815	g.443.m.(9.)
566	Country Dances.	6 new Country Dances, for the piano forte as danced at Almanack's, Bath & Cheltenham. <no 13>.	Preston	1815	h.2998.a.(8.)

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
567	Country Dances.	6 fashionable Country Dances, for the piano forte as danced at all polite assemblies.	Preston	1815	h.61.e.(29.)
568	Country Dances.	No [1-3] of a series of new French Country Dances with their appropriate figures arranged by J Dunn & Son, teachers of Dancing etc.	Robert Purdie	1820	g.230.bb.(3.)
569	Country Dances.	24 favourite Country Dances for the flute, violin, Clarinet, or flageolet.	J Townsend	1821	a.9.d.(8.)
570	Country Dances.	A selection of admired Country Dances arranged for the piano forte.	Ward & Andrews	1830	g.1529.e.(5.)
571	Country Dances.	Popular Country Dances Viz. Sir Roger de Coverley. The College Hornpipe. La Boulanger. The Coquette. The Perthshire Hunt.	C Lonsdale	1835	H.1601.m.(2.)
572	Country Dances.	100 Country Dances &c. Including the royal gallopp's performed at public assemblys for the present year. arranged for the flute, violin or flageolet. With figures.	J Alexander	1840	b.170.e.(1.)
573	Country Dances.	A selection of favourite Country Dances, embracing 15 popular airs [pianoforte]	Musical Bouquet Office	1855	H.2345
574	Country Dances.	Favourite old English Country Dances newly arranged for the piano forte.	W Young	1858	h.925.a.(1.)
575	Country Dances.	Country Dances. [Fife & Drum Band Parts]	Lafleur & Son	1873	f.403.b.(44.)
576	Country Dances.	Six Country Dances as danced on most festive occasions. [pianoforte]	George Bell	1873	h.526.a.(6.)
577	Country Dances.	Selection of Country Dances including Sir Roger de Coverley ... [P F]	Cunningham, Boosey & Co	1877	H.2324
578	Country Dances.	Popular Country Dances for the piano forte. First (-eleventh) selection.	Howard & Co	1879	h.925.b.(4.)
579	Country Dances.	A Set of Country Dances. (Orchestral Parts)	Riviere & Hawkes	1887	e.370.e.(8.)
580	Country Dances.	Sir Roger de Coverley & Swedish & Norwegian Country Dances etc. [pianoforte]	J H Larway	1895	h.3285.w.(57.)
581	Crampton, Thomas	66 ...Country Dances ...arranged for the piano forte by Thomas Crampton.	Pitman's Sixpenny Musical Library No 45.	1880	F.630.a
582	Cronin, John J	The old English Country Dances arranged for the pianoforte by John Cronin.	J Cronin	1843	h.930.(45.)
583	Cronin, John J	The old English Country Dances arranged for the pianoforte by John Cronin. REISSUE OF h.930.(45.)	Ashdown & Parry	1855	h.721.l.(28.)

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
584	Dale, Joseph	Dale's Selection of the most favourite Country Dances, Reels, with ...proper figures, for the harp, harpsichord & violin etc.	J Dale	1800	b.54.(4.)
585	D'Almaine & Company	D'Almaine & Co's New Country Dances, for the year 1839, also a set of Quadrilles with proper figures & directions for the flute or violin.	D'Almaine & Co	1839	a.6.(7.)
586	D'Almaine & Company	D'Almaine & Co's New Country Dances, for the year 1841, also a set of Quadrilles with proper figures & directions for the flute or violin.	D'Almaine & Co	1841	a.6.(8.)
587	D'Almaine & Company	D'Almaine & Co's New Country Dances, for the year 1843, also a set of Quadrilles with proper figures & directions for the flute or violin.	D'Almaine & Co	1842	a.6.a(1.)
588	D'Almaine & Company	D'Almaine & Co's New Country Dances, for the year 1844, also a set of Quadrilles with proper figures & directions for the flute or violin.	D'Almaine & Co	1843	a.6.a(2.)
589	D'Almaine & Company	D'Almaine & Co's New Country Dances, for the year 1846, also the most fashionable Polkas and a set of original Quadrilles for the flute & violin.	D'Almaine & Co	1846	a.6.a(3.)
590	D'Almaine & Company	D'Almaine & Co's New Country Dances, for the year 1847, also the most fashionable Polkas and a set of original Quadrilles for the flute & violin.	D'Almaine & Co	1846	a.6.a(4.)
591	The Dancing Master	The Dancing Master or, plaine & easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances with the tune to each Dance, to be played on the treble violin. The 2nd Edition ...enlarged ...corrected ...	J Playford	1652	K.1.a.9
592	The Dancing Master	The Dancing Master with tunes to each Dance for the treble violin. The 7th Edition, with the Addition of several new Dances & Tunes of Dances, never before printed.	J Playford	1686	K.1.a.13
593	The Dancing Master	The Dancing Master ... the 7th Edition etc. (Tunes of other Country Dances etc.) (A new Additional sheet to the Dancing-Master.)	J Playford	1686-89	K.1.a.14
594	The Dancing Master	The 2nd Part of the Dancing-Master. Or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances ...All Dances never before printed.	Henry Playford	1696	K.1.a.16(2.)
595	The Dancing Master	The Dancing Master Vol the first. Or, Directions for dancing Country Dances, with the tunes to each dance, for the treble violin. The 18th edition, containing 358 of the choicest old & new tunes ...the whole work revised.	W Pearson	1725	Hirsch M.1382
596	Davis, John Francis	The Musical Companion, being a New Collection of Songs, Minuets, Rigadoons & Country Dances ...ye whole transpos'd for ye flute.	D Wright	1730	H.59.
597	Daykin, Herbert	The Fisher's Hornpipe (Set of country dances) arranged for the Pianoforte.	H Daykin	1881	h 3275.e.(12.)
598	Daykin, Herbert	Sir Roger de Coverley (Set of country dances) arranged for the Pianoforte.	H Daykin	1789	h 1494.f.(25.)

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
599	Daykin, Herbert	The White Cockade (Set of country dances) arranged for the Pianoforte.	H Daykin	1881	h.3275.e.(11.)
600	Devereaux	Devereaux's Country Dances, Waltzes & Marches for the violin, flute or flageolet, for the year 1834.	Leoni Lee	1834	a.9.d (2.)
601	Debdin, Charles	xii Country Dances; and vi Cotillons. With Directions for Dancing. Each compos'd for Shakespears Jubilee at Stratford upon Avon.	J Johnston	1770	a.102.
602	Donald, H A	First selection of Country Dances for violin & piano (or) three violins. 'cello & bass, triangle & pianoforte etc	J Curwen & Sons	1892	h 925.j.(5.)
603	Donald, H A	First selection of Country Dances for the violin & piano.	J Curwen & Sons	1894	g 505.l (15.)
604	Dry, Wakeling	Four connected Action Songs with Dances for junior classes. No.1 The Japanese Umbrella ... (No.2 Weights & Measures, No.3 The Butterfly) Words by F Hoare. (No. 4 A Country Dance) Words by A Jenner.	W Dry	1900	F.280.d.
605	Duff, Archibald	Part of a choice selection of Minuets, favourite Airs, Hornpipes, Waltzes & c. With ... reels, strathspeys and Country Dances. Each in part adapted for the piano forte, violin & violoncello. Book 1st.	Johnson & Anderson	1812	h.1568.cc.(2.)
606	Duncombe, John	Duncombe's collection of favourite Country Dances ...No 1 [P F]	J Duncombe	1840	g.833.l.
607	Dyke, Robert	Country Dances, 4th set, arranged by Robert Dyke. [Fife & Drum Band Parts]	R Dyke	1883	f.403.e.(22.)
608	Edwards, compiler of Dance Music, Thomas	12 Favourite new Country Dances for the violin, Harp or Piano Forte, danced at the Ball given by ... the Prince of Wales, Duke of York & Prince William Henry, at the Long Room, Stonehouse, Devonshire.	Longman & Broderip	1788	b.52.(5.)
609	The English Dancing Master	Plaine and easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances with the Tunes to each Dance.	Thomas Harper/J Playford	1651	E.Pam.626.(7.)
610	Falkner, Henry	Falkner & Christmas' popular collection of Country Dances, Reels & Waltzes. Minuets & c. for the present year. No. [1] [pianoforte]	Falkner & Christmas	1812	h.925.g.(6.)
611	Falkner, Henry	24 favourite Country Dances, Hornpipes & Reels (with their proper figures) for the German flute or violin, as performed at court & all public assemblies.	Bland & Weller's Music Warehouse	1814	a.9.jj.(4.)
612	Falkner, Henry	13 favourite new Waltzes & Country Dances ... Adapted for the harp or piano forte.	T & W H Cahusac	1800	g 1098.g.(7.)
613	Fentum, John	8 Cotillons, 6 Country Dances and a favourite new Minuet with their proper figures, for Harp, harpsichord & Violin etc. Book xx, for the year 1788.	J Fentum	1788	b.49.a.(2.)

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
614	Fentum, John	8 Cotillons, 6 Country Dances and a favourite new Minuet with their proper figures, for Harp, harpsichord & Violin etc. Book xx, for the year 1791.	J Fentum	1791	b.55.a.(1.)
615	Fentum, John	Sixteen new Country Dances with their proper figures, for Harp, Harpsichord, Violin, for the year 1788.	J Fentum	1788	b.49.a.(1.)
616	Fentum, John	Sixteen new Country Dances with their proper figures, for Harp, Harpsichord, Violin, for the year 1795.	J Fentum	1795	a.222.b.(5.)
617	Fentum, John	Sixteen new Country Dances with their proper figures, for Harp, Harpsichord, Violin, for the year 1796.	J Fentum	1796	a.222.b.(3*)
618	Fentum, John	Sixteen new Country Dances with their proper figures, for Harp, Harpsichord, Violin, for the year 1798.	J Fentum	1798	a.222.b.(2.)
619	Fentum, John	Sixteen new Country Dances < the year 1804.> with their proper figures, for Harp, Harpsichord, Violin.	J Fentum	1804	b.53.m.(3.)
620	Feuillet, Raoul Auger	For the further improvement of Dancing. A Treatis of Chorography or ye art of Dancing Country Dances after a new character... Transl. From the French ... and improv'd with many additions.	Walsh, Randall, Hare etc	1710	1042.d.45
621	Feuillet, Raoul Auger	For the further improvement of Dancing. A Treatis of Chorography or ye art of Dancing Country Dances after a new character... Transl. From the French ... and improv'd with many additions.	Walsh, Randall, Hare etc	1715	60.h.28.
622	Fichat	16 New Country Dances & Strathspeys with ...proper figures, for the Scotch & Irish Steps, to which are added, 2 favourite Minuets etc.	Thomas Preston	1800	b.55.a.(2.)
623	Fishar, James	12 New Country Dances, 6 Cotillons & 12 Minuets etc.	Rutherford	1780	a.9.b.(4.)
624	Fitzwilliam & Co	Fitzwilliam & Co's Country Dances, Waltzes & Quadrilles for the flute or violin with correct figures ...for the year 1823.	Fitzwilliam & Co	1823	a.9.k.(8.)
625	Gerock, Christopher	Christopher Gerock's Annual Collection of 24 favourite Country Dances for the year 1812 <1813> with proper directions to each dance.	C Gerock	1812-13	a.9.d.(11.)
626	Gerock, Christopher	Christopher Gerock's Annual Collection of 24 favourite Country Dances for the year 1816 <1818> with proper directions to each dance.	C Gerock	1816-18	a.245.

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
627	Gherardi, Giovanni Battista	14 Cotillons or French Dances, the figures new compos'd by Mr Gherardi ... to which Mr G has subjoin'd ye music of 4 Allemands ye most in vogue in Paris. Set for harpsichord, violin or German flute. A 2nd book.	Welcker	1767-70	a.9.h.(1.)
628	Goulding & Co	Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co's 24 Country Dances for the year 1820 with proper figures & directions ...	Goulding, D'Alamine, Potter & Co	1820	a.9.k.(5.)
629	Goulding & Co	Goulding & Comp'y's select Collection of Country Dances, for the Piano Forte. No 1-40, 42, 45, 46.	Goulding, Phipps. D'Almaine & Co	c1810-20	g.230.dd
630	Goulding & Co	Goulding & Comp'y's select Collection of elegant Country Dances, for the Piano Forte or Harp. No ?, 14, 16.	Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine & Co	1808	g 230.p.(6.)
631	Goulding & Co	Gouldings selection of 12 favourite Country Dances for the year 1807 with proper figures, arranged for the piano forte.	Goulding, Phipps. D'Almaine & Co	1807	b.55.h. 2
632	Goulding & Co	Gouldings selection of 12 favourite Country Dances for the year 1808 with proper figures, arranged for the piano forte.	Goulding, Phipps. D'Almaine & Co	1808	b.55.a.(4.)
633	Gow, John H	12 favourite Country Dances & 4 Cotillons, for Violin, Harpsichord, or Harp. Book 1st, For the year 1788.	W Campbell	1788	b.55.b.(6.)
634	Gow, John H	Six of the newest & most fashionable Country Dances, composed & arranged for piano forte by John Gow.	W Campbell	1820	h.830.(17.)
635	Gow, Nathaniel	5 favourite Country Dances for 1822. Consisting of Kenilworth, The Pirate, Blue Bonnets over the Border, Kenmures on and awa', & Fight about the Fireside ... arranged for piano forte or harp by Nathaniel Gow	Nathaniel Gow & Son	1822	h.830.
636	Gow, Nathaniel	The Honourable Mrs H F Gray's Strathspey ... and 4 favourite Country Dances. [pianoforte]	Gow & Shepherd	1800	g.442.f.(8.)
637	Gow, Nathaniel	Master F Sitwell's Strathspey. Composed by Nathaniel Gow and Lord Eglintoun's Reel danced as a medley to which is added 3 favourite Country Dances. pianoforte	Gow & Shepherd	1800	g.442.y.(6.)
638	Gray	24 Country Dances for the year 1799. Adapted for violin, flute, Hautboy & c. with figures.	Gray	1799	a.213.
639	Gresham, Walter	Old English Country Dances arranged for Piano Forte.	A Bertini	1884	h.975.s.(11.)
640	Griesbach, Charles	12 German Quadrilles, Waltzes & Country Dances, Compiled & arranged for Piano or Harp.	T G Williamson	1802	b.54.(5.)
641	Griesbach, Charles	12 German Quadrilles, Waltzes & Country Dances, arranged for Piano forte.	T G Williamson	1800	g.1529.j.(12.)

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
642	Guinness, Richard	First Set of the Queen's Country Dances ,containing Sir Roger de Coverley & 12 other popular dances ...arranged for piano forte, by Richard Guinness <2nd Edition>	Jefferys & Co	1840	H.2401.c.(10.)
643	Guinness, Richard	Set Second of the Queen's Country Dances, arranged with their proper figures by Richard Guinness.	Jefferys & Co	1850	h.721.j.(33.)
644	Guinness, Richard	Set Third of the Queen's Country Dances, arranged with their proper figures by Richard Guinness.	Jefferys & Co	1850	h.721.m.(31.)
645	Harbour, Jacob	By subscription, the Second Book for the year 1784. 18 favourite Cotillons, Allemands, Country Dances & a much admired Minuett etc.	Jacob Harbour	1784	a.249.
646	Harbour, Jacob	Jacob Harbour's Book of New & favourite Country Dances, Strathspey Reels, Waltzes & Hornpipes with their proper figures ...arranged for the violin, harp, Piano Forte & German flute etc.	Jacob Harbour	1798	b.55.(3.)
647	Harbour, Jacob	A selection of the most admired Country Dances, Reels, Strathspeys & c. with their proper figures ...arranged for pianoforte & violin by Jacob Harbour.	Jacob Harbour	1796	b.49.b.
648	Hardman, William	A collection of 3 Waltzes & 3 Country Dances arranged for the Piano Forte by William Hardman	William Hardman	1818	h.113.(10.)
649	Hare, Edwin C F	Third Set of Country Dances [Fife & drum band parts]	Edwin C F Hare	1880	f.403.d.(28.)
650	Hare, Edwin C F	3 Double Past marches or Country Dances [Fife & drum band parts]	Edwin C F Hare	1879	f.403.d.(37.)
651	Hare, Edwin C F	4 Double Past marches or Country Dances [Reed band parts]	Edwin C F Hare	1879	f.401.n.(9.)
652	Hare, G W	Keith's choice Annual Selection of 24 Country Dances, Quadrilles, Waltzes & c. for the year 1825 with figures carefully adapted to each Dance by G W Hare.	G W Hare	1825	a.9.c.(7.)
653	Harrington, Thomas	24 Country Dances set for Harp, Piano Forte, Violin etc.	Thomas Harrington	1797	b.54.(6.)
654	Harrington, Thomas	24 Country Dances set for Harp, Piano Forte, Violin etc.	Thomas Harrington	1805	b.57.a.(3.)
655	Hart, W Burton	Annual Cambrian Trifles or South Wales polite Repertory of Country Dances for 1812 with their appropriate figures ... composed, selected & arranged for Piano Forte, violin flute & patent flageolet by W B Hart (score)	W Burton Hart	1811	g.230.ss.(1.)
656	Hime, Morris	Hime's 2nd Collection of favourite Country Dances for this present year 1796 with basses & proper figures for dancing.	Hime	1796	h.61.c.(9.)

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
657	Hime, Morris	Hime's Collection of favourite Country Dances for this present year 1799 with basses & proper figures for dancing.	Hime	1799	g.137.b.(1.)
658	Hime, Morris	Hime's Collection of Country Dances for the year (1802) arranged for Piano Forte etc.	Hime	1801	h.925.g.(4.)
659	Hoffman, J A	14 Country Dances for the year 1796 with their proper figures, for Harp, Piano Forte etc. 1st book.	J A Hoffman	1795	b.55.(4.)
660	Horn, Carl Friedrich	12 Country Dances for the year 1796. Figures composed by a Lady.	Carl Friedrich Hoffman	1796	a.12.
661	Horn, W	Horn's admired selection of ... Country Dances, Waltzes etc arranged for Harp, Piano Forte etc.	W Horn	1830	h.184.(5.)
662	The Inverness Collection of Reels	The Inverness Collection of Reels, Strathspeys & Country Dances, arranged for piano forte etc <Book 1 2nd Edition>	Logan & Co	1880	h.1095.d.(2.)
663	Jansen, Louis	A favourite Collection of 24 Country Dances with their figures ...for the Piano Forte, Harp & Violin.	Longman & Broderip	1794	b.54.(7.)
664	Jenkins, George	New Scotch Music, consisting of Slow Airs, Strathspeys, Quick Reels, Country Dance & a Medley on a New Plan with a Bass for violoncello or Harpsichord etc.	George Jenkins	1793	h.659.
665	Jenkins, George	New Scotch Music, consisting of Slow Airs, Strathspeys, Quick Reels, Country Dance & a Medley on a New Plan with a Bass for violoncello or Harpsichord etc. (Copy of h.659.)	George Jenkins	1793	R.M.16.d.17.
666	Jones, Charles James	6 fashionable country dances with proper figures for the piano forte.	J Jauncey	1820	g.271.a.(38.)
667	Jones, J Stanton	Hopwood & Crew's 100 Country Dances for violin, arranged by Stanton Jones.	Hopwood & Crew	1875	e.269.(3.)
668	Jones, of Gaddesden, Thomas	10 New Country Dances & 3 Cotillons for Harp, Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an accompaniment for violin ...	Longman & Broderip	1788	b.55.a.(5.)
669	Jones, of Gaddesden, Thomas	10 New Country Dances & 3 Cotillons for Harp, Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an accompaniment for violin ... [COPY of b.55.a.(5.)]	Longman & Broderip	1788	b.53.(5.)
670	Jones, of Gaddesden, Thomas	10 New Country Dances & 3 Cotillons for Harp, Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an accompaniment for violin ... [COPY of b.55.a.(5.)]	Longman & Broderip	1789	b.52.(10.)

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
671	Kambra, Karl	A New Collection of Country Dances & Cotillons for the piano forte or Harpsichord.	Longman & Broderip	1794	b.54.(9.)
672	Keller, Albert	Beauties of the Ball Room; a selection of Country Dances, reels ...arranged for the Piano Forte. Set 1-24.	Albert Keller	1843	h.990.
673	Keller, Wilhelm	54 favourite Country Dances for the piano forte.	Wilhelm Keller	1859	h.3082.(2.)
674	Kelly, Michael	15 French Country Dances with French & English figures to each dance, adapted for the piano forte etc.	M Kelly	1803	R.M.15.g.8.
675	Kelly, Michael	8 French Country Dances with French & English figures to each dance, adapted for the piano forte etc.	M Kelly	1804	b.49.d.(1.)
676	Kidson, Frank	Old English Country Dances ... with ... notes & a Bibliography of English Country Dance Music, collected & edited by Frank Kidson.	W Reeves	1890	a.218.
677	Kilvington, T	14 Country Dances, 2 Cotillons & 2 Minuets with their proper figures. Adapted for the harpsichord, piano forte & c.	J Preston	1785	a.9.dd.(2.)
678	Kilvington, T	12 Country Dances with their proper figures adapted for violin, harpsichord or Piano forte.	Preston & Son	1791	a.9.dd.(1.)
679	Klose, Francis Joseph	6 new French Country Dances. La Zelia, La Nathalie. La Corra, La Brillante, La Ronde du tems, L'Amoureuse. With their proper figures ... arranged for the piano forte with an accompaniment for the flute. (ad lib)	C Christmas	1816	h.61.c.(6.)
680	Kotswara, Davis	12 Country Dances & Cotillons by Kotswara.	T G Williamson	1802	b.55.(5.)
681	Kynaston, Nathaniel	28 new Country Dances for the year 1710. With Directions to each dance. For the treble violin. The first 24 being compos'd by Mr Nathaniel Kynaston.	William Pearson	1709	a.30.b.(2.)
682	Kynaston, Nathaniel	24 new Country Dances for the year 1711. With Directions to each dance. With proper new tunes & figures or Directions ...Dedicated to ...Henry Lord Newport ... by ... Nathaniel Kynaston.	J Walsh, P Randall & J Hare	1710	a.10.(3.)
683	Kynaston, Nathaniel	24 new Country Dances for the year 1716. With Directions to each dance. With proper new tunes & figures or Directions ...Dedicated to W William.	J Walsh & J Hare	1715	a.10.(4.)
684	Kynaston, Nathaniel	24 new Country Dances for the year 1711. With Directions to each dance. With proper new tunes & figures or Directions ...Dedicated to ...R Waringe ... by ... Nathaniel Kynaston.	J Walsh & J Hare	1717	a.10.(1.)

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
685	Lemaire, Nicolas	6 new Cotillons & 6 Country Dances with 3 favourite Minuets etc.	R Wornum	1773	a.9.e.(7.)
686	Lindley, Francis	14 Country Dances, 2 Cotillons & 2 Minuets with their proper figures. Adapted for the harpsichord, piano forte etc.	Francis Lindley	1790	a.9.dd.(3.)
687	Longman & Broderip	Longman & Broderip's Selection (2nd-fifth Selection) of the most favourite Country Dances, Reels & C. with their proper figures for the harp, Harpsichord & violin.	Longman & Broderip	1795	b.63.
688	Longman & Broderip	Longman & Broderip's Selection (2nd-fifth Selection) of the most favourite Country Dances, Reels & C. with their proper figures for the harp, Harpsichord & violin. COPY OF b.63.	Longman & Broderip	1795	b.55.(6.)
689	Lowe, Joseph	Lowe's selection of popular Country Dances, etc. [P F]	Joseph Lowe	1861	h.3116.(5.)
690	Macdonald, Patrick	A collection of Highland & Vocal Airs ... to which are added a few ... Country Dances or reels of the Northern Highlands & Western Isles, & some specimens of Bagpipe Music etc.	Patrick Macdonald	1784	h.726.l.(15.)
691	Macdonald, Patrick	A collection of Highland & Vocal Airs ... to which are added a few ... Country Dances or reels of the Northern Highlands & Western Isles, & some specimens of Bagpipe Music etc. [COPY OF h.726.l.(15.)]	Patrick Macdonald	1784	g.1780.n.(4.)
692	Macfarren, George	12 Country Dances for the piano forte etc.	George Macfarren	1810	h.118.(2.)
693	Macglashen, Alexander	A Collection of Scots Measures, Hornpipes, Jigs, Allemands, Cotillons & ... Country Dances. With a Bass for violoncello or Harpsichord.	Alexander Macglashan	1778	e.265.(2.)
694	Major, R	Major's Annual Collection of 24 ... Country Dances for the violin or German flute, for the year 1820. With proper figures etc.	R Major	1820	a.9.d.(7.)
695	Marches	The London or Berkshire March. P F	N Stewart	1790	g.1529.jj.(12.)
696	Marches	The Sussex Fensibles March with 6 new Country Dances. arranged for the piano forte.	Preston & Son	1795	g.1529.g.(23)
697	The Merry Medley	or, a Christmas box for gay gallants ... containing an abundance of diverting stories ... and rysible reflections, celebrated & jovial songs set for voice, violin, & modish Country Dances. Dedicated to lovers of fun.	J Robinson	1750	12316.e.22
698	Metralcourt, Charles	24 Country Dances With Proper Directions to each Dance.	Charles Metralcourt	1793	b.55.(7.)

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
699	Milhouse, William	William Milhouse's Annual Collection of 24 favourite Country Dances for the year 1801. With Proper Directions to each Dance.	William Milhouse	1801	a.9.d.(16.)
700	Mitchison & Co	Mitchison's collection of Scotch Reels, Strathspeys, Country Dances & c. selected from the works of Niel Gow, Marshall, Thomson.	Mitchison & Co	1845	g.1129.rr.(16.)
701	Monro, John	For the year 1817. Monro's annual selection of Country Dances, Waltzes & c. adapted for the violin, German flute or flageolet. With proper figures.	John Monro	1817	a.9.d.(12.)
702	Monro, John	For the year 1820. Monro's annual selection of Country Dances, Waltzes & c. adapted for the violin, German flute or flageolet. With proper figures.	John Monro	1820	a.9.d.(17.)
703	Monro, John	For the year 1821. Monro's annual selection of Country Dances, Waltzes & c. adapted for the violin, German flute or flageolet. With proper figures.	John Monro	1821	a.9.d.(18.)
704	Monro, John	For the year 1834. Monro's annual selection of Country Dances, Waltzes & c. adapted for the violin, German flute or flageolet. With proper figures.	Monro & May	1834	a.9.d.(19.)
705	Monro, John	Monro's admired selection of popular Country Dances, Waltzes & c. Carefully adapted for the harp, piano forte, violin or flageolet. To which are prefixed proper figures. Nos 2, 3.	John Monro	1820	h.61.e.(30.)
706	Monro, John	The Zodiac, a series of favourite songs written by S Richards Esqr. Adapted to Airs of the most admired Country Dances & Waltzes arranged with an accompaniment for harp or piano forte by John Monro.	Monro & May	1835	H.1654.g.(24.)
707	Monzani & Hill	Monzani & Hill's Selection of Country Dances No 21.	Monzani & Hill	1810	h.726.n.(10.)
708	Mulhollan, John Macpherson	A Selection of Irish & Scots Tunes . Consisting of airs, marches, strathspeys, country-dances & c. adapted for the piano forte, violin & German flute.	John Hamilton	1804	h.1568.cc.(1.)
709	Nava, pseud, Franz	Chappell's Standard Dance book, for the Piano Forte containing 100 Country Dances, Hornpipes ... arranged by Franz Nava.	Chappells	1860	h.1364.(13.)
710	Neubauer, Adolph	Fashionable Country Dances ... arranged for the piano forte, violin or flute.	Coventry & Hollier	1843	h.723.oo.(15.)
711	A New Selection of Quadrilles	Waltzes & Spanish Country Dances performed by Mr Gow & his band, etc. Set 1.	Robert Purdie	1814	h.2605.ii.(12.)
712	A New Set of Quadrilles	Waltzes & Spanish Country Dances etc. Set 1-8.	Robert Purdie	1820	g.442.f.(13.)
713	Norman, Jules	A Selection of 13 popular Country Dances arranged by Jules Norman. (P F)	Jules Norman	1855	H.2345.

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Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
714	Noverre, Augustin	A new march, 6 new minuets, 6 new Cotillons & 2 new Country Dances etc.	Longman & Broderip	1785	b.51.c.(1.)
715	Paddy O'Carril	<Miss Johnson of Houghton Hall. I'm over young to marry yet> [3 Country Dances P F]	A Bury	1805	H.1654.n.(70.)
716	Paine, Publisher, John	Paine's annual Collection of 24 Country Dances for 1807 with proper figures etc.	John Paine	1807	a.9.d.(5.)
717	The Pandears	As introduced in Ella Rosenberg. <I've a Wife of my Own. Dicky Gossip> [3 Country Dances P F]	A Bury	1805	H.1654.n.(75.)
718	The Pantomime Harlequin Waltzes	(Columbine Quadrilles, Clown Country Dances, Pantaloon Polkas.) 4 Parts.		1849	e.97.(7.)
719	Parry, D	Parry's original Country Dances for violin or German flute arranged for Piano Forte or Harp by J Hammond. With proper figures.	D Parry	1802	g.229.(9.)
720	Parry, Bardd, Alaw, John	Goulding & Co's Collection of new & favourite Country Dances, Reels & Waltzes, arranged for the Piano Forte & flute or patent flageolet.	Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co	1810	b.55.a.(6.)
721	Parry, Bardd, Alaw, John	The Lyrist, consisting of Country Dances, reels & waltzes composed & arranged for the piano forte, harp or violin by John Parry. <No [ms 4]>	J Power	1830	g.229.e.
722	Petrie, Robert	A Collection of Strathspey Reels & Country Dances & c. With a Bass for Violoncello or harpsichord etc.	Stewart & Co	1795	g.272.w.(20.)
723	Petrie, Robert	A Collection of Strathspey Reels & Country Dances & c. [IMPERFECT]	N Stewart & Co	1800	h.925.l.(11.)
724	Platts, James	12 new Country Dances with their proper figures for Violin, Harp or Piano Forte etc. Book 1st (-4th) for the year 1796 (-1799)	Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow	1796-9	a.11.
725	Platts, Martin	8 Cotillons, 6 Country Dances & 2 Minuets with their proper figures for the Harp, Harpsichord, Piano Forte or Violin etc. Book xx, for the year 1787.	Longman & Broderip	1787	b.53.(4.)
726	Platts, Martin	8 Cotillons & 6 Country Dances with their proper figures for the Harp, Harpsichord, Piano Forte or Violin etc. Book xxii, for the year 1788.	Longman & Broderip	1788	b.52.(6.)
727	Platts, Martin	8 Cotillons & 6 Country Dances with their proper figures for the Harp, Harpsichord, Piano Forte or Violin etc. Book xxiii, for the year 1791.	Longman & Broderip	1791	b.57.c.(4.)
728	A Pocket Companion for the Guittar	containing xl of the newest & most favourite Minuets, Country Dances, Jiggs, Airs & c. All carefully transposed & properly adapted to that instrument, to which is added the Prussian March in 2 parts etc.	T Habgood	1759	a.76.b.(2.)
729	Pop goes the Weasel	The Spanish & 40 other Country Dances. <New Country Dances as danced at the London Casinos, arranged by W W Waud.	Davidson	1850	Hirsch M.1314.(26.)

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
730	Preston & Son	Preston's 24 Country Dances for the year 1791. With proper Tunes and Directions to each Dance etc	Preston & Son	1791	a.252.(3.)
731	Preston & Son	Preston's 24 Country Dances for the year 1792. With proper Tunes and Directions to each Dance etc.	Preston & Son	1792	a.252.(4.)
732	Preston & Son	Preston's 24 Country Dances for the year 1793. With proper Tunes and Directions to each Dance etc.	Preston & Son	1793	a.9.bb.(10.)
733	Preston & Son	Preston's 24 Country Dances for the year 1794. With proper Tunes and Directions to each Dance etc.	Preston & Son	1794	a.252.(5.)
734	Preston & Son	Preston's 24 Country Dances for the year 1795. With proper Tunes and Directions to each Dance etc.	Preston & Son	1795	a.9.l(6.)
735	Preston & Son	Preston's 24 Country Dances for the year 1797. With proper Tunes and Directions to each Dance etc.	Preston & Son	1797	a.252.(6.)
736	Preston & Son	Preston's 24 Country Dances for the year 1798. With proper Tunes and Directions to each Dance etc.	Preston & Son	1798	a.252.(7.)
737	Preston & Son	Preston's Selection of the most favourite Country Dances, Reels & c. for harp, harpsichord or violin etc.	Preston & Son	1798	b.49.e.(1.)
738	Preston & Son	Preston's Second Selection of the most favourite Country Dances, Reels & c. for harp, harpsichord or violin etc.	Preston & Son	1794	b.49.d.(2.)
739	Preston, Publisher, Thomas	Preston's 24 Country Dances for the year 1799. With proper Tunes and Directions to each Dance etc.	Preston & Son	1799	a.9.u.(1.)
740	Preston, Publisher, Thomas	Preston's 24 Country Dances for the year 1804. With proper Tunes and Directions to each Dance etc.	Preston & Son	1803	a.252.(11.)
741	Reels	A Collection of Scots Reels or Country Dances. With a Bass for violoncello or harpsichord.	R Bremner	1768	b.58.b.(1.)
742	Reels	A Collection of Scots Reels or Country Dances. With a Bass for violoncello or harpsichord.	Preston & Son	1790	b.58.a.
743	Reels	A Collection of the Newest & Best Reels or Country Dances. Adapted for violin or German flute with a Bass for violoncello or harpsichord.	Neil Stewart	1761-3?	a.27.b.
744	Reels	100 Reels, Country Dances ... for the Piano forte.	Boosey & Co	1861	F.160.
745	Reels	A Selection of Scots Reels or Country Dances for the violin or flute with a bass for the piano forte or violoncello.	Preston	1805	b.78.(2.)

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
746	Richards, J	A Set of favourite Scotch & Irish Reels, Waltzes, Cotillons & Minuets.	J Richards	1807	g.603.g.(9.)
747	Richards, Lewis	12 new Country Dances adapted for the piano forte.	Lewis Richards	1800	b.49.c.(2.)
748	Riley, Publisher, Edward	Riley's Collection of 24 Country Dances with proper figures, for German flute or violin etc.	Edward Riley	1798	a.9.c.(1.)
749	Riley, Publisher, Edward	Riley's Country Dances, 1799 [INCOMPLETE]	Edward Riley	1799	b.49.f.(3.)
750	Riviere, Jules	A set of Country Dances, arranged by Jules Riviere. (Reed band parts)	Jules Riviere	1877	f.412.g.(9.)
751	Robinson, H	Robinson's 24 fashionable Country Dances, for the year 1807 with their proper figures.	H Robinson	1807	a.9.c.(2.)
752	Robinson, H	Robinson's 24 fashionable Country Dances, for the year 1811 with their proper figures.	H Robinson	1811	a.9.c.(3.)
753	Rolfe, William	William Rolfe's ... fashionable collection of 24 Country Dances for the violin or German flute with proper figures as they are danced at ... all public assemblies for the year 1799.	William Rolfe	1799	a.9.c.(4.)
754	Rutherford, David	Rutherford's compleat collection of 200 ... Country Dances ... with ye newest ... figures & Directions to each tune, by Mr Rose for ye violin, German flute or Hautboy.	D Rutherford	1756	a.220.
755	Rutherford, David	Rutherford's compleat collection of 200 ... Country Dances ... with ye newest ... figures & Directions to each tune, for ye violin, German flute or Hautboy.	D Rutherford	1775	a.220.a.
756	Schubert, Adolphe	New Country Dances. Pop goes the Weasel ... La Tempete ... arranged for the Piano Forte.	Adolphe Schubert	1853	h.787.(4.)
757	Schubert, Adolphe	New Country Dances. Popping the Question, Haste to the Wedding & Pop goes the Weasel ... arranged for the Piano Forte.	Adolphe Schubert	1853	h.787.(3.)
758	Schubert, Henri	First (-second) set of 6 favourite Country Dances ... newly arranged for the pianoforte by Henri Schubert.	Henri Schubert	1854	h.975.i.(19.)
759	Second, John	New Bath Dances. 12 Country Dances & 2 Minuets, with proper figures adapted for Harp, Harpsichord & violins etc.	Fentum	1789	a.214.
760	Sibold, John Henry	Second Set of Country Dances, arranged by John Henry Sibold. [Fife & drum band parts]	J H Sibold	1873	f.403.b.(4.)
761	Slape, William	12 popular Country Dances arranged for 2 performers on one piano forte.	William Slape	1810	g.443.e.(29.)

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
762	Smart, Of Edinburgh	Mr Smart's Selection of Quadrilles & French Country Dances etc.	N Corri	1810	g.443.o.(36.)
763	Smart, George	Smart's Annual collection of 24 Country Dances for the year 1795 ... for violin, German flute etc.	G Smart	1795	a.9.d.(13.)
764	Smart, George	Smart's Annual collection of 24 Country Dances for the year 1796 ... for violin, German flute etc.	G Smart	1796	a.9.l.(7.)
765	Smart, George	Smart's Annual collection of 24 Country Dances for the year 1797 ... for violin, German flute etc.	G Smart	1797	a.9.ii.
766	Smart, George	Smart's Annual collection of 24 Country Dances for the year 1798 ... for violin, German flute etc.	G Smart	1798	a.9.d.(14.)
767	Smart, George	Smart's Annual collection of 24 Country Dances for the year 1799 ... for violin, German flute etc.	G Smart	1799	b.49.f.(2.)
768	Smart, George	Smart's collection of new & favourite Country Dances, Waltzes & Reels. arranged for Harp, piano forte or violin etc.	G Smart	1800	b.55.b.(3.)
769	Stephano, pseud, Charles	A collection of favourite Reels, Strathspeys, Highland Schottiches, Country Dances, Jigs & Hornpipes, easily arranged for the piano forte by Charles Stephano. Part ii	C Stephano	1892	h.3803.c.
770	Sykes, J	William Rolfe's ... fashionable collection of 24 Country Dances for the violin or German flute with proper figures as they are danced at ... all public assemblies, for the year 1799.	J Sykes	1845	h.709.(18.)
771	Le Sylphe	An elegant collection of 24 Country Dances, the figures by Mr Wilson, for the year 1813 adapted for German flute, flageolet or oboe.	Button & Whitaker	1813	a.9.u.(2.)
772	Le Sylphe	An elegant collection of 24 Country Dances, the figures by Mr Wilson, for the year 1814 adapted for German flute, flageolet or oboe.	Button & Whitaker	1814	a.9.aa.(2.)
773	Le Sylphe	An elegant collection of 24 Country Dances, the figures by Mr Wilson, for the year 1817 adapted for German flute, flageolet or oboe.	Button & Whitaker	1817	a.9.k.(3.)
774	Tekeli	<The Duke of Gordon's Strathspey, Foley's Reel> [3 Country Dances P F]	A Bury	1805	H.1654.n.(74.)
775	Tekeli	<Mother Goose, Lady Anna Maria Stanhope's Fancy.>	A Bury	1805	H.1654.n.(69.)
776	Thompsons Music Publishers	Thompson's compleat collection of 200 favourite Country Dances ... with proper figures or Directions to each tune. Set for the violin, German flute & hautboy. Vol 1.	Peter Thompson	1755	a.225

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D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
777	Thompsons Music Publishers	Thompson's compleat collection of 200 favourite Country Dances ... with proper figures or Directions to each tune. Set for the violin, German flute & hautboy.	Charles & Samuel Thompson	1770	a.223.a
778	Thompsons Music Publishers	Thompson's compleat collection of 200 favourite Country Dances ... with proper figures or Directions to each tune. Set for the violin, German flute & hautboy. Vol 4. [REPRINT OF a.223.a]	Samt Ann & Peter Thompson	1780	a.223.g
779	Thompsons Music Publishers	Thompson's compleat collection of Country Dances & Cotillons, for the harpsichord, with proper directions.	Charles & Samuel Thompson	1780	a.223.l
780	Thompsons Music Publishers	Thompson's new collection of 12 favourite Cotillons & 12 popular Country Dances, adapted for the harpsichord, violin & German flute, with their proper figures to each dance.	Charles & Samuel Thompson	1810	a.227.c.
781	Thompsons Music Publishers	Thompson's 24 Country Dances (for the year 1797) with figures to each dance.	The Publisher's Warehouse	1797	a.223.j
782	Thompsons Music Publishers	Thompson's 24 Country Dances (for the year 1799) with figures to each dance, as they are performed at court etc.	The Publisher's Warehouse	1799	a.223.f.(16.)
783	Thompsons Music Publishers	Thompson's 24 Country Dances for the year 1808, adapted for the violin, flute & Hautboy.	The Publisher's Warehouse	1808	a.9.bb.(8.)
784	Thompsons Music Publishers	Thompson's 24 Country Dances for the year 1810, adapted for the violin, flute & Hautboy.	Thompsons	1810	a.9.bb.(9.)
785	Thompsons Music Publishers	Thompson's 24 Country Dances, with figures by Mr Wilson for the year 1819. Adapted for the violin, German flute or oboe.	The Publisher's Warehouse	1819	a.9.aa.(5.)
786	Thompsons Music Publishers	Thompson's 24 Country Dances, with figures by Mr Wilson for the year 1822. Adapted for the violin, German flute or oboe.	The Publisher's Warehouse	1822	a.9.k.(6.)
787	Tracy	Tracy's collection of favourite Country Dances for the present year with proper Bases & figures for dancing	Hime	1795	g.270.g.(6.)
788	The Union	An elegant collection of 24 ... Country Dances for the year 1817 with proper figures to each dance ... adapted for flute, violin or flageolet.	C Wheatstone?	1817	a.9.d.(4.)
789	Up with the Orange	A fashionable Country Dance to which are added 2 favourite French Country Dances or cotillons for the year 1814. The proper figures are affixed to each air. [P F]	Robertson & Co	1814	h.61.c.(14.)
790	Viva La Danse!	A selection of the most admired Country Dances, arranged as duetts for 2 performers on one piano forte, by eminent authors. No. 1, 2.	Button & Whitaker	1809	g.230.p.(3.)

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791	Voight, August	A collection of fashionable Country Dances. arranged for the Piano Forte by August Voight.	R Burchall	1813	b.64.a.(1.)
792	Voight, August	20 new Country Dances ... for the piano forte <for the year 1815>	Preston	1814	b.64.a.(2.)
793	Voight, August	A Selection of elegant & fashionable Country Dances, Reels, Waltzes & c. for the ensuing season 1808. Including ... Neapolitan & Maltese Pandean airs, arranged for piano forte or harp. Also flute or patent flageolet.	C Wheatstone	1808-9	b.55.a.(8.)
794	Voight, August	Wheatstone's selection of elegant & fashionable Country Dances, Reels, Waltzes for the ensuing season ...arranged for piano forte or harp. Also flute or patent flageolet.	C Wheatstone	1810?-20	b.64.
795	Ware, William	Easy instructions for the piano forte to which is added, a pleasing variety of minuets, gavottes, marches, hornpipes, Country Dances, progressive lessons etc.	F Rhames	1810	h.3821.dd.
796	Waring, John	The Queen's Country Dances ... for the piano forte.	John Waring	1860	h.281.a.(23.)
797	Waud, William Washington	New Country Dances [P F]	W Waud	1873	h.1483.o.(45.)
798	Weippert, George	Arlington Castle & 4 new Country Dances for the year 1823. With proper figures arranged for the piano forte by George Weippert.	G Shade	1822	h.723.ee.(12.)
799	Weippert, George	Weippert's selection of Country Dances ... composed and arranged for the piano forte by George Weippert.	J Lawson	1845	h.722.zz.(5.)
800	Weippert, George	Weippert's selection of Country Dances ... composed and arranged for the piano forte by George Weippert. Set 1-3.	J Lawson	1858	h.1458.g.(9.)
801	Weippert, George	Werner's first Set of Country Dances ... for the piano forte.	J Lawson	1859	h.1458.g.(10.)
802	Weippert, George	1st. Second Set of Werner's National Country Dances. Newly arranged for piano forte.	Metzler & Co	1880	h.722.e.(5.)
803	Werner, Francis	11 Cotillions, 2 Country Dances & 2 Minuets with their proper figures, for the harp, harpsichord or violin etc. Book viii, for the year 1780.	W Campbell	1780	b.55.c.(2.)
804	Werner, Francis	8 Cotillions, 8 Country Dances & 2 Minuets with their proper figures, for the harp, harpsichord or violin etc. Book xiv, for the year 1781.	Francis Werner	1781	b.55.c.(3.)
805	Werner, Francis	9 Cotillions, 8 Country Dances & 2 Minuets with their proper figures, for the harp, harpsichord or violin etc. Book xiv, for the year 1781. [REISSUE OF b.55.c.(3.)]	Francis Werner	1781	b.53.t.(2.)

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806	Werner, Francis	8 favourite Cotillions, 9 Country Dances & 3 Minuets with their proper figures, for the harp, harpsichord or violin etc. Book xv, for the year 1782.	Francis Werner	1782	b.55.c.(4.)
807	Werner, Francis	7 favourite Cotillions, 6 Country Dances & 3 Minuets with their proper figures, for the harp, harpsichord or violin etc. Book xvi, for the year 1783.	Birchall & Andrews	1783	b.55.b.(4.)
808	Werner, Francis	10 favourite Cotillions, 8 Country Dances & 2 Minuets with their proper figures, for the harp, harpsichord or violin etc. Book xvii, for the year 1784.	W Campbell	1785	b.55.b.(5.)
809	Werner, Francis	8 Cotillions, 6 favourite Country Dances & 2 Minuets with their proper figures, for the harp, harpsichord & violin etc. Book xviii, for the year 1785.	Birchall & Andrews	1785	b.49.a.(3.)
810	Werner, Francis	12 new Country Dances, among which are several favourite Cotillions & Allmands, with their proper figures, for the harpsichord & Harp. Book v, for the year 1785.	Francis Werner	1785	a.9.j.(2.)
811	Werner, Francis	12 new Country Dances, among which are several favourite Cotillions & Allmands, with their proper figures, for the harpsichord & Harp. Book vii, for the year 1785.	Birchall & Andrews	1785	a.9.j.(3.)
812	Werner, Francis	12 Country Dances Humbly dedicated to the ... subscribers to Almanacks, & c.	W Campbell	1785	a.9.e.(8.)
813	Westrop, East John	24 popular Country Dances ... arranged for piano forte.	E J Westrop	1856	h.1439.(4.)
814	Westrop, East John	Popular Country Dances ... arranged for piano forte.	E J Westrop	1861	h.1439.a.(1.)
815	Wheatley, W	vi French Country Dances with figures & 2 waltzes etc.	W Wheatley	1820	h.1480.x.(42.)
816	Wheatstone, Charles	Wheatstone's elegant & fashionable collection of 24 Country Dances, for violin or German flute, with proper figures to each dance, for the year 1812.	Charles Wheatstone	1812	a.9.c.(5.)
817	Wheatstone, Charles	Wheatstone's elegant & fashionable collection of 24 Country Dances, for violin or German flute, with proper figures to each dance, for the year 1814.	Charles Wheatstone	1814	a.9.c.(6.)
818	Wheatstone, Charles	Wheatstone's elegant & fashionable collection of 24 Country Dances, for violin or German flute, with proper figures to each dance, for the year 1814. [COPY of a.9.c.(6.)]	Charles Wheatstone	1814	a.9.k.(1.)
819	Whitaker & Company	Whitaker & Compy's 24 Country Dances with figures by Mr Wilson, for the year 1824, adapted for the violin, German flute or oboe.	Whitaker & Co	1824	a.9.k.(9.)
820	Wilcox, W T	A select collection of Country Dances, waltzes ... for the piano forte or harp. No. 1	W T Wilcox	1815	h.125.(28.)

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Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: "Published Country Dance Books in the British Library Collection" accessed from the website "Village Music Project", <http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/pcroom/BLcat.htm>. Collated by John Adams.

D #	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Unspecified name	Date of Publishing*	British Library Shelf Number
821	Wilson, Dancing-Master, Thomas	A companion to the Ball Room, containing a choice collection of the most original & admired Country Dances. Reels, hornpipes, waltzes & quadrilles. 2nd edition.	Button, Whitaker & Co	1817	b.55.q
822	Goulding	Country Dances for the year 1827. Goulding & D'Almaine's 24 Country Dances for the year 1827, with proper figures & directions to each dance.	Goulding, D'Almaine	1826	a.9.jj.(5.)
823	Wheatstone, Charles	Country Dances, 1810, Wheatstone's elegant & fashionable collection of 24 Country Dances for the violin & German flute for the year 1810.	Charles Wheatstone	1810	a.9.jj.(9.)
824		24 Country Dances for the year 1754, with proper directions to each dance. The tunes proper for the violin, German flute & hautboy.	Peter Thompson	1754	a.9.jj.(8.)
825	Cahusac, William Maurice	Annual Collection of Country Dances, 1813. William Maurice Cahusac's Annual collection of 12 favourite Country Dances with their basses for the year 1813 with proper directions to each dance, as they are performed at court, Bath etc.	W M Cahusac	1813	a.15.c.(3.)
826	Preston, Thomas, Publisher	Country Dances 1803. Preston's 24 Country Dances for the year 1803, with proper tunes & directions to each dance.	Thomas Preston	1803	a.9.jj.(6.)
827	Bland & Weller	Country Dances, 1802. Bland & Weller's annual collection of 24 Country Dances for the year 1802, with their proper figures, for the violin or German flute.	Bland & Weller	1802	a.9.jj.(7.)
828		A choice collection of airs, minuets, marches, songs & country dances. By several eminent authors. Adapted for the guittar.(Comps: Hintz, Delavoux, Howard)	Fred Hintz	1765	a.76.w.(1.)
829		12 Country Dances with their basses, for the year 1796 with proper directions to each dance.	Thomas Cahusac	1796	b.44.l.(1.)
830		Two hundred favourite country dances, with directions for dancing. Each tune set for the violin & German flute. Vol 8.	John Johnson	1765	a.9.pp.
830		Two hundred favourite country dances, with directions for dancing. Each tune set for the violin & German flute. Vol 8.	John Johnson	1765	a.9.pp.
831	Bennison, T T	A collection of original country dances, composed and selected by T T Bennison.	M Kelly	1810	b.49.j.(1.)
832		A choice set of reels & strathspeys, from works of Gow & Marshall, And the most popular country dances , with portrait of Niel Gow.	Alexander Robertson & Coy	1850	h.725.r.(12.)
833	Phipps & Co	Phipps & Co's popular collection of country dances, reels, waltzes & c. for the year 1814.	Phipps & Co	1814	g.833.cc.(1.)
834	Phipps & Co	Phipps & Co's popular collection of country dances, reels, waltzes & c. for the year 1815.	Phipps & Co	1815	g.833.cc.(2.)

Note. This list was collated by John Adams from the British Library catalogue by extracting all the items identified by a search on the words 'Country Dance'. It is considered by VMP as a 'work in progress' and was last updated by VMP on 09/12/08. (Viewed 08/03/13). * Sometimes precedes the date stated in the title by one year

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections
Books in the possession of the Village Music Project. Accessed from the website “Village Music Project”:
<http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/pcroom.htm> Collated by John Adams.

	VMP Reference name (unspecified)	Title	Date of Publishing	Format available
835	Bride, R.	24 Country Dances for the year 1769, With proper Tunes & Directions to each Dance, as they are Performed at Court, at Almack's, and all other Publick Assemblies	1769 / 1796?	photocopy VMP
836	Rutherford, John	The Tenth Book for the Year 1782 Fourteen Favourite Cotillons and Country Dances with their Proper Figures Humbly Dedicated to the Nobility & Gentry Subscribers to the Pantheon by Thomas Budd	1782	original VMP
837	Goulding & D'Almaine	Twenty-Four Country Dances For the Year 1826 With proper Figures and Directions to each DANCE Performed at Almack's Bath and all Public Assemblies London	1826	original VMP
838	Goulding & Co	Twenty Four country dances for the year 1808 with proper tunes & directions to each Dance (as they may be performed) at Court, Bath and all Public Assemblies.	1808	Transcribed
839	Cahusac	Annual collection of Twenty-Four favouirite Country Dances for the year 1809 with proper directions to each dance, as the yare performed at Court, Bath and all Public Assemblies	1809	Transcribed
840	Preston, Thomas	Twenty-four country dances for the year 1801	1801	Photocopy VMP
841	Thompson, Peter	Thompson's Compleat Collection of 200 Country Dances performed at Court, Bath, Tunbridge and all Public Assemblies with propoer Figures or Directions to each ... Vol.1	1751-57	Transcribed
842	Thompson, Peter	Thompson's Compleat Collection of 200 Country Dances performed at Court, Bath, Tunbridge and all Public Assemblies with propoer Figures or Directions to each ... Vol.2	1758-64	Transcribed
843	Thompson, Peter	Thompson's Compleat Collection of 200 Country Dances performed at Court, Bath, Tunbridge and all Public Assemblies with propoer Figures or Directions to each ... Vol.3	1765-72	Transcribed
844	Thompson, Peter	Thompson's Compleat Collection of 200 Country Dances performed at Court, Bath, Tunbridge and all Public Assemblies with propoer Figures or Directions to each ... Vol.4	1773-80	Transcribed
845	Walsh	The Compleat Country Dancing Master - Volume the Sixth, Being a collection of all the Country ances now in Vougue, Performed at Court the Theatres, Masquerades, and Publick Balls With Proper Tunes and Directions to each Dance The tunes fitted for the Violin, Hoboy or German Flute.	1756	Transcribed version available at http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/pcroom/WalshVol6.pdf . Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham.
846	Westrop	Thomas Westrop's 120 Country Dances, Jigs, Reels, Hornpipes, Strathspeys, Spanish Waltz etc.for the Violin	1860?	VMP

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Gale "Eighteenth Century Collections Online" accessed via Sheffield University MUSE.

D #	Publisher	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Location	Date of Publishing*	GALE document reference number	Cross-reference
847	Walsh	The Compleat country dancing-master. Being a collection of all the celebrated country dances now in Vogue. Perform'd at court, the theatres, masquerades, and publick balls. With proper tunes and directions to each dance. The tunes fitted for the violin, hoboy, or German flute. The 4th. edition. London.	Bodleian Library (Oxford)	[ca. 1740?].	CB3326182783	
848	A D Dancing Master	Country-Dancing made plain and easy to every capacity. Containing a full description of all the figures made use of in that Fashionable Amusement. Also the Proper Management of the Hands and Feet. Illustrated with two copper plates, shewing the figures by tract lines. To which are added, Instructions for taking off Country-Dances from the printed Directions: and two new dances, on a new Plan, containing all the Figures. Also some Rules of Good Manners to be observed by Country-Dancers.	British Library	1764	CW3315570124	
849	Anon (Dublin)	A collection of songs, carefully selected from the best editions ancient and modern that are extant. To which are added, a new set of country dances, with their figures annexed	National Library of Ireland	1796	CB3331185947	
850	Playford / Young	The Dancing master: Vol. the first. Or, Directions for dancing country-dances, with the tunes to each dance, for the treble-violin. The 18th edition, containing 358 of the choicest old and new tunes now used at court, and other publick places. The whole work revised and done on the new-ty'd-note, and much more correct than any former editions. London,	British Library	[1725?].	CB3329986379	
851	Walsh	The second book of The compleat country dancing-master: containing great variety of dances, both old and new; particularly those perform'd at the several masquerades: together with all the choicest and most noted country-dances, Perform'd at Court, the Theatres, and publick Balls	Harvard University Houghton Library	[1719].	CW3309931503	Walsh 1719 (D-303)
852	Thompson	Thompson's compleat collection of 200 favourite country dances :perform'd at court[,] Bath[,] Tunbridge & all publick assemblies with proper figures or directions to each tune : set for the violin[,] German flute & hautboy. Vollm. 3]. Vol. Volume 3. [London],	Bodleian Library (Oxford)	ca. 1775	CB3330674437	Thompson 1773 (D-263)
853	Thompson	Thompson's compleat collection of 200 favourite country dances perform'd at Court, Bath, Tunbridge & all public assemblies with proper figures or directions to each tune, -set for the violin, German-flute, & hautboy. Pr. 3s. 6d.-Vol. I. Vol. Volume 1. London,	Bodleian Library (Oxford)	[178-?].	CB3332236371	Thompson 1757 (D-266).
854	Thompson	Thompson's compleat collection of 200 favourite country dances perform'd at Court Bath Tunbridge & all publick assemblies with proper figures or directions to each tune set for the violin german flute & hautboy Price 3/6. Vol. Volume 2. London	Bodleian Library (Oxford)	[ca 1770?]	CB3332419468	Thompson 1765 (D-262).
855	Thompson	Thompson's compleat collection of 200 favourite country dances perform'd at Court Bath, Tunbridge & all publick assemblies with proper figures or directions, to each tune: set for the violin German flute & hautboy. Price 3/6, Vollm. I. Vol. Volume 1. London,	Bodleian Library (Oxford)	[ca. 1770?].	CB3332419361	Thompson 1757 (D-266).
856	Thompson	Thompson's compleat collection of 200 favourite country dances perform'd at Court, Bath, Tunbridge & all public assemblies with proper figures or directions to each tune, set for the violin, German-flute, & hautboy. Vol. [4]. Vol. Volume 4. London	Bodleian Library (Oxford)	[178-?].	CB3332419255	Thompson 1777 (D-267)

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Gale "Eighteenth Century Collections Online" accessed via Sheffield University MUSE.

D #	Publisher	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Location	Date of Publishing*	GALE document reference number
857	Thompson	Thompson's compleat collection of 200 favourite country dances perform'd at Court, Bath, Tunbridge & all public assemblies with proper figures or directions to each tune, set for the violin, German-flute, & hautboy. Pr. 3s. 6d.-Vol. 5. Vol. Volume 5	Bodleian Library (Oxford)	[178-?].	CB3332419149
858	Johnson	Twenty four country dances for the year 1766 with proper tunes & directions to each dance, as they are perform'd at court, Bath, Tunbridge, and all publick assembly's. London	Bodleian Library (Oxford)	[1765]	CB3330674423
859	Thompson	Twenty four country dances for the year 1771. With proper tunes & directions to each dance, as they are perform'd at court, Bath, & all publick assemblys Price 6d. London,	Bodleian Library (Oxford)	[1773?].	CB3327663272
860	Randall	Twenty four country dances for the year 1771. With proper tunes and directions to each dance as they are perform'd at court & all polite assembly's set for the violin, German flute, or hautboy. London,	Bodleian Library (Oxford)	[1770?].	CB3327889541
861	Thompson	Twenty four country dances for the year 1771: with proper tunes & directions to each dance as they are perform'd at court Bath, & all publick assemblys. Price 6d. London,	Bodleian Library (Oxford)	[1770?].	CB3327663241
862	Thompson	Twenty four country dances for the year 1791. With proper tunes and directions to each dance as they are perform'd at court Bath, & all publick assemblys, Price 6d. London	Bodleian Library (Oxford)	[1790?]	CB3327327742
863	Straight & Skillern	Two hundred & four favourite country dances perform'd at court, Almacks, the Pantheon and most publick assembly's, with the newest and best directions for dancing each tune. Set for the violin, German flute and hoboy. Vol: I. Vol. Volume 1. London,	Bodleian Library (Oxford)	[1775?]	CB3328517757
864	Wright	[Wright's compleat collection of celebrated country dances both old and new that are in vogue [sic], : with the newest and best directions to each dance : ye whole carefully corrected. Voll. 1st.]. Vol. Volume 1. [London.],	Bodleian Library (Oxford)	[1740?]	CB3330273714
865		Miss Catley and Miss Weiwitzer's new London and Dublin song-book: or, polite musical companion. Being a choice collection of the most favorite songs and airs, from Operas, Plays, the Public Gardens, &c. &c. and Private Persons, many of which have never appeared before in Print. To which is added a complete collection of country-dances; and a Catalogue of the most fashionable Minuets, Published in Dublin.		[1770?]	
866		The dancing-master. Vol. the second. Or, directions for dancing country-dances, with the tunes to each dance, for the treble-violin. The 4th edition, containing 360 of the choicest old and new tunes .. London, 1728			CB3332935123
867		The dancing-master: or, directions for dancing country dances, with the tunes to each dance for the treble-violin. The twelfth edition, containing above 350 of the choicest old and new tunes .. [London], 1703			CW3315946203

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections**Source: Gale "Eighteenth Century Collections Online" accessed via Sheffield University MUSE.**

D #	Publisher	Title (some truncated for brevity)	Location	Date of Publishing*	GALE document reference number
868		The Dancing-master: Or, Directions for dancing country dances, with the tunes to each dance, for the treble-violin. The fourteenth edition, containing above 350 of the choicest old and new tunes now used at court, and other publick places. The whole work revised and done in the new ty'd-note, and much more correct than any former editions. London, 1709			CB3330485224
869		The dancing-Master: Vol. the Second. Or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance, for the Treble-Violin. The Third Edition. Containing 360 of the Choicest Old and New Tunes now used at Court, and other Publick Places. The whole Work Revised and done on the New-Ty'd-Note, and much more correct than any former Editions			CW3315946935
870	David Young	A Collection of the newest Country Dances performed in Scotland and Written at Edinburgh			

Appendix 3 (continued): Published Country Dances: Other Collections

Source: Gallery of Historic Dance and Tune Books, EFDSS <http://library.efdss.org/cgi-bin/dancebooks.cgi> viewed 15/09/12

D #	Title	Date of Publishing	VWML Library Reference
871	Button & Witacker's 24 country dances with figures for the year 1809	1809	2292a
872	Button & Witacker's 24 country dances with figures for the year 1810	1810	2292b
873	Button & Witacker's 24 country dances with figures by Mr Wilson for the year 1811	1811	2292c
874	Longman's New Cotillons or French Dances as performed at Court and All Polite Assemblies, for Harpsichord, Violin, German Flute or Haut boy	N/K	9236
875	Preston's 24 Country Dances for the year 1793	1793	3056c
876	Preston's 24 Country Dances for the year 1794	1794	3056d
877	Preston's 24 Country Dances for the year 1796	1796	3056f
878	Preston's 24 Country Dances for the year 1798	1798	2192a
879	Preston's 24 Country Dances for the year 1799	1799	3055a
880	Preston's 24 Country Dances for the year 1800	1800	2192g
881	Skillern's 24 country dances for the year 1780 as they are performed at Court, Almacks, Bath, Basteon and All Public Assemblies	1780	2277i
882	Skillern's 24 country dances for the year 1781 as they are performed at Court, Almacks, Bath, Basteon and All Public Assemblies	1781	2277j
883	Skillern's 24 country dances for the year 1782 as they are performed at Court, Almacks, Bath, Basteon and All Public Assemblies	1782	2277l
884	Skillern's 24 country dances for the year 1799 as they are performed at Court, Almacks, Bath, Basteon and All Public Assemblies	1799	2192c
885	Straight & Skillern's Minuets for the year 1777	1777	2256j
886	Straight's 24 country dances for the year 1767	1767	2277g
887	Straight's 24 country dances for the year 1767	1783	2277a
888	Straight's 24 country dances for the year 1767	1784	2277n
889	Thompson and sons	1762	2277p
890	Thompson and sons	1765	2277q
892	Thompson and sons	1767	2277r
893	Wright's Complete Collection Volume 1	undated	3753

Appendix 4 Antiquarian Collections

Appendix 4: Antiquarian Collections
Sources: Various.

A #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	First Name(s)	Date	Title	Publisher	Available from	C	O	I	F
1	Advocates' Collection		1765	Adv MS 5.2.22		National Library of Scotland. http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/music/index.html				
2	Anderson	J		Andersons Budget of Strathspeys, Reels and Country Dances		http://digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/pageturner.cfm?id=87782820				
3	Anderson	J		Andersons Budget of Scotch, English and Irish Slow Airs		http://digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/pageturner.cfm?id=87897442				
4	Anon.		c. 1885	Melodies of Ireland, a collection of the famous airs of the Emerald Isle, expressly arranged for the piano or organ"	White-Smith, Boston.	http://archive.org/details/melodiesofirelan00bost				
5	Anon.		1710-90	Collection of English Ballads Volumes I-VII						F
6	Anon.		1738-42	Collection of Scotch Airs Vols II and III						F
7	Anon.		c.1750	Volume of Airs, Lowland and Highland						F
8	Anon.		c. 1765	Miss Hamilton's Delight and other Scottish and English Airs						F
9	Anon.		c. 1790/1800	The Caledonian Muse: A Collection of Scarce & Favorite Scots Tunes both Highland & Lowland, viz. Songs, Luinigs, Laments, Reels, Strathspeys, Measures, Jiggs, &c., ...to which is prefixed an Essay on Scots Music. London. Printed for the Editors.		http://www.scottishmusicindex.org/bibliography.asp				F
10	Anthologica Hibernica		1793	Anthologica Hibernica, A Dublin Magazine Vol I						F
11	Aird	James A	1788 (often cited 1782)	Selection of Scotch English, Irish and Foreign Airs, Volume 1	J McFadyen, Glasgow.	National Library of Scotland. http://www.archive.org/details/selectionofscotc02rugg . ABC notation published at www.campin.me.uk	C			F
12	Aird	James A	1788	Selection of Scotch English, Irish and Foreign Airs, Volume 2	J McFadyen, Glasgow.	National Library of Scotland. http://www.archive.org/details/selectionofscotc01rugg . ABC notation published at www.campin.me.uk	C			F

Notes:

C means referenced in Callaghan (2007) *Hardcore English: 300 cracking tunes from manuscript, recorded and aural sources*

O means referenced in O'Sullivan (1958) *The Complete Works of Turlough O'Carolan 1670-1738*

I means available at Irish Music Collections On Line <http://www.pipers.ie/imco/> viewed 03/03/2013

F means referenced in Fleischmann (1998) *Sources of Irish Traditional Music c. 1600 – 1855. Volume I: An Annotated Catalogue of Prints and Manuscripts, 1583-1855*. Note: as this source does not always indicate whether the references are unpublished manuscripts or published collections, only certain published "antiquarian" collections are listed.

Appendix 4: Antiquarian Collections
Sources: Various.

A #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	First Name(s)	Date	Title	Publisher	Available from	C	O	I	F
13	Aird	James A	1788	Selection of Scotch English, Irish and Foreign Airs, Volume 3	J McFadyen, Glasgow.	National Library of Scotland. http://www.archive.org/details/selectionofscotc01rugg . ABC notation published at www.campin.me.uk	C			F
14	Aird	James A	1778-1801	Selection of Scotch English, Irish and Foreign Airs, Volume 4	J McFadyen, Glasgow.	National Library of Scotland. ABC notation published at www.campin.me.uk	C			F
15	Aird	James A	1797	Selection of Scotch English, Irish and Foreign Airs, Volume 5	J McFadyen, Glasgow.	National Library of Scotland. ABC notation published at www.campin.me.uk	C			F
16	Aird	James A	1778-1801	Selection of Scotch English, Irish and Foreign Airs, Volume 6	J McFadyen, Glasgow.	National Library of Scotland. ABC notation published at www.campin.me.uk	C			F
17	Bennett	Nicholas	1896	"Alawon Fy Ngwlad: [or The Leys of the Land] N Bennett's Collection of Old Welsh Airs Vol 1	Newtown, [Wales] : Phillips & Son	Boston Public Library. http://www.archive.org/details/alawonfyngwladla01benn				
18	Bennett	Nicholas	1896	"Alawon Fy Ngwlad: [or The Leys of the Land] N Bennett's Collection of Old Welsh Airs Vol 2	Newtown, [Wales] : Phillips & Son	http://archive.org/details/alawonfyngwladla02ben				
19	Boscha	R N C	1855	Souvenance romantique d'Irlande et d'Ecosse: the most favourite Irish and Scotch melodies, arranged for harp and pianoforte in a pleasing and effective style, Volume 1.		http://archive.org/details/souvenanceromant01boch				
20	Boscha	R N C	1855	Souvenance romantique d'Irlande et d'Ecosse: the most favourite Irish and Scotch melodies, arranged for harp and pianoforte in a pleasing and effective style, Volume 3.		http://archive.org/details/souvenanceromant03boch				
21	Bowie	J	c.1789	A Collection of Strathspey Reels and Country Dances						F
22	Bremner	Robert	1757	A Collection of Scots Reels or Country Dances		http://japanese.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/2/24/IMSLP74182-PMLP148793-Bremner_scots_tunes.pdf and http://imslp.org/wiki/A_Collection_of_Scots_Reels_or_Country_Dances_(Bremner,_Robert)				F

Notes:

C means referenced in Callaghan (2007) *Hardcore English: 300 cracking tunes from manuscript, recorded and aural sources*

O means referenced in O'Sullivan (1958) *The Complete Works of Turlough O'Carolan 1670-1738*

I means available at Irish Music Collections On Line <http://www.pipers.ie/imco/> viewed 03/03/2013

F means referenced in Fleischmann (1998) *Sources of Irish Traditional Music c. 1600 – 1855. Volume I: An Annotated Catalogue of Prints and Manuscripts, 1583-1855*. Note: as this source does not always indicate whether the references are unpublished manuscripts or published collections, only certain published "antiquarian" collections are listed.

Appendix 4: Antiquarian Collections
Sources: Various.

A #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	First Name(s)	Date	Title	Publisher	Available from	C	O	I	F
23	Bremner	Robert	1769	A Collection of Scots Reels or Country Dances (2 nd ed)		Later version of the above				F
24	Brewer (publishers)		early 19th	New Instructions for the Clarinet		Available as fascimile at www.campin.me.uk/Music/Brewer/index.html				
25	Brysson	J	c.1790	A Curious Selection of Favourite Tunes with Variations						F
26	Budd	Thomas	1779	Fourteen favourite Cottillions Etc for the year 1786	J Preston, London		C			
27	Bunting	Edward	1796	A General collection of the Ancient Irish Music: containing a variety of admired airs never before published, and also the compositions of Conolan and Carolan, collected from the harpers of the different provinces of Ireland, and arranged for the Pianoforte. Volume 1.		http://archive.org/details/generalcollectio00bunt and http://imslp.org/wiki/The_Ancient_Music_of_Ireland_(Bunting,_Edward)#Volume_3:_The_Ancient_Music_of_Ireland				F
28	Bunting	Edward	1809	A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland. Volume 2.		http://imslp.org/wiki/The_Ancient_Music_of_Ireland_(Bunting,_Edward)#Volume_3:_The_Ancient_Music_of_Ireland		S		
29	Bunting	Edward	1840	The Ancient Music of Ireland, 165 airs. Volume 3.		http://imslp.org/wiki/The_Ancient_Music_of_Ireland_(Bunting,_Edward)#Volume_3:_The_Ancient_Music_of_Ireland				
30	Campbell	Joshua	c. 1785	A collection of favourite tunes with new variations: adapted for the violin and German-flute with a bass for the violoncello and thorough-bass for the harpsichord	Printed for the author in Glasgow.	Manuscript held in University of Aberdeen. GB 231 MS 2436 http://archiveshub.ac.uk/data/gb231ms2436				
31	Campbell	Joshua	c. 1788	A collection of the newest and best reels and minuets: with improvements adapted for the violin or German flute, with a bass for the violoncello or harpsichord	Printed for the author in Glasgow by J Aird.	Manuscript held in University of Aberdeen. GB 231 MS 2436 http://archiveshub.ac.uk/data/gb231ms2436				
32	Campbell	Joshua	c. 1786	A collection of new reels and Highland strathspeys: with a bass for the violoncello or harpsichord	Printed for the author in Glasgow.	Manuscript held in University of Aberdeen. GB 231 MS 2436 http://archiveshub.ac.uk/data/gb231ms2436				F

Notes:

C means referenced in Callaghan (2007) *Hardcore English: 300 cracking tunes from manuscript, recorded and aural sources*

O means referenced in O'Sullivan (1958) *The Complete Works of Turlough O'Carolan 1670-1738*

I means available at Irish Music Collections On Line <http://www.pipers.ie/imco/> viewed 03/03/2013

F means referenced in Fleischmann (1998) *Sources of Irish Traditional Music c. 1600 – 1855. Volume I: An Annotated Catalogue of Prints and Manuscripts, 1583-1855*. Note: as this source does not always indicate whether the references are unpublished manuscripts or published collections, only certain published "antiquarian" collections are listed.

Appendix 4: Antiquarian Collections

Sources: Various.

A #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	First Name(s)	Date	Title	Publisher	Available from	C	O	I	F
33	Campbell	Joshua	c. 1795	A Collection of new Reels and highland Strathspeys, with a bass for the violoncello or harpsichord, by J. Campbell, a number of which are his own compositions (reprint of above)	Printed for the author in Glasgow.	Manuscript held in University of Aberdeen. GB 231 MS 2436				
34	Campbell	Joshua	c. 1800	A Collection of New Reels & Highland Strathspeys with a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsichord. Book ist. (reprint of above)The Bass's of this Collection are corrected by P Urbani.		P. Urbani (Edinburgh: Urbani & Liston, [1800?]). Manuscript held in University of Aberdeen. GB 231 MS 2436				
35	Chappell	William	1838	Popular music of the olden time. A collection of ancient songs, ballads, and dance tunes, with short introductions to the different reigns, and notices of the airs from writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Also a short account of the minstrels. Volume 1.		http://archive.org/details/popularmusicov1185559chap				
36	Chappell	William	1838	Popular music of the olden time. A collection of ancient songs, ballads, and dance tunes, with short introductions to the different reigns, and notices of the airs from writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Also a short account of the minstrels. Volume 2.		http://archive.org/details/popularmusicov2185559chap or http://archive.org/details/popularmusicov2185559chap				
37	Chappell	William	1859	Popular music of the Olden Time: a collection of ancient songs, ballads, and dance tunes, illustrative of the national music of England: with short introductions to the different reigns, and notices of the airs from writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries: also a short account of the minstrels. Volume 1.		http://archive.org/details/popularmusicofol01chapuoft or http://archive.org/details/popularmusicofol00chap				

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A #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	First Name(s)	Date	Title	Publisher	Available from	C	O	I	F
38	Chappell	William	1859	"Popular music of the Olden Time: a collection of ancient songs, ballads, and dance tunes, illustrative of the national music of England: with short introductions to the different reigns, and notices of the airs from writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries: also a short account of the minstrels". Volume 2.		http://archive.org/details/popularmusicofol02chapuoft				
39	Chappell	William	1893	"Old English Popular Music" Volume 1 First published 1838-40 as "A collection of national English airs" which was afterwards expanded into his "Popular music of the olden time" (1859, 2 vols.) Part of the latter edition was published under title "The ballad literature and popular music of the olden time."		http://archive.org/details/oldenglishpopula01chapuoft				
40	Chappell	William	1893	"Old English Popular Music" Volume 2. First published 1838-40 as "A collection of national English airs" which was afterwards expanded into his "Popular music of the olden time" (1859, 2 vols.) Part of the latter edition was published under title "The ballad literature and popular music of the olden time."		http://archive.org/details/oldenglishpopula02chapuoft				
41	Chappell	William	1838	Old English Popular Music, Re-published by Jack Brussel, New York, 1961			C			
42	Clinton	John	1841	Gems of Ireland	Dublin				I	
43	Colclough	S T	1820	New and Complete Instructions for the Union Pipes	Dublin				I	
44	Collingwood Bruce & Stokoe	J. & John	1882	Northumbrian Minstrelry: A collection of the Ballads, Melodies and Small-pipe tunes of Northumbria. Society of Antiquities, Newcastle-upon-Tyne		http://ia600200.us.archive.org/12/items/ACollectionOfTheBalladsMelodiesAndSmall-pipeTunesOfNorthumbria/NorthumbrianBallads.pdf	C			
45	Cooke	Bartlett	c.1795	Cooke's Selection of Twenty One Favourite Original Irish Airs						F
46	Cooke	Bartlett	1796	New Dances for this Present Year 1796						F
47	Cooke	B	c.1805	Forty Eight Irish Country Dances						F

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48	Craig	Thomas	1880's	Craig's Empire Violin Collection of Hornpipes		http://imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/d/d0/IMSLP32794-PMLP74717-empire_collection_of_hornpipes.pdf				
49	Crowley	Tadhg	1936	How to play the Irish Uilleann Pipes	Cork				I	
50	Darley & McCall	Arthur & P	1914	Feis Ceoil Collection of Irish Airs	Dublin				I	
51	Davidson		1859	Davidson's Musical Miracles: Two Hundred and Fifty Welsh Airs. Adapted for violin, accordion, Flute etc.		Fascimile available Hobgoblin Music and www.Llanerchpress.com				
52	Dow	Daniel	c.1778	A Collection of Ancient Scots Music for the Violin, Harpsichord or German-Flute						F
53	Dow	Daniel	c.1776	37 Reels and Strathspeys, for the Violin, Harpsicord, PianoForte and German Flute		http://www.abdn.ac.uk/scottskinner/collectiondisplay.php?Record_Type=OCC%20DD&title=Daniel%20Dow&link=background.shtml				
54	Fitzmaurice	Richard	1805-9	New Collection of Irish Tunes	Edinburgh				I	
55	Forrester	G	c.1817	The flute player's pocket companion: Macloud's collection of dances, waltzes, quadrilles, and airs with variations, composed and arranged as duets for the German flute. Parts 1 and 2.	Sutherland Edinburgh.	http://archive.org/details/acompositemusicv03rugg				
56	Geoghegan	John	1743	Complete Tutor for the Pastoral or New Bagpipe	John Simpson, London	http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/music/index.html and http://www.pipers.ie/imco/			I	
57	Gillespie	James	1768	Collection of violin music by James Gillespie, Parts I-III						F
58	Gow	Nathaniel	c.. 1797	A Collection of Entirely Original Strathspey Reels, Marches, Quicksteps etc						F
59	Gow	Nathaniel	c.1795	A Collection of Strathspey Reels						F
60	Gow	Nathaniel	c.1798	Hibernia, a Favourite Air, to which is added Three Favourite Airs						F
61	Gow	Neil	c. 1795	A Third Collection of Scottish Reels						F

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61	Gow	Neil	c. 1795	A Third Collection of Scottish Reels						F
62	Gow	Neil	c.1796	A Second Collection of Strathspey Reels						F
63	Gow	Neil	1799-1817	First Part of the Complete Repository of Original Scots Slow Strathspeys and Dances						F
64	Gow	Neil	1799-1817	Part Second of the Complete Repository of Original Scots Tunes, Strathsperys, Jiggs and Dances						F
65	Gow	Neil	c.1800	A Fourth Collection of Strathspey Reels						F
66	Gow	Neil	c.1802	Part Third of the Complete Repository of Original Scots Slow Strathspeys and Dances						F
67	Gow	Niel and Nathaniel	1784	A Collection of Strathspey Reels With a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsichord		Edinburgh Central Music Library. http://www.scotmus.com/music/gow/collection-of-strathspey-reels/000.html				
68	Gow	Niel and Nathaniel	1788	Medley 2: New Rigged Ship: A second collection of Strathspey reels &c., with a Bass for Violoncello or Harpsichord. Dedicated by permission to the noblemen and Gentlemen of the Caledonian Hunt. Dunkeld. (1788)						
69	Gow	Niel and Nathaniel	1799	Gow's [Complete] Repository of the Dance Music of Scotland for the Harp, Piano Forte, Violin & Violoncello, Part 1	Robert Purdie, Edinburgh	http://imslp.org/wiki/Gow%27s_Repository_of_the_Dance_Music_of_Scotland_(Various)				
70	Gow	Niel and Nathaniel	1802	Gow's [Complete] Repository of the Dance Music of Scotland for the Harp, Piano Forte, Violin & Violoncello, Part 2	Robert Purdie, Edinburgh	http://imslp.org/wiki/Gow%27s_Repository_of_the_Dance_Music_of_Scotland_(Various)				
71	Gow	Niel and Nathaniel	1804	Niel Gow's Recovery	Edinburgh	http://imslp.org/wiki/Gow's_Repository_of_the_Dance_Music_of_Scotland_(Various)				
72	Gow	Niel and Nathaniel	1806	Gow's [Complete] Repository of the Dance Music of Scotland for the Harp, Piano Forte, Violin & Violoncello, Part 3	Robert Purdie, Edinburgh	http://imslp.org/wiki/Gow%27s_Repository_of_the_Dance_Music_of_Scotland_(Various)				

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73	Gow	Niel and Nathaniel	1817	Gow's [Complete] Repository of the Dance Music of Scotland for the Harp, Piano Forte, Violin & Violincello, Part 4	Robert Purdie, Edinburgh	http://imslp.org/wiki/Gow%27s_Repository_of_the_Dance_Music_of_Scotland_(Various)				
74	Gow	John H	1823	Gow's Collection of the newest and most favourite dances for the year 1823						
75	Gow	John H	1823	La Donna del lago. The admired set of quadrilles from the above favourite opera, composed by Snr G Rossini						
76	Gow	John H	1795	Fingal's Cave, & Birnham Wood. The much admired strathspeys						
77	Gow	John H	1819	The Prince Regent's favourite, to which are added five favourite tunes of 1819. The whole are arranged by Nathaniel Gow.						
78	Gow	John H	1820	A favourite set, (a second, third and fourth set) of quadrilles, composed of admired Scotch airs.						
79	Gow	John H	1823	Gow's original first set of Scotch quadrilles, arranged as duetts for two performers on the piano forte						
80	Gow	John H	1795	A collection of slow airs, strathspeys and reels with a bass for the violincello, harpsichord or piano forte						
81	Gow	John H	1795	A forth collection of slow airs, strathspeys and reels with a bass for the violincello, harpsichord or piano forte						
82	Gwynn Williams	W.S.	1933	Welsh National Music and Dance		http://www.myglyw.org.uk/index.php?id=4340				
83	Hime	Maurice	c.1797	Collection of Favourite Country Dances for the present Year, Vol. 1	Dublin					
84	Hime	Maurice	1804	Forty Eight Original Irish Dances						F
85	Holden	Smollett		A Collection of Original Welsh Music		http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/kid_txt1.htm#l624 (not verified)				

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A #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	First Name(s)	Date	Title	Publisher	Available from	C	O	I	F
86	Holden	Smollett		A Collection of (24) Quick and Slow Marches		http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/kid_txt1.htm#l624 (not verified)				
87	Holden	Smollett	1805/7	Collection of Old Established Irish Slow and Quick Tunes Arranged for the Harp, Piano Forte Violin, Flute, Flageolet or bagpipes	Dublin				I	
88	Holden	Smollett	1818	A Collection of Favourite Irish Airs arranged for the Harp or Pianoforte	Dublin				I	
89	Howe	Elias	1883	Ryan's Mammoth Collection: 1050 Reels and Jigs	Boston Mass.	http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/ryan1.htm				
90	Howe	Elias	1858	The Leviathan Collection of Instrumental Music. J. H. Mellor, Pittsburgh, 1858		http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/ryan1.htm				
91	Howe	Elias	c.1864	The Musician's Omnibus		http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/ryan1.htm				
92	Howe	Elias	1867	Howe's One Thousand Jigs and Reels						
93	Hughes		1842-81	Gems of the Emerald Isle	London				I	
94	Hutton			McCloud's collection of airs, marches and waltzes carefully arranged for two German flutes. No.s 1, 2 and 2.	Sutherland Edinburgh.	http://archive.org/details/acompositemusicv03rugg				
95	Johnston	John		Caledoneon Country dances		http://imslp.org/wiki/Caledonian_Country_Dances_with_a_Thorough_Bass_(Various)				
96	Jones	Edward	1784	Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards.						
97	Joyce	Patrick Western	1873	Ancient Irish music : comprising one hundred airs hitherto unpublished, many of the old popular songs, and several new songs		http://archive.org/details/ancientirishmusi00joyc				
98	Joyce	Patrick Western	1901	Irish Music and Song						

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99	Joyce	Patrick Western	1909	Old Irish Folk Music and Songs, a collection of 842 Irish Airs and Songs, hitherto unpublished.	The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. London and Ireland.	http://archive.org/details/oldirishfolkmusi00royauoft				
100	Karpeles and Schofield	Maud and Kenworthy	1951	100 English Folk Dance Airs	EFDSS, London		C			
101	Keith	M	c.1800	The Complete Repository of Original Scots Slow Strathspeys and Dances Pts I and II						F
102	Kennedy	Peter	1951	The Fiddler's Tunebook Volume 1	EFDSS, London		C			
103	Kennedy	Peter	1952	The Fiddler's Tunebook Volume 2	EFDSS, London		C			
104	Kerr	James S	1870	Collection of Merry Melodies 1-4	Glasgow	http://www.footstompin.com/collections/books/kerrs-collections	C			
105	Kerr	James S		Kerr's Caledonian Collection						
106	Kerr	James S		Kerr's collection of reels and strathspeys for the piano						
107	Kidson	Frank	1890	Old English Country Dances - gathered from scarce printed collections and manuscripts. With illustrative notes and a bibliography of English Country Dance Music.	William Reeves, London.	http://www.archive.org/stream/oldenglishcount00kidsgoog#page/n0/mode/1up	C			
108	Kidson	Frank	1891	Traditional Tunes	Taphouse & Son	http://imslp.org/wiki/Traditional_Tunes_(Kidson,_Frank)				
109	Kinloch	Alex Monro	1815	One Hundred Airs (principally Irish)	London				I	
110	Lee	E	1780	A Collection of Irish Airs						F

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111	Lee	John	1780	A Favourite Collection of the so much admired old Irish Tunes, the original and genuine compositions of Carolan, the celebrated Irish Bard. Set for hte Harpsichord, violin and German-Flute.	Dublin			S		F
112	Lee	John	1788	Lee's New Collection of Irish Country Dances for the Year 1788						F
113	Lee	Samual	c.1774, 1790, 1778	Jackson's Celebrated Irish Tunes: 102 Jackson's Celebrated Irish Tunes by Walker Jackson.	Edmund Lee, Dublin	National Library of Ireland, Dublin, 2 copies: press-mark JM 5411 & 84.5.11. http://www.pipers.ie/imco/JCIT.HTM			I	F
114	Levey	Richard Michael	1858	A Collection of the Dance Music of Ireland	London	http://source.pipers.ie/Gallery.aspx?id=869 and , http://source.pipers.ie/Media.aspx?mediald=22916&categoryld=869			I	
115	Levey	Richard Michael	1873	The Second Collection of Dance Music of Ireland	London				I	
116	Light	Edward	1785	Introduction to the art of playing on the harp, lute, guitar	London					
117	Light	Edward	c1790	A Collection of Songs Property Adapted for the Harp-Lute, Lyre and Guitar						F
118	Light	Edward	c.1795	A Collection of Songs, Airs, Marches, Rondos etc Adapted for the Harp-Lute-Guitar						F
119	Light	Edward	c.1795	Divertimentos for the Harp-Lute Vol. II No 3						F
120	Light	Edward	c.1795	A Select Collection of Scottish and Irish Airs for the Voice No. 7 Vol II						F
121	Light	T	c.1795	A Selection of Favourite Airs with Variations, Rondos, Waltzes, Marches etc						F
122	M.A.C.		c. 1790	Irish Airs arranged for the Harp by M.A.C. dedicated to my pupil, Miss Josephine Sullivan.	The Vincent Music Company Ltd., London.	http://archive.org/details/irishairs00miss				

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123	MacDonald	Patrick	1784	A collection of Highland vocal airs never hitherto published : to which are added a few of the most lively country dances or reels of the North Highlands & Western Isles, and some specimens of bagpipe music	Edinburgh,	Copy in the University of Sheffield, Western Bank Library, shelf reference BEECHAM /Q522				F
124	MacLean	J	1810-5	The Amateur's Companion	Dublin				I	
125	Marsden	Thomas	1705	Thomas Marsden's Collection of Lancashire Hornpipes		Compiled & edited by Pete Stewart, publ. Hornpipe Music, Pencaitland, 2007 www.hornpipemusic.co.uk				
126	Marshall	William	1781	A Collection of Strathspey Reels with a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsichord	Neil Steward of Edinburgh	William Marshall's Scottish Melodies, published by Fiddlecase Books.				
127	Marshall	William	1822	Scottish Airs, Melodies, Strathspeys, Reels, &c. for the Piano Forte, Harp, Violin & Violoncello	Neil Steward of Edinburgh	William Marshall's Scottish Melodies, published by Fiddlecase Books.				
128	Marshall	William	1845	Volume 2nd of a Collection of Scottish Melodies Reels Strathspeys Jigs Slow Airs &c. for the Piano Forte, Violin and Violoncello	Neil Steward of Edinburgh	William Marshall's Scottish Melodies, published by Fiddlecase Books.				
129	McFadyen	Joseph T	c. 1800	A Collection of Highland Strathspey Reels from the Best Authors	Published in Glasgow	Index of tunes and cross-reference available at subscription website http://www.scottishmusicindex.org/				
130	McFadyen	Joseph T	1802	The Repository of Scots & Irish Airs, Strathspeys, Reels etc. Vols I and II. Part of the Slow Tunes adapted for 2 Violins and a Bass ...	Published in Glasgow	Index of tunes and cross-reference available at subscription website http://www.scottishmusicindex.org/				F
131	McGoun	A	1785	The Repository of Scots & Irish Airs, Strathspeys, Reels etc.		Available at Amazon books http://books.google.co.uk/books/about/The_Repository_of_Scots_Irish_airs_Strat.html?id=xfzIGwAACAAJ&redir_esc=y				
132	Moore	Thomas	1818	A selection of Irish Melodies. Parts i-vii in 2 vols.	J Power, London					
133	Mulholland	John Macpherson	1804	A Selection of Irish and Scots Tunes	Edinburgh				I	

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134	Mulholland	John Macpherson	1810	Collection of Ancient Irish Airs	Belfast	O Sullivan (2001)			I	
135	Murphy	John	1809	A Collection of Ancient Irish Airs and Jiggs with Variations	Belfast				I	
136	Northumbrian Pipers Society		1936	Northumbrian Pipers Tune Book	Northumbrian Pipers Society	Republished 1985 (C-35)				
137	Neal	John & William	1723	A Choice Collection of the Newest Airs and Minuets						F
138	Neal	John & William	1724/6	A Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes	Dublin	http://www.pipers.ie/imco/			I	F
139	Neal	John & William	1724	A Collection of the Most Celebrated Scotch Tunes for the Violin						F
140	O'Farrell		1804	Collection of National Irish Music for the Union Pipes	London				I	
141	O'Farrell		1804	Pocket Companion for Irish Union Pipes Vol 1		http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/music/index.html			I	
142	O'Farrell		c. 1806	Pocket Companion for Irish Union Pipes Vol 2		http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/music/index.html			I	
143	O'Farrell			Pocket Companion for Irish Union Pipes Vol 3		http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/music/index.html			I	
144	O'Farrell		1810	Pocket Companion for Irish Union Pipes Vol 4		http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/music/index.html			I	
145	O'Flannagan	Patrick	1860	The Hibernia Collection	Boston Mass.				I	
146	O'Hara	Charles O.F.	1813	The Gentleman's Musical Repository	New York				I	
147	Oliver & Boyd		1806/ 1811	Caledonian Musical Repository: A choice selection of Esteemed Scottish Songs, adapted for the Voice and German Flute	Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh	Available to purchase from nickparkes@btinternet.com				
148	O'Neill	Francis	1903	The Music of Ireland						

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149	O'Neill	Francis	1907	The Dance Music of Ireland: "O'Neill's 1001"	Walton's Musical Instrument Galleries Ltd.					
150	O'Sullivan	Donal	1958	The Complete Works of Turlough O'Carolan 1670-1738	Routledge and Kegan Paul (republ. Ossian 2001).			O		
151	Oswald	James	1743-59	The Caledoneon Pocket Companion, Books 1-12		Ed. John Purser, available commercially in CD from http://www.earlygaelicharp.info/emporium/books/oswald.htm or else http://www.townwaits.org.uk/reviews/parkcds.pdf or possibly downloadable from http://imslp.org/wiki/The_Caledonian_Pocket_Companion_(Oswald,_James) also from http://digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/pageturner.cfm?id=90413947 , or else from nickparkes @btinternet.com				F
152	Oswald	James	1740	A Curious Collection of Scots Tunes (2 volumes)	Edinburgh	Facsimile available commercially from http://www.townwaits.org.uk/reviews/parkcds.pdf or else nickparkes@btinternet.com				
153	Oswald	James	1742	A Second Collection of Curious Scots Tunes	Edinburgh	Facsimile available commercially from http://www.townwaits.org.uk/reviews/parkcds.pdf or else nickparkes@btinternet.com				

Notes:

C means referenced in Callaghan (2007) *Hardcore English: 300 cracking tunes from manuscript, recorded and aural sources*

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I means available at Irish Music Collections On Line <http://www.pipers.ie/imco/> viewed 03/03/2013

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Appendix 4: Antiquarian Collections
Sources: Various.

A #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	First Name(s)	Date	Title	Publisher	Available from	C	O	I	F
154	Parry & Williams	John & Evan	1742	Ancient British Music, or a Collection of Tunes Never before Published, which are retained by the Cambro-Britons (more particularly in North Wales) and supposed, by the Learned to be the Remains of the Music of the Ancient Druids, so much famed in Roman History.. set for the Harp, Harpsichord, Violin and all within the compass of the German Flute	London					F
155	Parry	John	1781	British Harmony being a Collection of Ancient Welsh Airs						F
156	Peacock	John	1805	A Favourite Collection of Tunes adapted for the northumbrian small pipes, violin or flute	Newcastle, W Wright	Printed in NPS 1980, reprinted 1999, fascimilies also available at "Ross's Music Page", http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/music/index.html				
157	Petrie	George	1855	The Petrie Collection of the ancient music of Ireland: arranged for piano-forte, Volume 1		Irish Traditional Music Archive. Available as fascimile at www.itma/digitallibrary/print-collection/petries-ancient-music-of-ireland/				
158	Petrie	George	1882	Collection of the ancient music of Ireland: arranged for piano-forte, Volume 1 (reprinted)		Irish Traditional Music Archive. Available as fascimile at www.itma/digitallibrary/print-collection/petries-ancient-music-of-ireland/				
159	Petrie	George	1902	Collection of Irish Music Part I. Ed. Stanford	Boosey & Co., London	http://imslp.org/wiki/The_Complete_Collection_of_Irish_Music_(Petrie,_George)				
160	Petrie	George	1902	Collection of Irish Music Part II. Ed. Stanford	Boosey & Co., London	http://imslp.org/wiki/The_Complete_Collection_of_Irish_Music_(Petrie,_George)				
161	Petrie	George	1905	Collection of Irish Music Part III. Ed. Stanford	Boosey & Co., London	http://imslp.org/wiki/The_Complete_Collection_of_Irish_Music_(Petrie,_George)				
162	Petrie	Robert	1790 or c.1795	A collection of Strathspey Reels and Country Dances Etc. with a Bass for the Violincello or Harpsichord humbly dedicated to Mrs Farquharson of Monaltrie by Robert Petrie at Kirkmichael Perthshire	Edinburgh: Stewart and Co	ABC format available at www.nigelgatherer.com/tunes/abc/petr.html also at http://imslp.org/wiki/File:PMLP74641-Robert_Petrie_Collection_HMT.pdf				

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Appendix 4: Antiquarian Collections
Sources: Various.

A #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	First Name(s)	Date	Title	Publisher	Available from	C	O	I	F
163	Petrie	Robert		A second collection of strathspey reels etc. for the pianoforte, violin and violoncello, with alterations and additions	Edinburgh: Gow and Shepherd					
164	Petrie	Robert	c. 1800	A third collection of strathspey reels with a bass for the violoncello pianoforte	London					
165	Petrie	Robert	c.1795	A Fourth Collection of Strathspeys, Reels, Jiggs and Country Dances						F
166	Pipard	L	1711	A Hundred and Twenty Country Dances for the Flute						F
167	Playford	Henry	1701	A Collection of Original Scotch Tunes 2nd ed						F
168	Plumstead			The Beauties of Melody: a collection of the most popular Airs, Duets, Glees etc ... also comprising a selection of the best Irish Melodies interspersed with many of the beautiful scotch melodies.		http://archive.org/details/beautiesofmelody00plumiala				
169	Preston	John	1796	Entire New and Compleat Instructions for the Fife						
170	Purdey	Robert	pre 1830	First Number of Celtic Melodies, being a collection of Original Slow Highland Airs, Pipe Reels, and Cainteareachd, selected and arranged by a Highlander		"Ross's Music Page", http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/music/index.html				
171	Purdey	Robert	1830	A Selection of Celtic Melodies, being a collection of Original Slow Highland Airs, Pipe Reels, and Cainteareachd, selected and arranged by a Highlander, to the Lady Eleanor Campbell of Islay		"Ross's Music Page", http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/music/index.html				
170	Ramsay	Alan	1724/5	Musick for Allan Ramsays collection of Scots songs / set by Alex[and]er Stuart & engrav[e]d by R. Cooper.	Alan Ramsay, Edinburgh	http://archiveshub.ac.uk/data/gb231-ms2439				
173	Ramsay	Alan	1724	The tea-table miscellany: a collection of choice songs, Scots and English, (12 th ed published 1871)						
174	Rhames	E	c.1790	Three admired country dances	Dublin					

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Appendix 4: Antiquarian Collections
Sources: Various.

A #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	First Name(s)	Date	Title	Publisher	Available from	C	O	I	F
175	Riddell	Robert	1794	A Collection of Scots, Galwegian and border tunes for the violin and Pianoforte, selected by Robert Riddell of Glenriddell	Johnston & Co, Lawn Market	"Ross's Music Page", http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/musicfiles/manuscripts/riddell/				
176	Ritson	J	1783	A Select Collection of English Songs						F
177	Ryan		1883	Ryan's Mammoth Collection						
178	Rowsome	Leo	1936	Leo Rowsome's Tutor for the Uilleann Pipes	Dublin				I	
179	Sime	D	1792	The Edinburgh Musical Miscellany Vol I						F
180	Sime	D	1793	The Edinburgh Musical Miscellany Vol II						F
181	Smith	A	1786	The Musical Miscelant						F
182	Stanford	Charles V	1902	The Complete Collection of Irish Music as noted by George Petrie (Vol I)	Dublin				I	
183	Stuart	A	1724	Musick for the Scots Songs in the Tea Table Miscellany						F
184	Sutherland	J	1816	Edinburgh repository of music: containing the most select English, Scottish and Irish airs, reels, strathspeys etc, arranged for the German Flute or violin, volumes 1, 2 and 3.		http://archive.org/details/acompositemusicv03rugg and http://digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/pageturner.cfm?id=87776133 or else http://archive.org/details/edinburghreposit00rugg or else facsimile available to purchase from nickparkes@btinternet.com				
185	Thompson	S, A & P	c. 1780	Thompson's Pocket Companion for the Guitar						F
186	Thompson	S, A & P	c.1787	Hibernian Muse	London	O Sullivan (2001)			S	F
187	Thompson	William	1733	Orpheus Caledonius, or A Colleciton of Scots Songs, 2 volumes.		Facsimile of 2nd edition available to purchase from nickparkes@btinternet.com				F
188	Thompson	C & S		Thompson's Complete Collection of 120 Favourite Hornpipes						F

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F means referenced in Fleischmann (1998) *Sources of Irish Traditional Music c. 1600 – 1855. Volume I: An Annotated Catalogue of Prints and Manuscripts, 1583-1855*. Note: as this source does not always indicate whether the references are unpublished manuscripts or published collections, only certain published "antiquarian" collections are listed.

Appendix 4: Antiquarian Collections
Sources: Various.

A #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	First Name(s)	Date	Title	Publisher	Available from	C	O	I	F
189	Thumoth	Burk	1745-6	Twelve English and Twelve Irish Airs	London			S		F
190	Thumoth	Burk	1745-6	Twelve Scotch and Twelve Irish Airs						F
191	Thumoth	Burk	1745-6	Forty Eight ENGLISH IRISH and SCOTCH A I R S with variations Set for the Ger. Flute, Violin or Harpsichord	London	http://www.pipers.ie/imco/			I	
192	Turnbill	Thomas	1805	British Musical Miscellany, being a complete collection of scottish, English and Irish songs, set to music, with proper keys for the voice, violin, German-flute and Military fife	Thomas Turnbill Edinburgh	Facsimile available to purchase from nickparkes@btinternet.com				
193	Urban	Sylvanus	1750	Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle volume 20 for the year 1750.	Cave & Gate, London	Google Books				
194	Walker		1783-85	Walker's Hibernian Magazine						F
195	Walker		1787-89	Walker's Hibernian Magazine						F
196	Walker		1792-95	Walker's Hibernian Magazine						F
197	Walker		1796	Walker's Hibernian Magazine						F
198	Walker		1801	Walker's Hibernian Magazine						F
199	Walker	George	1824	Complete Tutor for the German Flute, made easy to every capacity in a series of instructions and examples and the method of double tonguing clearly explained, to which is added a selection of the most favourite airs, rondos, marches and dances.	George Walker, London	Facsimile available to purchase from nickparkes@btinternet.com				
200	Walsh	John	1716-33	The Merry Musician Pts I-IV						F
201	Walsh	John	c. 1730	John Walsh's Third Book of the Most Celebrated Jiggs, Lancashire Hornpipes	London	Compiled & edited by Pete Stewart, publ. Hornpipe Music, Pencaitland, 2007 www.hornpipemusic.co.uk				F

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Appendix 4: Antiquarian Collections
Sources: Various.

A #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	First Name(s)	Date	Title	Publisher	Available from	C	O	I	F
202	Walsh	John	1733-40	Caledonian Country Dances Being a Collection of all the Celebrated Scotch and English Country Dances now in Vogue, with Proper Directions to each Dance. Perform'd at Court, and Publick Entertainments. For the Harpsicord, Violin, Hoboy, or German Flute. N.B. Just Publish'd, Caledonian Dances Vol 1st, in 4 Books	London	http://imslp.org/wiki/Caledonian_Country_Dances_with_a_Thorough_Bass_(Various)				F
203	Wright	Daniel	1713/5	An Extraordinary Collection of Pleasant and Merry Humours		Compiled & edited by Pete Stewart, publ. Hornpipe Music, Pencaitland, 2007 www.hornpipemusic.co.uk				F
204	Wright	Daniel	1727	Aria di Camera, being a Choice Collection of Scotch, Irish & Welsh Airs for the Violin and German Flute by the following masters Mr. Alex. Urquahart of Edinburgh Mr. Dermot O'Connar of Limrick, Mr. Hugh Edwards of Carmarthen	London	http://www.pipers.ie/imco/			I	F
205	Wright	Daniel	1730	A Collection of Scotts Dances						
206	Wright	Daniel	c.1735	The Compleat Tutor for Ye Flute containing the newest instructions for that instrument likewise a collection of ye most favourite tunes collected from ballad operas etc.						F
207	Wright	Daniel		A Collection of Original Scotch Songs, with a Thorough Bass to each Song, for the Harpsichord						
208	Wright	Daniel	1731	Third Book of the Most Celebrated Jiggs, Lancashire Hornpipes						F
209	Young	John	c1700	A collection of original Scotch Tunes for the Violin						F

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I means available at Irish Music Collections On Line <http://www.pipers.ie/imco/> viewed 03/03/2013

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Appendix 4 (continued): Antiquarian Collections
Sharp's "The Country Dance Book"

A #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	Date	Title	Available from	Music
210	Sharp Cecil J	1909	"The Country Dance Book: containing a description of eighteen country dances collected in country villages". Part 1	http://archive.org/details/countrydancebook01shar (Vol 1) http://archive.org/details/countrydancebook12shar (Vols 1+2rev)	
211	Sharp Cecil J	1909	"Country dance tunes" Part I, sets I & II	http://round.soc.srcf.net/dances/cdb/cdb1	M
212	Sharp Cecil J	1911	"The Country Dance Book Part 2: containing Country Dances from the English Dancing Master (1650-1686)		
213	Sharp Cecil J	1911	"Country dance tunes" Part 2, Sets III and IV.	http://round.soc.srcf.net/dances/cdb/cdb2	M
214	Sharp Cecil J & Butterworth, George	1912	The Country Dance Book, Part 3: Containing Thirty-Five Country Dances from the English Dancing Master, 1650-1670		
215	Sharp Cecil J & Butterworth, George	1912	"Country dance tunes" Part 3, Sets IV and V.	http://round.soc.srcf.net/round/dances/cdb/cdb3	M
216	Sharp Cecil J & Butterworth, George	1916	"The Country Dance Book, Part 4: Containing Forty-Three Country Dances from the English Dancing Master, 1650-1728"	http://archive.org/details/countrydancebookshar	
217	Sharp Cecil J & Butterworth, George	1916	"Country dance tunes" Part 4, Sets VI and VII.	http://round.soc.srcf.net/round/dances/cdb/cdb4	M
218	Sharp Cecil J & Karpeles, Maud	1918	The Country Dance Book, Part V. Described the "Running Set", collected in Kentucky, U.S.A..		
219	Sharp Cecil J	1922	"The Country Dance Book, Part 6: Containing Fifty-Two Country Dances from the English Dancing Master, 1650-1728"	http://archive.org/details/countrydancebook6shar	
220	Sharp Cecil J	1922	"Country dance tunes" Part 6, Sets X and XI	http://round.soc.srcf.net/round/dances/cdb/cdb6	M
221	Sharp Cecil J	1911 (rev1913)	"The Country Dance Book Part 2: containing Thirty Country Dances from the English Dancing Master (1650-1686) 2nd edition revised (bound with Volume 1)	http://archive.org/details/countrydancebook12shar (Vols 1+2rev)	
222	Sharp Cecil J & Butterworth, George	1912 (rev ?)	"The Country Dance Book, Part 3: Containing Thirty-Five Country Dances from the English Dancing Master, 1650-1670" 2d ed. Rev		
223	Sharp Cecil J & Butterworth, George	1916 (rev1918)	Sharpe C J and Butterworth G (1916) "The Country Dance Book, Part 4: Containing Forty-Three Country Dances from the English Dancing Master, 1650-1728" 2nd edition		
224	Sharp Cecil J	1922 (rev1927)	"The Country Dance Book Part 6: containing Fifty-Two Country Dances from the English Dancing Master (1650-1728) " 2 nd edition	http://archive.org/details/countrydancebook06shar	
225	Sharp Cecil J & Butterworth, George	1916 (rev1927)	"The Country Dance Book, Part 4: Containing Forty-Three Country Dances from the English Dancing Master, 1650-1728" 3 rd Edition	http://archive.org/details/countrydancebook04shar	
226	Sharp Cecil J	1911 (rev1927)	"The Country Dance Book Part 2: containing ? Country Dances from the English Dancing Master (1650-1686) 3 rd ed.		

Notes: All published by Novello and Company, Ltd., London.

Booklets were published as companion pairs, with one part containing the dance choreographies, and the second part ("M") containing the music.

Appendix 4 (continued): Antiquarian Collections
Sharp's "The Morris Book" and "Sword Dances of Northern England"

A #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	Date	Title	Available from	Music
227	Sharp Cecil J	1909 (rev1934)	"The Country Dance Book: containing a description of eighteen country dances collected in country villages". Part 1. Revised by M Karpeles.		
228	MacIlwaine H C and Sharp Cecil J	1907	"The Morris Book, a History of Morris Dancing with a description of eleven dances as performed by the Morris-men of England", Part 1.	http://www.gutenberg.org/files/12926/12926-h/12926-h.htm or http://www.traditionalmusic.co.uk/morris-dance/morris-dance1%20-%200001.htm	
229	MacIlwaine H C and Sharp Cecil J	1907	"Morris dance tunes: collected from traditional sources and arranged for pianoforte solo". Sets I and II.	http://archive.org/details/aea1639.0001.001.umich.edu (Sets I to X)	M
230	MacIlwaine H C and Sharp Cecil J	1909	"The Morris Book" Part 2	http://archive.org/details/morrisbookwithde02shar2	
231	MacIlwaine H C and Sharp Cecil J	1909	"Morris dance tunes: collected from traditional sources and arranged for pianoforte solo". Sets III and IV.	http://archive.org/details/aea1639.0001.001.umich.edu (Sets I to X)	M
232	MacIlwaine H C and Sharp Cecil J	1910	"The Morris Book" Part 3.	http://archive.org/details/morrisbookwithde03shar2	
233	MacIlwaine H C and Sharp Cecil J	1910	"Morris dance tunes: collected from traditional sources and arranged for pianoforte solo". Sets V and VI.	http://archive.org/details/aea1639.0001.001.umich.edu (Sets I to X)	M
234	Sharp Cecil J	1911	"The Morris Book, Part 4: With a Description of Dances as Performed by the Morris Men of England".	http://archive.org/details/morrisbookwithde04shar2	
235	Sharp Cecil J	1911	"Morris dance tunes: collected from traditional sources and arranged for pianoforte solo". Sets VII and VIII.	http://archive.org/details/aea1639.0001.001.umich.edu (Sets I to X)	M
236	Sharp Cecil J & Butterworth, George	1913	"The Morris Book, Part 5: With a Description of Dances as Performed by the Morris Men of England"	http://archive.org/details/morrisbookwithde03shar or http://archive.org/details/pt5morrisbookwit00sharuoft	
237	Sharp Cecil J & Butterworth, George	1913	"Morris dance tunes: collected from traditional sources and arranged for pianoforte solo". Sets IX and X. Ed. Butterworth G.	http://archive.org/details/aea1639.0001.001.umich.edu (Sets I to X)	M
238	MacIlwaine H C and Sharp Cecil J	1919	"The Morris Book" Part 2, 2 nd Edition (revised and re-written).	http://archive.org/details/p2morrisbookwit00sharuoft	
239	Sharp Cecil J	1911	"The Sword Dances of Northern England, Together with the Horn Dance of Abbots Bromley" Volume 1	http://archive.org/details/cu31924019904964	M
240	Sharp Cecil J	1911	"The Sword Dances of Northern England: Songs and Dance Airs" Book 1,	http://archive.org/details/sworddancesofnor01shar	
241	Sharp Cecil J	1912	"The Sword Dances of Northern England" Volume 2	http://archive.org/details/sworddancesofnor02shar	
242	Sharp Cecil J	1912	"The Sword Dances of Northern England: Songs and Dance Airs" Book 2,	http://archive.org/details/sworddancesofnor112shar	
243	Sharp Cecil J	1913	"The Sword Dances of Northern England" Volume 3,	http://archive.org/details/sworddancesofnor03shar .	
244	Sharp Cecil J	1913	"Sword Dances of Northern England, Songs and Dance Airs Part III"	http://archive.org/details/sworddancesofnor113shar	
245	Sharp Cecil J	1911 (rev 1951)	"The Sword Dances of Northern England: Songs and Dance Airs" Volume 1, 2 nd edition.	http://archive.org/details/sworddancesofnor00shar	

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**Appendix 4 (continued): Antiquarian Collections
Sharp's "Graded Series" and miscellaneous items**

A #	Name of Editor / Compiler / Arranger	Date	Title	Available from
246	Sharp Cecil J	1909	"The English Country Dance, Graded Series" Volume 1	facsimile at http://archive.org/details/englishcountryda01sharuoft , also indexed and available at http://round.soc.srcf.net/dances/cdb/graded
247	Sharp Cecil J		"The English Country Dance, Graded Series" Volume 2	facsimile at http://archive.org/details/englishcountryda02sharuoft , also indexed and available at http://round.soc.srcf.net/dances/cdb/graded
248	Sharp Cecil J		"The English Country Dance, Graded Series" Volume 3	facsimile at http://archive.org/details/englishcountryda03sharuoft , also indexed and available at http://round.soc.srcf.net/dances/cdb/graded
249	Sharp Cecil J		"The English Country Dance, Graded Series" Volume 4	http://round.soc.srcf.net/dances/cdb/graded
250	Sharp Cecil J (ed Karpeles, Maud)		"The English Country Dance, Graded Series" Volume 5	facsimile at http://archive.org/details/englishcountryda05sharuoft also indexed and available at http://round.soc.srcf.net/dances/cdb/graded
251	Sharp Cecil J (ed Karpeles, Maud)		"The English Country Dance, Graded Series" Volume 6	facsimile at http://archive.org/details/englishcountryda06sharuoft also indexed and available at http://round.soc.srcf.net/dances/cdb/graded
252	Sharp Cecil J (ed Karpeles, Maud)		"The English Country Dance, Graded Series" Volume 7	facsimile at http://archive.org/details/englishcountryda07sharuoft also indexed and available at http://round.soc.srcf.net/dances/cdb/graded
253	Sharp Cecil J (ed Karpeles, Maud)		"The English Country Dance, Graded Series" Volume 8	facsimile at http://archive.org/details/englishcountryda08sharuoft also indexed and available at http://round.soc.srcf.net/dances/cdb/graded
254	Sharp Cecil J (ed Karpeles, Maud)		"The English Country Dance, Graded Series" (supplement) Volume 9	http://round.soc.srcf.net/dances/cdb/graded
255	Sharp Cecil J	1907	Folk Tunes FT1364	
256	Sharp Cecil J		Folk-Dance Airs collected in Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Devonshire, Somerset and Derbyshire, arranged for the pianoforte	
257	Sharp Cecil J		Four Folk-Airs collected in Somerset and arranged for the violin and pianoforte	
258	Sharp Cecil J	1927	Dancing Master	

Notes: All published by Novello and Company, Ltd., London. All books contain music.

