

*'Between the jigs and the reels':
Popular dance and dancing*

You lasses and lads, take leave of your dads, And
away to the maypole hie,
For every he has gotten a she, And the fiddlers
standing by;
For Jockey has gotten his Jenny, And Johnny has got
his Joan.
And there they do jugget and jugget, And jugget up
and down.

'Lasses and Lads,' traditional¹

SOCIAL DANCING, WHETHER at the local fair or in the local inn, was a central, but poorly recorded, part of popular leisure. There are occasional glimpses, for example, in the poetry of John Clare or the recollections of Samuel Bamford, but much remains unknown and unknowable. The printed collections of country dance tunes that appeared with increasing frequency, especially from the 1780s onwards, as well as the private manuscripts of local musicians provide various insights. Popular dance tunes were, for the most part, relatively simple. Their range rarely strayed beyond two octaves. These were tunes that could be played with relative ease on unkeyed flutes, seven-keyed (Northumbrian) smallpipes, or on fiddles, without going beyond first position.² A limited number of keys were used – C, G and D major and A and E minor being among the most common.³ The tunes were relatively straightforward, with little metrical complexity, for the most part. They were, first and foremost, tunes for dancing.

While claims were made for several regional cultures, notably in the north-east of England, the evidence points as much to an emerging national ‘tune book,’ as musicians, and their music, traversed the country. Further, it contained long-standing traditional tunes, alongside recently composed, commercial pieces, and it adapted pieces from ‘high art’ and incorporated tunes from abroad.

Playford’s Dancing Master and other collections of country dances

For many years it was widely claimed that country dances had been taken up from the village greens and barns into the ballrooms of ‘society’ via compilations such as Playford’s *Dancing Master*.⁴ In fact, the opposite appears to have been the case: dance tunes for elite society filtered down into popular culture. Either way, any discussion must start with Playford’s *Dancing Master*, which, was the basis of social dancing in stately homes and assembly rooms since its first publication in 1651, and a rich source for later compilers. Running to several editions, various dances were included: longways and rounds for four, six or eight couples or ‘as many as will’, square dances for eight couples and so forth.⁵ In all, it contained just over 1000 distinct dance tunes. Some were drawn from earlier English sources, others from outside England. Some were well-known, others written specifically for the collection. Among the most popular (then and later) was ‘the finishing song ... Sir Roger de Coverley.’^{6*} And there were others that retained their popularity through into the nineteenth century, such as ‘Packington’s Pound,’ which probably dated back to the late sixteenth century, and ‘Sellenger’s Round.’^{7†} These tunes were sufficiently well known to be incorporated into popular songs, notably ‘Come Lasses and Lads,’ in which, at the start of the maypole dancing, ‘Moll and Jess’ want to begin with ‘Packington’s Pound’ but ‘Bess’ favours ‘Sellenger’s Round.’⁸

Playford was not the only publisher of country dance tunes. Robert Bremner published several collections of *Scotch Reels or Country Dances* in the 1760s. C & S Thompson’s two-volume, *Compleat Collection of 200 Favourite Country Dances* was

* See Appendix for this tune.

† See Appendix for this tune.

published in 1765 but one of the most important was J Aird's six-part *Collection of Scotch, English and Foreign Airs* published in the 1780s and 1790s.⁹ Aird brought together old tunes that would have been familiar to Playford, such as 'Greensleeves,' 'Pease upon a Trencher,' and 'Dainty Davie,' with more recent pieces, such as 'Soldier's Joy'* and 'Nancy Dawson,'† dating from the 1760s, as well as Burn's songs, albeit using older tunes, such as 'De'il Awa with the Excisemen' and 'John Anderson, My Jo.' But there were also a wide range of regimental quick marches and quick steps, fashionable cotillions, recently introduced from France, other French songs, tunes from 'West India' and even Handel's 'See the Conquering Hero Comes.'¹⁰ Precisely how and when these tunes migrated from the ballroom to the barroom is unclear but there is little doubt that the process of popularisation was taking place in the late-eighteenth century, and probably before. Professional musicians may well have bought these collections, but the tunes spread in other ways. John Clare was unusual in recording that he copied tunes from printed collections, but he was unlikely to have been unique among village fiddlers.

Manuscript collections

In addition, there are a smaller but growing number of manuscript collections. One of the earliest was the Henry Atkinson manuscript. Atkinson probably came from the north-east of England – the collection includes tunes such as 'The Keel Row,' 'Bobby Shaftoe,' 'Wylam Away' and 'The Flower of Yarrow,' better known, when later modified and renamed, as 'Sir John Fenwick's the Flower Amang Them A'. Atkinson was an accomplished violinist, quite possibly an itinerant teacher.¹¹ The importance of the collection lies in its heterogeneity. It included Playford tunes, Scottish tunes, songs from D'Urfey's *Pills to Purge Melancholy*¹² and the *Beggar's Opera*, military pieces and relatively recent popular tunes such as 'Over the Hills and Far Away.' A similar picture emerges from the late-eighteenth century Vicker's manuscript, dated 1770, which contains just under 600 tunes.¹³ This was more than a collection of

* See Appendix for this tune.

† See Appendix for this tune.

traditional music.¹⁴ It also contained cotillions, Scottish tunes such as ‘Flowers of Edenborough,’ [sic] ‘The Real [sic] of Tullack,’ ‘Lady Mackintosh’s Real’ (first published in 1757 in Robert Bremner’s collection, *Knit the Pocky*); tunes, such as ‘Admiral Rodney’s Delight’ and ‘Butter’d Pease’ from the well-known Thompson collection, *200 Favourite Country Dances*, 1765; a variant of the Irish tune ‘Highway to Dublin,’ which appeared under the title of ‘Cow’s courant, or Gallop and shite,’ the border pipe tune, ‘Lasses pisses brandy’ as well as several hornpipes, including the well-known ‘College Hornpipe.’

Another important late-eighteenth century collection came from north Yorkshire. Joshua Jackson was a corn-miller and fiddler from Burton Leonard, who probably played at a variety of locations, from the house of the Earl of Harewood, to local musical societies and inns. His manuscript contains around 500 tunes.¹⁵ Again, diversity is the dominant feature. Well-established favourites, such as ‘Brighton Camp’,¹⁶ ‘Flowers of Edinburgh,’* and ‘Nancy Dawson’† sit alongside more modern tunes, composed to reflect current issues, such as ‘Lunardies trip in the Air Balloon,’ ‘Down with the French’ and ‘The Battle of the Nile.’ The diffusion of tunes from high culture can be seen with the inclusion of ‘Tho’ Prudence may press me,’ which had appeared in Charles Dibdin’s 1773 opera *The Deserter*. There is a goodly smattering of martial music – ‘The 22nd Regiment’s Quick-step’ and ‘Captn Reeds or 2d of Gards March’ [sic] as well as ‘Rule Britannia’ – and also classical ‘hits,’ taken from their original setting to become part of a more popular repertoire: Arne’s ‘Water Parted From The Sea’ and three tunes taken from Handel: ‘See The Conquering Hero,’ ‘Water Piece’ and ‘Claret.’ A similar picture emerges from an analysis of the tune-book of William Calvert of Wensleydale, which also dates from the early nineteenth century.¹⁷ The 52 tunes (excluding fifteen psalms and hymns), which he ‘pricked down’ included a large number of relatively recent tunes, some of which were copied, others written from memory (including misheard titles, such as ‘The Dutch Slipper’ rather than ‘The Duchess’s Slipper’ and ‘The Chapter of Things’ rather than

* See Appendix for this tune.

† See Appendix for this tune.

'The Chapter of Kings'). Recent 'pop' tunes included 'The Heaving of the Lead,' composed in 1792 by William Shields for the operatic farce, 'Hartford Bridge,' and 'Life Let Us Cherish,' which was an anglicised version of the Swiss song 'Freut Euch des Lebens.'

It is not surprising to find martial music in the repertoire of jobbing musicians like Jackson as there was (and had been for many years) a two-way interchange of tunes. Traditional airs were taken up by the army as marches, quick marches and retreats. John Buttrey joined the 34th Regiment as a fifer in Lincoln in 1797 and served, mainly in South Africa and India, until his discharge in 1814. The manuscript which carries his name was, in all probability, the regimental tune-book to which he added a number of tunes.¹⁸ Many of the tunes were taken from Aird's *Collection of ... Airs*, but also included the much-published 'Orange' tune, 'Croppies Lie Down' and the 1808 adaptation of Robert Tannahill's 'Jessie the Flower of Dunblane.' Among the tunes used for retreats were 'The Cock and Hen' (a.k.a. 'The Peacock Followed the Hen') and 'Roger Decovley' [*sic*]; and among the various march tunes were 'Saton's Island' ('Staten Island'), 'The Irish Washerwoman' and 'Rakes of Mallow.'^{*}

These manuscript sources are important. They were compiled by professional or semi-professional musicians, who needed to be aware of the preferences of their audiences.¹⁹ As such the collections give an insight into changing popular tastes in certain sections of society. The fact that each played for a distinct audience (or audiences) makes generalization hazardous but it is striking to find certain tunes – 'The Gabio,' 'Off She Goes,'[†] 'Saxona's Hornpipe,' 'Speed the Plough'[‡] and 'Tink a Tink' – appearing in early-nineteenth century manuscript collections from Westmorland in the north to Dorset in the south, Lincolnshire in the east to Shropshire in the west.²⁰

The village fiddler: John Clare and William Winter

Much less is known of the more ordinary village fiddlers

* See Appendix for this tune.

† See Appendix for this tune.

‡ See Appendix for this tune.

and their repertoire. Although not necessarily typical, two collections will be considered in detail.²¹ The first was compiled in the 1820s by the Helpston labourer, John Clare, best-known as a poet, but also a fiddler and a collector of songs and tunes. His poetry, most notably *The Village Minstrel* and *The Shepherd's Calendar*, clearly reveals the importance of music in his world and that of the community he describes and the archival record reveals the extent of his collection of songs and tunes.²² How he learnt to play is unclear, though he makes reference to learning tunes by ear from a well-known local gypsy family; and how he built up his repertoire is similarly obscure, though he mentions copying tunes from printed collections in a Stamford bookshop. Clare was more than an unaffected rustic musician. He was concerned with the disappearance of an old way of life, eroded by the steady encroachment of modern agriculture and modern society, and, as such, he was not an accurate recorder but 'a selector from and mediator of the village tradition of pre-enclosure and childhood.'²³ But Clare was not simply part of a threatened 'oral/aural' folk culture, as the diversity of his collection makes clear.

Clare's collection comprises 263 tunes, of which thirty-eight are duplicates/variants, and the majority were probably copied from a range of printed collections. Four out of five tunes were in the fiddle-friendly keys of D (46 per cent) and G (34 per cent).²⁴ 41 per cent were written in common time, comprising reels, hornpipes and marches, and a further 18 per cent in 2/4 time, including tunes identified as quick steps and gavottes. 30 per cent were mainly jigs (36 per cent if slip-jigs are included) but also a few marked as marches or polkas.²⁵ Of the remaining tunes, twenty-one were waltzes, mainly in 3/4 time.²⁶ The precise sources are impossible to identify but, for example, there are striking similarities between Preston's *Twenty-four Country Dances for the Year 1793* and *Twenty-four Country Dances for the Year 1800* and the transcriptions in the Clare manuscript.²⁷ Some of his tunes – for example 'Bobbing Joan' (59), 'Dusty Miller' (84) or 'Brighton Camp' (105) – appeared in eighteenth-century collections, but can be traced back to the late-sixteenth or early-seventeenth centuries.²⁸ Others were

Playford tunes: ‘The Irish Washerwoman’ (160)* was included in his *Dancing Master* while ‘The White Cockade’ (27 and 102)† appeared in his *Apollo’s Banquet*, 1687, entitled a ‘Scots tune.’ But other tunes hardly dated from ‘time immemorial. ‘Black Ey’d Susan’ (192 and 215) had been written by John Gay, ‘The Lass of Richmond Hill,’ (10) music by James Hook, dated from 1789, while ‘Speed the Plough’ (76) was composed by the Covent Garden violinist, John Moorehead in 1799. An even more striking example of downward transmission is ‘Off She Goes’ (262). The tune appears in a dance manual by the prolific Thomas Wilson, dancing master to the King’s Theatre, London, entitled *The Treasure of Terpsichore, or the Companion to the Ballroom*, (1808). and was enthusiastically reviewed in the *Stamford Mercury*.²⁹ More interesting, is the inclusion of patriotic songs and tunes, such as the anti-American ‘Yankee Doodle’ (201) and the anti-French ‘The Downfall of Paris’ (149)‡, both highly-popular early nineteenth-century tunes played as marches by various regimental bands.³⁰

In addition, his collection included. Dibdin’s ‘Sailor’s Journal,’ (165) one of eleven such songs (including the better-known ‘Tom Tackle’), which was published in 1800, alongside ‘Hearts of Oak’ (39), ‘Roast Beef of Old England’ (127) and ‘Rule Britannia’ (45). In a different vein, he also included some classically derived tunes, such as ‘Mozart Waltz’ (183), ‘March in Scipio’ (60), ‘Lord Cathcart (Haydn) (94) and ‘Handels Gavot’ (239 and 256).³¹ Three tunes pieces merit particular mention. ‘The Battle of Prague’ (8) and ‘Turks March’ (179) were taken from a more elaborate descriptive piece, ‘The Battle of Prague’ composed for piano, violin, cello and drums, by the Bohemian-born František Koczwara, (Dublin, 1788) but transposed to the key of D.³² The third tune, ‘La Dansomanic’ (206), appears to be an inaccurate copying of ‘La Dansomanie,’ the French comedy ballet of 1800.

The second collection, comprising some 400 dance tunes, was compiled by William Winter, a shoemaker and fiddler, living in the Quantocks, Somerset.³³ Although dated 1848–51, the tunes were probably collected over several decades. Almost

* See Appendix for this tune.

† See Appendix for this tune.

‡ See Appendix for this tune.

40 per cent were written in 6/8 time, mainly jigs, and a similar number in 4/4 or 2/4 time, comprising reels, hornpipes and marches. There are only a small number of waltzes. Once again, the sources of the collection are unclear. Certain runs of tunes appear to have been copied in order from various editions of Thompson's collection of country dances, others taken – complete with dance steps – from Thomas Tegg, *Analysis of the London Ballroom*, 1825; and some may have been copied from the magazine, *Musical Bijou*.³⁴ There were tunes that would have been familiar to Clare – 'Brighton Camp,' 'Haste to the Wedding,'* 'Speed the Plough' and 'White Cockade' for example – others, notably those from Thompson, not so. The Winter collection, like many others, drew on a wide variety of sources. The presence of twenty-seven marches, such as 'The Duke of York's Troops' again bears witness to the importance of military music in the early nineteenth century. Some tunes had a theatrical origin – 'La Belle Jeanette,' 'La Fille Sauvage' and 'The Duke of Reichstadt's Waltz' – others, such as 'Jim Crow' and 'Oh' – drew on the recent popularity of blackface minstrelsy. The collection also contains several song tunes, which again reveal a diversity of sources. The words to 'Believe Me If All Those Endearing Young Charms' appeared in Thomas Moore's *A Selection of Irish Melodies*, 1808, though the tune ('My Lodging Is In the Cold, Cold Ground') was older. 'Away With Melancholy' originated in Mozart's *Magic Flute*; 'Mary Blane' was known as an Ethiopian song. 'Sweet Jessie' was a Scottish song/tune; and 'Poor Mary Ann' ('All Through The Night') was Welsh. Also included are the tunes for more recently written, commercial songs include 'Darby Kelly,' 'Hearts of Oak,' 'Woodman Spare That Tree;' and for reasons that are not immediately apparent, 'The Last Melody of Pestal,' which was published in 1845 and celebrated the death of the Polish martyr in the 1825 Decembrist uprising against the tsar of Russia!

Although both collections contain long-known tunes, it is striking that they also include recent commercially produced music, including adaptations from 'high-brow' music. As with the country dance compilations, eclecticism is the order of the

* See Appendix for this tune.

day, reflecting, in no small measure, changing popular tastes and the need to maintain a varied and up-to-date repertoire.

Dances, old and new

Tune collections provided important insights, but much remains unknown about popular dancing. There are tantalising references to 'old' dances (as opposed to the new country dances of Playford and others), and the slow transition to the new. The rate of change varied considerably across the country. In the Yorkshire dales, for example, the old jigs, reels and hornpipes continued to be danced well into the mid-nineteenth century, while elsewhere in the county were to be found newer quadrilles, waltzes and polkas.³⁵ Drawing on his knowledge of dancing around the turn of the nineteenth century, Thomas Hardy, a knowledgeable and sympathetic observer, told the English Dance Society that the 'work folk,' as he described them, had 'their own dances, which were reels of all sorts, jigs, a long dance called the "horse race"; another called "thread the needle"'³⁶ Country dances were introduced into village life around 1800, he claims, but were not met with great enthusiasm. The work folk 'would lapse back again to their own dances at their own unmixed merrymakings.'³⁷ In this older dance world, 'reels were resorted to hereabouts by the more robust spirits, for the reduction of superfluous energy' and the devilish 'Mop' Ollamoor, the fiddler of the reels, 'a fiddle player in a show at Greenhill Fair, [played] the old dance tunes ... country jigs, reels and 'Favourite Quick Steps' of the last century.' It is also the mid-nineteenth century world of young Margery in 'The Romantic Adventures of a Milkmaid,' who dances 'reels and jigs and country dances like the New-Rigged Ship, Follow-My-Lover and Haste to the Wedding and the College Hornpipe, and the Favourite Quickstep, and Captain White's Dance,' but has to be taught the polka – the latest craze about which 'young people ... are ecstatic'—before she goes to the Yeomanry Ball.³⁸ Dancing was characterised by exuberance rather than elegance. At the Tranters' party, in *Under the Greenwood Tree*, proceedings open with the relatively sedate 'Follow My Lover,' but Dick and Fancy 'dance more wildly' in a 'six-hands-round' to an unnamed reel.³⁹ The work folk's 'own dances' were equally, if not more, energetic, being 'danced with hops, leg-crossings, and rather boisterous movements.'⁴⁰

A similar lack of decorum was to be seen at Dicken's Greenwich Fair, and at the costermongers 'two-penny hops,' as recounted to Mayhew, where, across an evening that started about 8 p.m. and ended as late as 2 a.m., there was a mixture of 'clog-hornpipes' and 'flash jigs' but also 'polkas and country dances.' Only waltzes were absent.⁴¹ Elsewhere in London new-fangled, one-time 'society' dances were becoming more widely heard. Street performers had to adapt. A disgruntled performer on drum and pipes, whose love was for 'the old tunes' told Mayhew that 'new tunes come up every day.' Consequently, he was forced to 'play waltzes and polkas now chiefly.' Interestingly, his 'old tunes' included not only 'Off She Goes' and 'The White Cockade' but also tunes, such as 'The Downfall of Paris' and 'Bonaparte's March,' which had been new 50 years before.⁴²

This intermingling of old dance tunes, newer country dances, hornpipes, jigs and reels and later waltzes, polkas and mazurkas came about in a variety of ways. In some cases, society 'fashions' – notably, polkas and mazurkas – became more popular dances as dancing masters (and other music teachers) found it necessary to extend their clientele.⁴³ Tunes were also disseminated via the activities of working-class dancing masters. Little is known about them, but scattered evidence points to their importance. The showman Billy Purvis supplemented his income as an itinerant dancing master in and around Newcastle. Robert Whinham, the Morpeth-born fiddler, travelled the district, making a living from performances in local farms and inns, composing songs for local people and teaching dancing. He was not alone. H M Neville, reflecting on life in the third quarter of the nineteenth century in Northumberland, was one of many 'who recall the travelling dancing masters ... men of the working class ... fond of dancing and good fiddlers.' They would stay in the village for maybe a month or more, during the winter, giving lessons in a hired room or loft, before giving a public performance to showcase their success before moving on.⁴⁴ Other itinerant musicians, of varying degrees of ability, contributed to the dissemination of tunes. One of Mayhew's interviewees, 'The Whistling Man' spent much of his time in London, where he had a 'pitch' in Newstreet, Covent Garden as well as performing outside hotels, in

public houses, taverns and even club houses.⁴⁵ He also played outside London, in towns and villages, from Hounslow to Maidenhead. His roaming pales into insignificance compared with that of 'The Whistling and Dancing Boy,' who played at regattas in Brighton and Dover, inside and outside of public houses (and occasionally in concert rooms) as he wandered across southern England as far as Devon and Cornwall.⁴⁶ Hornpipes and jigs predominated, the latter more popular among Irish labourers. 'The Whistling Man' had a repertoire that included 'The Barley Stack' and 'The Little House Under the Hill,' popular among 'country chaps' who paid a penny a dance each. Similarly, the 'Whistling and Dancing Boy' built up a repertoire from six to fifty tunes. These include well-established favourites, such as 'The Girl I Left Behind Me' (aka 'Brighton Camp'), 'Rory O'More,' 'St Patrick's Day,' and two hornpipes (Fisher's and the Sailor's), but also new songs, such as 'The Shells of the Ocean.' This was a common pattern. In the Yorkshire dales, 'minstrels,' each with their own 'walk,' played and sang at feasts and festivals, weddings and informal dances around the turn of the nineteenth century.⁴⁷ William Wrigley, 'the Leyburn Minstrel,' an agricultural labourer, played for both religious and secular celebrations, as well as being a fiddle teacher. William Cliffe, a professional fiddler at country fairs, doubled as a 'flying stationer,' hawking broadsheets and books, while William (Billy) Bolton, 'the Dales Minstrel,' was a tinker, mending pots and pans or sharpening knives and razors when not playing the fiddle or union pipes. So too, the 'strolling companies,' perhaps with their own tent, or simply playing in any venue that they could hire, and gypsies, from whom John Clare, for one, learned several tunes. By such means, old tunes were perpetuated, and new tunes propagated within and across regions and between generations.

In the mid-nineteenth century it was commonplace to distinguish between different types of dance tunes: reels were in common time (4/4), hornpipes also in 4/4, jigs commonly in 6/8 and waltzes in 3/4. There was also a (misleading) association between different dances and different countries – reels with Scotland, jigs with Ireland and hornpipes with England. This had not always been the case. Until the early nineteenth century, 'the terms jig, hornpipe and reel were often used interchangeably,

as none of them was a distinct form in either style or rhythm,⁴⁸ Playford's 1651 edition of *The English Dancing Master* contains three tunes explicitly termed 'jegges' and all are in common time.⁴⁹ In general terms, a jig was simply a dance that involved skipping and leaping without being tied to a specific time or a specific set of steps. In many cases, particularly on stage, it was a solo dance. Crucial in the process of evolution and differentiation were the dancing schools and dancing masters of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. A further complication came with the increasing popularity of the joak ('The Black Joak,' 'The White Joak,' 'The Nut Brown Joak,' etc), which, though in 6/8 time, was categorized separately, for example, in Walsh's *Collection of Lancashire Jiggs, Hornpipes, Joaks, etc*, c.1730.⁵⁰ However, by the nineteenth century, jigs (single or double in 6/8 and slip jigs in 9/8) were recognisably distinctive.

Reels were not unique to Scotland but from the 1730s onwards publishers actively promoted 'distinctive' Scottish dances, most importantly in Walsh's series of *Caledonian Country Dances* (1733–40).⁵¹ This trend drew strength from the works of the outstanding Scottish fiddle composers such as Neil and Nathaniel Gow (father and son), Robert Mackintosh and William Marshall, whose compositions were a major part of Fraser's monumental *Airs and Melodies Peculiar to the Highlands of Scotland*, 1815.⁵² However, there was no pure regional or national music. There was an interaction and fusion between different strands – aristocratic and plebeian, Scottish and English. Thus, the emblematic 'Scottish' reel, 'Dashing White Sergeant,' first published in 1826, was written by an Englishman, H R Bishop.⁵³ While the 'threesome reel,' seen as the predecessor of the equally emblematic 'Eightsome Reel,' had its roots in part in the French quadrille and was little more than a reel in name.⁵⁴ There was a popular reel – characterized by its distinct combination of travelling and stepping – danced not just in Scotland and noted by dancing masters from Aberdeen to London. The popularity of the reel in England is reflected in the manuscript collections from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, notably those of Clare and Thomas Hardy's father.⁵⁵ Unlike the jig with its variable time, reels appear to have been played consistently in either 2/2 or 4/4 time, though there were still variations

– notably the slower strathspey, which dates from the mid-eighteenth century, and the livelier rant, often found in the north-east of England.

For many Victorian writers the hornpipe was not simply 'the sailor's dance' but also (and fittingly, in their eyes) Britain's 'national dance *par excellence*.'⁵⁶ In fact, the association between sailors and hornpipes only dated back to the 1740s whereas the dance had a much longer history. It is not entirely clear that the hornpipe was a distinctly English dance, but there are several sixteenth-century references to the hornpipe in Lancashire and Cheshire, some describing dancing in a circle, others 'longways for as many as will.' Further, for much of the eighteenth-century hornpipes were written/played in triple time such as 'John of the Greeny Cheshire Way,' (3/2) and 'The Cheshire Rolling Hornpipe' (in both 6/4 and 9/4).^{*} Only in the late eighteenth century did 2/4 and 4/4 become common – the latter becoming the dominant form by the mid-nineteenth century. Furthermore, even in common time, hornpipes could be either even rhythmed, such as 'Soldier's Joy'[†] or dotted, such as the 'Trumpet Hornpipe'. The latter, commonly, though not exclusively, was associated with clog-dancing especially in the midland and north-western counties of England.[‡]

The process of evolution, transmission and dissemination was complex. The hornpipe was one of a range of steps taught by eighteenth-century dancing masters and several hornpipes were included in later editions of the *Dancing Master*. The 1740s saw the first appearances on stage of 'a hornpipe in the character of a Jack Tar' at Drury Lane and Covent Garden and it was further popularized by the raunchy dancing of Nancy Dawson in the 1759 revival of the *Beggar's Opera*. Such was its popularity that C & S Thompson brought out three collections of 'Favourite Hornpipes' in the 1760s. There was a further fillip in the early nineteenth century, following the success of Douglas Jerrold's nautical melodrama, *Black Eyed Susan*, starring T P Cooke and featuring a sailor's hornpipe. Indeed, 'the Sailor's hornpipe' became a popular exhibition dance.⁵⁷ There were other stage performers who gave their

* See Appendix for this tune.

† See Appendix for this tune.

‡ See Appendix for this tune.

names to specific tunes – ‘Durang’s Hornpipe’ or ‘Miss Baker’s Hornpipe’ – but more important was the wider attention given to the hornpipe. Gallini, commenting in 1770 on the popularity of the hornpipe in respectable circles claimed that ‘the lower class of people [also] used hornpipe steps.’⁵⁸ Whether these were one and the same is a moot point.

There was also an earlier, popular step-dancing tradition which continued in part through the clog-dancing that developed rapidly in the north-west of England from the early nineteenth century. Although popularly linked with industrial Lancashire, clog-dancing was found in Cheshire, Cumberland and Westmoreland and also in parts of the midlands, East Anglia and Devon. Dancing was often competitive and was incorporated into the expanding world of popular leisure as itinerant troupes of clogdancers began to appear in rented rooms or in their own booths. Professionalism led to the development of better footwear and, in turn, a different style of dancing, characterized by high stepping on toes.⁵⁹ The hornpipe, and especially clog-dancing, was yet another bridge to the new forms of urban entertainment, which regularly featured clog-dancing. Many dancers were minor figures, largely unknown to later history, but two major figures started their careers in this way. Dan Leno, first came to attention at Sherwood’s ‘Free and Easy’ in Wakefield, where the highlight of the evening was a clog-dancing contest. From these inauspicious beginnings there developed a career that saw Leno crowned ‘Champion Clog Dancer of the World’ at Princess’s Palace, Leeds. This was the start of an illustrious career. Similarly, early in his stage career, Charlie Chaplin was a member of the Eight Lancashire Lads, Characteristic and Champion Clog Dancers.⁶⁰

Some concluding observations

Standing back from the detail of specific collections of dance tunes, a number of general points stand out. Without denying the existence of an oral and aural tradition of playing (and singing), collections of dance music, comprising printed material and hand-written manuscripts, were an important part of popular music culture, from the mid to late seventeenth century onwards, and increasingly so from the third quarter of the eighteenth century. These collections were an intermixture

of old and new, which evolved over time, reflecting the dynamic nature of popular music. Furthermore, these collections of dance tunes were part of a wider commercialization of popular leisure. The selections that were made reflected varying demand across the country and changing preferences over time. There was a degree of continuity. Some tunes were regularly reprinted over centuries, but there was no static canon of tunes. Old ones fell out of favour and were replaced by new. As Mayhew's drum and pipe player had found to his cost, the hits of 1800 were no longer popular in the 1850s. His survival depended on adapting to popular demand for polkas and waltzes.

Further, despite the existence of strong regional identities, not just in the north-east of England, and of contemporary fads, particularly for 'Scotch' reels, there was an emerging common culture that transcended regional boundaries. The precise means whereby tunes were distributed across the country is unclear, but the network of fairs and feasts and the growing number of itinerant musicians were important elements in the process. Tunes such as 'The Friendly Visit' or 'Tripping Upstairs'* crop up in collections from across the UK, despite often being claimed as a traditional 'regional' tune.^{61†} And others simply changed names. But did the popular jig transmute from 'The Rollicking Irishman' to 'Yorkshire Lasses' as it travelled west to east? Or did the name change come as the tune moved in the opposite direction?

Although some titles were altered, minor changes made in notation and different playing style developed, there was a common stock of tunes to be drawn from, which came from across Ireland, Scotland, and to a lesser extent Wales, as well as from different parts of England.⁶² The pre-occupation with 'English' hornpipes, 'Scottish' reels and 'Irish' jigs misrepresents a more complex reality. Further, long-established tunes sat alongside recent commercially produced compositions, including minstrelsy songs, and even highlights taken from 'high' art.

* See Appendix for this tune.

† See Appendix for these tunes.

Endnotes

- 1 There are numerous versions of this song with varying combinations of Dicks, Willys and Johnmys as well as Janes, Joans and Jills, all tripping it or jiggging it up and down.
- 2 This oversimplifies the situation in which alternative, 'cross tunings' (such as ADAE, AEAE and AEAC#) were used. P E W Roberts, 'English Fiddling 1650-1850: reconstructing a lost idiom' in I Russell & M A Alburger, eds., *Play It Like It Is: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic*, University of Aberdeen, 2006, pp.22-32 at p.23
- 3 The Northumbrian small pipes are particularly good example. Prior to the 1820s they were unkeyed, with a range of an octave, but the introduction of a seven-keyed chanter, though not fully chromatic, permitted the playing of an octave (notionally G – G) with a low D and a high B. Also as Roberts suggests, 'harder' keys such as C, F, B \flat , E, C minor & G minor were used. Roberts, 'English fiddling,' p.26. Tunes would also be transcribed into different keys to suit the particular instrument being played.
- 4 Frank Kidson's contribution to the first edition of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* was highly influential. C Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p.384 & 339. Kidson was not the first to suggest this. Miss Mitford, writing in the mid-late 1820s praised 'an honest English country dance – (there had been some danger of waltzing and quadrilling) – with ladies and gentlemen at the top and country lads and lasses at the bottom.' M R Mitford, 'Our Maying' in *Our Village*, 1824-32, reprinted Oxford University Press, 1984, p.169
- 5 The first volume was reprinted eighteen times, the second four times and the third twice. S W J Campbell, 'Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilation (1650-2000),' unpublished D.Phil., University of York, 2012 p.136. The popularity of longways dances for 'as many as will' can be seen in the Jackson manuscript, which contains instructions for several dances.
- 6 See Thomas Wilson, *Complete System of English Country Dancing*, London, Sherwood, Neeley & Jones, 1820, pp.100-105 at <https://www.strathspey.org/history/wilson-system.pdf>
- 7 Playford *Dancing Master*, 1st edition facsimile at www.pbm.com/~lindahl/playford_1651 Not all dances are explained in detail but various figures (the hey or chain, threading the needle and strip the willow) are described.
- 8 The song first appeared in print in the *Westminster Drollery* 1672 before being included in *Pills to Purge Melancholy* (1719). It was still popular when William Chappell reproduced it, in slightly modified form as 'Come, lasses and lads,' in the second volume of *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (1859).
- 9 The number of published collections of dance tunes was beginning to fall away in the late eighteenth century. C Pendlebury, 'Jigs, Reels and Hornpipes: A History of 'Traditional' Dance Tunes of Britain and Ireland,' unpublished M.Phil., University of Sheffield, 2015,' figure at p.91
- 10 J Aird, *Collection of Scotch, English and Foreign Airs*, Glasgow, J McFadyen, and at <https://archive.org/details/airdsselectionof00ingl>

- 11 Campbell, 'Reconsidering and Contextualizing,' p.141. The manuscript does not contain dance steps but does have detailed bowing instructions for certain tunes. The inclusion of performance pieces such as 'Tollett's Ground' and 'Farinell's Ground' reinforce this view. The manuscript is available on the FARNE (Folk Archive Resource North East) website <http://www.farnearchive.com/>
- 12 This is discussed in more detail in chapter four.
- 13 This is also available via the FARNE website at <http://www.farnearchive.com/>
- 14 The claim is made in M Settle, ed., *The Great Northern Tunebook: William Vickers' Collection of Dance Tunes, AD 1770*, London English Folk Dance and Song Society, 2008. The manuscript is available on the FARNE website <http://www.farnearchive.com/>
- 15 A selection can be found in G Bowen, et.al., *Tunes, Songs and Dances from the 1798 Manuscript of Joshua Jackson*, Ilkley, Yorkshire Dales Workshops, 1998. Tunes from the Jackson and Kilvington manuscripts can also be found in D Ashton, *The Yorkshire Lad*, 2014 and R & S Shepherd, *Mr Joshua Jackson Book 1798*, West Yorkshire, R & R Shepherd, 2011.
- 16 In 6/8 rather than the usual 2/4
- 17 Bob Ellis, *There was None of the Lazy Dancing! Folk Tunes and Dances from the Yorkshire Dales*, Hawes, Yorkshire Dales Folk Dance and Tune Project, 2020. I am indebted to the Yorkshire piper, Becky Taylor, for making me aware of this and the Buttrey collection.
- 18 <https://buttreymilitarysocialtunes1800.wordpress.com>
- 19 To take another example, the Winder family from Wrysdale, near Lancaster are responsible for extensive tune collections, dating from the late-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. However, John Winder was almost certainly a dancing master in the 1790s and, later, the family were the mainstay of the village band. www.village-music-project.org.uk/?page_id=84 for details of this and other manuscripts.
- 20 See for example, the Browne family, (c.1825), Troutbeck, and the Rev. R. Harrison, (c.1810), Temple Sowerby, both in Westmorland; Thomas Dixon (1798), Market Rasen and Thomas Sands (c.1810) Grainsby, both in Lincolnshire; R. Hughes (1823), Whitchurch, and J. Blockshaw (1837), Ashfield both Shropshire; W. Giles (1839) Bampton, Oxfordshire and T. Hardy (early 19C) Higher Brockhampton, Dorset. Roughly a quarter of Calvert's tunes were also to be found in two or more other collections – a proto-Top Ten of early nineteenth century tunes.
- 21 A similar picture also appears from Gammon's study of the tune books of the Sussex fiddler, Michael Turner, compiled in the mid-nineteenth century. <https://www.sussextraditions.org/record/michael-turner-a-19th-century-sussex-fiddler-by-vic-gammon/>
- 22 G. Deacon, *John Clare and the folk tradition*, London, Sinclair Browne, 1983 is the most detailed account but see the review by Vic Gammon, 'Review: John Clare and the Folk Tradition by George Deacon,' *Folk Music Journal*, 4 (5), 1984, pp.543-6.
- 23 Gammon, 'Review,' p.544

- 24 The analysis is based on the tunes as reproduced by Deacon, *John Clare*. In a small number of cases, amendments have been made by Deacon, for example a tune obviously in A but written with only one sharp. Three further amendments were made by the author: one tune in A but written with two sharps and finishing on D and two tunes clearly in G but written in the key of C. The keys of C and B \flat each accounted for 6%, 4% were written in A and a mere 2% in F and E minor. One tune was written in E \flat and one in E (four sharps).
- 25 A number of 6/8 tunes may well be marches but this is not clear as no tempo is given. There may be more 6/8 marches but in the absence of any indication of tempo the number is uncertain.
- 26 Fifteen were in 3/4 time, six in 3/8 time and six in 6/4 time. Again there are errors in the text. One tune written in 5/4 time had four beats in every bar!
- 27 [www.vwml.org/topics/historic-dance-and-tune-books/Prestons 1793 and 1800](http://www.vwml.org/topics/historic-dance-and-tune-books/Prestons%201793%20and%201800)
- 28 The numbers in parentheses are those used by Deacon, *John Clare*, pp.307-80. The Clare manuscript also contains song, such as 'A Frog He Would A-wooning Go' that similarly dated back centuries.
- 29 *Stamford Mercury*, 30 December 1808.
- 30 Allegedly, Wellington banned the playing of this tune as his army marched into Paris after the battle of Waterloo. Not to be thwarted the band struck up 'Croppies Lie Down' – or so the story runs.
- 31 'The Fowler,' (178) appears to be taken from *The Magic Flute*
- 32 The original can be accessed at https://imslp.org/wiki/The_Battle_of_Prague%2C_Op.23
- 33 The following analysis draws heavily on G Woolfe, 'William Winter: Somerset village musician' <https://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/winter.htm>
- 34 www.archive.org/details/musicalbijoualbu/burn/
- 35 B Ellis, *There was None of this Lazy Dancing: Folk Tunes and Dances from the Yorkshire Dales*, Ellis, Hawes, 2020, p.8
- 36 J C Brown, *Hardy's People: Figures in a Wessex Landscape*, London, Alison & Busby, 1991, p.245
- 37 Published in *English Folk Dance Journal*, 1927, pp.52-6 and quoted in Brown, *Hardy's People: Figures in a Wessex Landscape*, p.245
- 38 'The Fiddler of the Reels,' set at the time of the Great Exhibition, was first published in 1893 and was included in the 1894 collection of short stories, *Life's Little Ironies*. <https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/h/hardy/thomas/fiddler/> 'The Romantic Adventures of a Milkmaid,' set in the 1840s was published in 1883. <https://gutenberg.org/files/2996/2996-h/2996-h.htm>. Hardy also references several dance tunes in his major novels e.g. "Miss McLeod of Ayr" in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and "Soldier's Joy" in *Far From the Madding Crowd*. See also Ellis, *None of this Lazy dancing*, for a similar chronology of change in parts of Yorkshire.
- 39 T Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree*, New Wessex Edition, London, Macmillan, 1974, chapters 7 & 8, esp. pp.71 & 75-6.
- 40 Brown, *Hardy's People: Figures in a Wessex Landscape*, p.245. The view that jigs were 'full of leaping' can be traced back to the sixteenth century. See

- Margaret Dean-Smith, 'Jig' in Grove's Music Online, <https://doi-org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.14307>
- 41 H Mayhew, *London Labour and London Poor*, reprinted London, Penguin, 1985, p.20. Such 'hops' attracted up to a hundred or more people, ranging in age from the early teens to the mid-40s. Village dances in the Yorkshire dales were similarly noted for their exuberance - there was no 'lazy dancing.' Ellis, *None of this Lazy dancing*, p.11.
- 42 'Performer on Drum and Pipes' in *Mayhew's London*, ed. P Quennell, London, Spring Books, 1951, pp.532-3. He also mentioned the recent popularity of brass bands but lamented the fact that German musicians would play for 2s a day at a fair while 'Englishmen would expect 6s.'
- 43 See Pendlebury 'Jigs, Reels and Hornpipes' p.116
- 44 G Dixon, *Remember Me. The Fiddle Music of Robert Whinham*, Pathead, Midlothian, Wallace Music, 1995, p.6. Similarly, Tommy Moore of Ingleton played for a peripatetic dancing teacher in the Yorkshire dales.
- 45 'The Whistling Man,' in *Mayhew's Characters*, ed. P Quennell, London, Spring Books, 1951, p.270
- 46 'The Whistling and Dancing Boy' *Mayhew's Characters*, pp.282-3
- 47 Ellis, *None of this Lazy Dancing*, pp.86-99
- 48 Margaret Dean-Smith, 'Jig' in Grove's Music Online, <https://doi-org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.14307>
- 49 The tunes are Millisons Jegge, Kemps Jegge and Lord Carnarvons Jegg [*sic*]. Variations are also to be found in the earlier Fitzwilliam Virginal Book. Volume 2 of the Dover edition contains five giggses - two in common time, two in 6/4 and one in 12/4.
- 50 'Joak' or 'Joke' was a well-known bawdy term that referred to female genitalia. See two articles by EV Roberts, 'An Unrecorded Meaning of Joke (Or Joak)' in England, *American Speech*, 37 (2), 1962, pp.137-40' and 'More About Joke,' *American Speech*, 38(2), 1963, pp.151-3
- 51 John Playford included a 'Scotch Dance' in his *English Dancing Master* and his son, Henry published *A Collection of Original Scotch Tunes (Full of Highland Humours)* in 1700.
- 52 J Hunter, *The Fiddle Music of Scotland*, Edinburgh, T & A Constable, 1979.
- 53 The lyrics are attributed to General John Burgoyne. The steps derived from Swedish circle dancing which was popular in early Victorian England. Bishop also wrote the melody to 'Home, Sweet Home.' The better-known 'Gay Gordons' was the product of the early twentieth century English ballrooms.
- 54 R Coupe, 'The Evolution of the 'Eightsome Reel'', *Folk Music Journal*, 2010, 10(5), pp.693-722. The eightsome reel of the late-nineteenth century was essentially aristocratic but was caught up in the cultural nationalism of the day.
- 55 The Lock-Hardy manuscript which contains tunes transcribed by Hardy's father includes a number of well-known reels (Mis Macleod of Eyer, [*sic*] Major Malley's Reel, The Triumph and Soldier's Joy and Row Dow Dow) but also jigs (Haste to the Wedding, Off She Goes, The New Rigged Ship and Garry Owen), hornpipes (Ashley's Dorsetshire and Lord Nelson) as well as polkas (Jenny Lind and Redowa), waltzes (Mrs George Derring's and The Silver Lake of Varsoviane) and quadrilles (The Lancers and Off to Charlestown).

- 56 Mrs Lilly Grove, *Dancing*, London, Green & Co., 1895, chap. 5 ‘English Dances’ quote at pp.124–5. Grove was convinced that the performance of the hornpipe reflected national character, notably the solemn face and the absence of gesticulation.
- 57 See, for example, James Scott Skinner, *The Ball Room Guide, or Dancing Taught without a Master*, Aberdeen, J Daniels & Sons, 1879
- 58 Giovanni Andrea Gallini was a distinguished dancer and dance director (at Covent Garden and the King’s Theatre, Haymarket) and the author of *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing* (1762) and *Critical Observations on the Art of Dancing* (1770) See <https://danceinhistory.com/tag/giovanni-andrea-gallini>
- 59 Initially, dancing in everyday clogs had resulted in a flat-footed, heel and toe style. Better-fitting clogs opened up possibilities for more elaborate steps.
- 60 B Anthony, *The King’s Jester. The Life of Dan Leno, Victorian Comic Genius*, London, I B Tauris, 2010, chapter 5, ‘Monarch in Wooden Shoes’ and (by the same author) *Chaplin’s Music Hall. The Chaplins and their Circle in the Limelight*, London, I B Tauris, chapter 9, ‘The Eight Lancashire Lads – Characteristic and Champion Clog Dancers.’ See also chapter 8.
- 61 There are numerous other examples. ‘Saddle the Pony,’ a jig-tune used in many a feis and tune no.18 in the bible of Irish tunes, O’Neill’s *The Dance Music of Ireland. 1001 Gems*, appears in the first *Northumbrian Pipers’ Tune Book*, which was published at a time (1970) when the society was highly suspicious of Irish influences subverting the tradition. Similarly, their second tune book (1981) contains ‘Dingle Regatta’ (perhaps a clue in the title?) while the third collection (1991), supposedly ‘largely Northumbrian’ contains those well-known north-eastern tunes ‘Willafjord’ and ‘Stockholmslåtén.’ The NPS tune books provide most useful compilations for the amateur musician but the recent reference to ‘a living tradition ... that needs to remain acutely conscious of its unique roots’ (Introduction, *Northumbrian Pipers’ Fourth Tune Book*, 2019), sits a little strangely with a collection of tunes, many of which are very obviously to be found in all parts of the UK – and beyond!
- 62 See particularly Pendlebury, ‘Jigs, Reels and Hornpipes’ chapter 2.