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Paul E. W. Roberts

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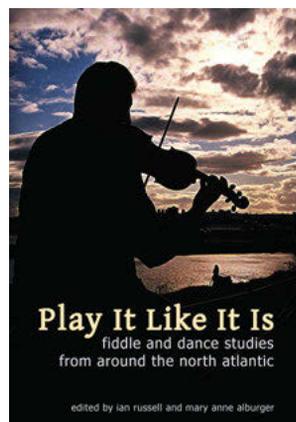
Play It Like It Is

Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic

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English fiddling 1650-1850: reconstructing a lost idiom

PAUL E. W. ROBERTS

The popular dance music of pre-Victorian England was dominated by the fiddle and a repertoire of jigs, reels, and hornpipes, similar to the one we now associate with Scottish and Irish tradition. This rich musical culture was largely swept away in the middle decades of the nineteenth century by a wave of new music: from brass bands and accordions to imported ballroom dances.

Sources for this older music are fragmentary and limited. Period art and literature contains scattered information. Recording and documentation of twentieth-century English fiddlers was minimal but what there is contains much of relevance. The hundreds of country dance collections published between 1650 and 1850 are an invaluable source, though they were largely aimed at professionals working the gentry market and only document a limited area of vernacular music making.

Above all, the manuscript tune collections compiled by some of the old fiddlers themselves open a very direct window into the world of pre-Victorian fiddling, though even this source has limitations, in particular a strong social, regional, and chronological bias. These books were typically the work of a distinctive minority (a working-class elite of independent craftsmen), they mostly come from the north, and they date overwhelmingly to the very end of our era, in particular the twenty years from around 1820 to 1840. The contents – when compared to the handful of eighteenth-century manuscripts, or to various literary references to the repertoire of country fiddlers – suggest a music heavily defined by time and social group. Moreover, we should not automatically equate the music of these respectable artisans with the music of the archetypal fiddler of period art and literature, an altogether much more disreputable character.¹

Nevertheless, by careful use of all available sources we can still find out a lot about pre-Victorian English fiddling. In particular, I believe it is possible to pinpoint the key elements from which period fiddle styles would have drawn, and to stage by stage reconstruct an archetype.

Part 1: The reconstruction

Instrument and stance

For most of this period the violin itself was a different instrument to the one we

know, its neck shorter and angled differently, the bass bar lighter, the soundpost thinner, the bridge flatter. It used gut strings and lacked the chin rest. The bow was shorter and straighter. Nor was it held in the modern stance. It was held against the chest or shoulder or under either side of the chin, typically sloping downwards, and gripping with the left hand not the chin. The bow was held with a variety of different grips, and it seems some fiddlers moved the violin as well as the bow, a technique probably inherited from the medieval fiddle.²

Tuning

Also inherited from the medieval fiddle were several alternative tunings, in particular ADAE, AEAE, and AEAC#. Although these so-called 'cross-tunings' seriously restrict the choice of key, they have definite advantages for the dance player – increasing volume, making fingering easier, and adding harmonic colour. It is hard to estimate how common and widespread the practice of cross-tuning was. The old collections are probably not a good guide, because cross-tuning presents problems of notation, fiddlers might see no need to specifically refer to it, and the books reflect the most progressive fiddling of the time. Such archaic pre-violin techniques would probably be most common where they would be least documented – lower down the social scale, in remoter districts, and further back in time (they are certainly commoner in the older collections). I would tentatively suggest a similar situation to twentieth-century Appalachia, with the most old-fashioned players habitually using cross-tunings, many fiddlers using them occasionally, and the most progressive fiddlers hardly using them at all.³

Bowing – tone

Modern classical bowing is heavily concerned with tone and precision, seeking a rather rich tone and a clean overall sound. The dance fiddler has different priorities – rhythm, energy, and volume – and twentieth-century fiddlers in England and elsewhere tended to use a fairly heavy, dynamic attack, producing a hard, thin tone and often a rather 'dirty' sound. This was probably as true of the eighteenth century as of the twentieth. Where the old fiddlers gave any conscious attention to tone, they would presumably have followed the model of baroque art violin, the human voice.⁴

Bowing patterns

Bowings are often marked in the old tune books, and it seems that in their pursuit of rhythm, fiddlers used a number of distinct bowing patterns, in particular the one American fiddlers call the 'Nashville shuffle'. This pattern may have been as basic to old-time English fiddling as it still is to old-time Anglo-American fiddling. Imagine a common-time tune divided throughout into groups of four quavers: the first two notes in each group are played on one bow stroke, the next two on separate strokes, giving a flowing but driving feel with an accent on the offbeat.⁵

Also very common was the repeated two-note slur – in a group of four quavers one and two are slurred together, then three and four, and so on. This

pattern was used for 3/2 as well as common-time tunes. An important variant of this was used in playing dotted or 'Newcastle style' hornpipes. In a basic group of four notes, the first is played on a separate bow, then 2 and 3 slurred, then 4 and 5, and so on. Several twentieth-century English fiddlers were recorded using this pattern on undotted tunes as well, where the short pause between the slurs gives a choppy, lightly syncopated feel. Although the books rarely give instructions as to bow direction, when playing dotted hornpipes, it seems, the natural down-up pattern would sometimes be reversed.⁶

Bowings are less commonly notated with jigs, which is probably significant. The commonest figure we find is a 6/8 variant of the Nashville shuffle. In the basic group of three quavers, the first two or last two are slurred. Sometimes we find passages where all three quavers are slurred, giving a rather sensuous feel, and toning down the characteristic bounciness of 6/8. Occasionally whole tunes make heavy use of these devices but in general they seem to occur in short passages and to have been more a form of passing decoration. My impression is that jigs were largely played with one bow stroke per note, and it may be significant that in the USA such bowing is sometimes called 'jig bow', whatever the time signature.⁷

Bowing – chordal decoration

The playing of drones and double-stops was fundamental to the medieval fiddle: some were even built with sympathetic drone strings. Many twentieth-century English fiddlers also played with a continual drone or used heavy double-stopping. So this was almost certainly an important feature of the centuries in between. We cannot, however, presume all fiddlers always played this way. The Italian single-string sonata style must have come over with the violin and been adopted by some players. Some of the more complex music in the old books (variation sets, competition hornpipes, tunes in flat keys) would not only be difficult to play with heavy double-stopping, they would lose clarity. In twentieth-century England heavy 'droners' rarely played the more complex hornpipes, while single-string players showed an equally strong predilection for them, paralleling the American distinction between drone-inclined 'breakdown fiddlers' and single-string inclined 'hornpipe' fiddlers. I would suggest that the use of drones or heavy double-stopping was very common, but that the more progressive or technically advanced players probably tended towards single-string playing.⁸

Fingering – melodic decoration

Twentieth-century English fiddlers were very sparing in their use of grace notes, but it is clear that some pre-Victorian players made extensive use of a wide variety of gracings, including long semi-quaver runs between melody notes, the movement the Scots call the *birl* (the same note bowed rapidly several times), and a series of decorations that were shared with period art music, in particular the *mordent* (made by playing the main note and an adjacent note before the melody note), the *turn* (the

same figure as the modern Irish *roll*, played by hitting first the note above then the note below the melody note), and the *shake* or *trill* (the repeated beating of the note above, or sometimes below, the melody note). Vibrato in this period was regarded as a variant of the trill and only used as an occasional decoration. In general, these gracings seem to have been performed fairly fast, but contemporary accounts make plain they could be given a variety of speeds. Played slowly or between notes they start to become indistinguishable from the long semi-quaver runs that also figure prominently in the old books. Different gracings were also spliced together to extremely elaborate effect – the shake was often resolved in a turn for example.⁹

Traditional musicians tend to use gracings spontaneously and inconsistently and we cannot expect the old tune books to show the true levels of decoration. The reality was probably a range from very plain to very elaborate, encompassing a variety of regional styles, themselves subject to family and individual preferences. But there is no doubt that some old English fiddlers used extremely elaborate decoration because there still exist some early mechanical organs that were programmed to imitate them: as close to a time machine with a tape recorder as we can get. Some of these use complex gracings and long semi-quaver runs almost to the point of arrhythmic clutter, a style of playing which has survived into the twenty-first century in the hands of the Clough school of small-piping.¹⁰

Melodic variation

Runs could be seen as a form of melodic variation rather than as grace-noting, and were very much a feature of the long variation set – elaborate multi-part variations on a melody or its chord structure, typically containing around 6 to 12 strains, though 20 or more were not unknown. Such variations were often called ‘divisions’ because one basic technique was to divide up the notes of the melody. Division playing was widespread up to around the mid-eighteenth century, but sets still occur in nineteenth-century fiddle manuscripts and the form has survived amongst small-pipers into the present day.

Our concern is with style not repertoire. What brings the variation set within our remit is the importance of improvisation. Sets were often standardized, written down, and memorized, but at the heart of the form lay spontaneous improvisation. In the seventeenth century several ‘idiot’s guides’ were published to help the less talented fake this. These describe a phenomenon very like jazz. We learn that several fiddlers might improvise together Dixieland style, or take breaks in Swing style. One book describes the practice of calling out ‘breve’ very like the jazz practice of calling ‘fours’ where each player takes four bars in turn. Sometimes variations were improvised over an extempore bass line without reference to a specific melody. Even the language used has uncanny echoes – when the seventeenth-century composer Mathew Locke refers to ‘the tearing of a consort into pieces with divisions, an old custom of our country fiddlers’, I can almost hear Bob Wills shouting ‘tear it up boys!’¹¹

Some extremes of variation

Beyond the melodic variation set lies the playing of descriptive variation sets like 'The Fox Chase'. These are sometimes referred to, but rarely notated, presumably because of their dependence on improvisation, trick effects, and a cavalier attitude to conventional structure and rhythm. The latter could be brought to bear on simpler pieces too. Twentieth-century English fiddlers were very given to adding colour to ordinary dance tunes with both light syncopation and what the Americans call 'crooked' playing – deliberately interfering with conventional structure by cutting or adding notes, bars or longer passages. Both syncopation and crookedness are reasonably common in the old manuscripts, and given that they were compiled by the most formally educated and hence probably the most rigid players, these techniques may have been even more common than the books suggest – particularly syncopation, which is both very amenable to spontaneous introduction and notoriously difficult to notate.¹²

The stave

Staff notation is designed to give explicit instructions in the areas of key, mode, metre, tempo, and accenting. Many of the stylistic subtleties that distinguish the playing of one individual or region from another lie in these areas and here the stave is rather a crude tool. It tells us that English fiddlers played mostly in G, D, A and the easy minors and in first position, but that during our period the use of harder keys like C, F, Bb, E, Cm, and Gm and experimentation with second and third position became increasingly common, paralleling developments in art music – in which some fiddlers were clearly very interested.¹³ They played in a variety of metres including 6/4, 9/4, 3/2, 3/8, and 12/8 as well as the more familiar 6/8, 9/8, 4/4, 2/4 and 3/4, and they were not as averse to changing the metre, mode, or tempo of a specific melody as seems the case today. And, if the stave does not reveal the subtle differences in accenting and phrasing that are an important feature of personal and regional style, it does reveal some not so subtle ones like the use of the 'Scotch snap' (which in written music appears in England almost one hundred years before Scotland) and the evolution in parts of the north of the dotted or 'clog' hornpipe in a process analogous to the evolution of the strathspey-reel in Scotland.¹⁴

The archetype

Having outlined some common and widespread features of pre-Victorian English fiddle style, perhaps we can put them together to describe an archetype – a kind of composite English fiddler of around 200 years ago.

He held his fiddle against the chest or shoulder or under either side of the chin, sloping downwards and gripping with the left hand, and using various bow grips. He used both standard tuning and cross-tunings. He played mainly in G, D, and A, and in first position, but sometimes utilized both the harder keys and shifting. He used a variety of bowing patterns, especially the 'Nashville shuffle' and both the repeated two-note slur and its 'Newcastle' variant. He made plentiful use of drones

and double-stops, but was familiar with the single-string sonata style, especially for the more complex pieces. He decorated with an impressive mix of gracings including the birl, the *mordent*, the turn, the shake, and long semi-quaver runs that at times almost broke up the rhythm. Sometimes he liked to play a bit crooked or to throw in a little syncopation. He played with a greater variety of time signatures than today and with probably a more flexible attitude to metre, tempo, rhythm, and accenting. He also delighted in the playing of divisions or long variation sets: if good enough he would spontaneously improvise his variations, sometimes in a jazz-like small group context. And, if he was of a progressive bent, he maintained a certain interest in art music and its techniques.

In modern terms this sounds remarkably like a hybrid of older-style Appalachian, western Irish, and Scots fiddle styles, which, it seems to me, has important implications, transcending the parochial concerns of English musical antiquarianism.

Part 2: 'And beyond'

Not only are many of the stylistic features outlined in this discussion still to be found in related traditions, to some extent they now demarcate the boundaries between them. Turns, mordents, and trills are now seen as peculiarly Irish; the birl, the snap, and a respect for classical aesthetic and technique as distinctively Scots; the Nashville shuffle bow, cross-tuning, the heavy use of drones and double-stopping, and a fondness for crookedness, syncopation, and improvisation, as archetypally American. Given that all these features can be found in pre-Victorian English fiddling, it begins to appear almost as a 'missing link'.

In the eighteenth century, England was one of the most densely populated countries in the world; around 80% of Britons were English, white Americans were probably around 70% English in origin, and an Irish population around half that of England included a substantial minority of fairly recent English origin.¹⁵ Thus the English must have played a central and influential role in this music that is hard to imagine nowadays, and probably did have a greater variety of fiddle techniques and styles than their neighbours. But demographics are not the whole story. On closer examination it seems that a certain standardization and simplification has been taking place in Irish, Scots, and American fiddling over the last 200 years and that many of the stylistic features outlined here in an old English context were once fairly widespread and general – often well beyond the Anglo-Celtic world.

The stance was common to Europe during the Baroque era, among art violinists as well as fiddlers, and aspects of it still survive in many areas of Europe and America.¹⁶ The main cross-tunings and the 'Nashville shuffle' bowing pattern were not only known in several other European traditions, they were used in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European art music.¹⁷ Droning and double-stopping are widespread features of vernacular bowed instrumental technique throughout the world, and were formerly more common in both Irish and Scots music than today.¹⁸ Turns, *mordents*, trills and other gracings were shared with both baroque art violin

and several European vernacular traditions.¹⁹ The birl was common to the entire British Isles and was formerly common in America.²⁰ Decorative runs are also common in old Scots collections and are still used by some Irish players.²¹ The 'Scotch snap' was found throughout Europe, sometimes with similar regional associations (in France and Italy it was the 'Lombard snap'), which are probably just metaphors for archaism and rusticity.²² Respect for classical aesthetic and technique has always existed among the more progressive fiddlers everywhere.²³ Long variation sets are found in old Irish and Scots collections too and there are many European parallels, while syncopation, crookedness and improvisation are found throughout the world. Indeed, medieval European dance music seems to have been largely improvised, one reason for its scarcity in written sources.²⁴ It would seem, in fact, that in the past there was a greater degree of commonality than is the case today, particularly within the British Isles and their American colonies, to some extent within Europe generally, and even between art violin and vernacular fiddling.

We can draw lines between human beings anywhere we choose. Whether national frontiers are always the most meaningful places to do so, in the study of popular culture, is questionable. Indeed, the widespread equation of traditional music and national identity seems to me positively misleading. It has not only tended to obscure the kind of supra-national commonality discussed above, it has tended to play down the crucial importance of the sub-national – of regional, local, family, individual, class, and generational differences – and to ignore the reality of distinctive cultural regions that straddle the frontiers, like the Anglo-Scots border country and the 'Bristol channel zone' of south-west England, south Wales, and south-east Ireland. This is not to deny the reality of a national dimension, but 'National' fiddle style should perhaps be seen as the sum total of all the varied styles found within a given political border rather than as something monolithic, homogenous, static, self-contained, and totally unique.

This paper has examined in detail the main stylistic features of English fiddling in the pre-Victorian era, and has given, I hope, some idea of its richness and variety. It may seem perverse to turn round at the end and emphasize the areas of wider commonality, but it is time scholars started biting this particular bullet. Political and other boundaries have never stopped fiddlers from extending and developing their music, and, unless we follow their example, our understanding of their music will always be partial and stunted.

Notes

¹ The Village Music Project website (www.village-music-project.org.uk, hereafter VMP) contains a large number of these manuscripts and some printed collections and is currently the single most important resource for anyone studying historical English fiddle music. The following tune collections have also been consulted: Private Collection, Unattributed Fiddle Manuscript (Staffordshire, c. 1810-40); School of Scottish Studies, John Rook MS (Carlisle, c. 1840); *The Ironbridge Hornpipe: A Shropshire Tune Collection from John Moore's Manuscripts*, ed. by Gordon Ashman (Blyth: Dragonfly Music, 1991); *The*

- Complete Country Dance Tunes from Playford's Dancing Master (1651- c.1728)*, ed. by Jeremy Barlow (London: Faber Music, 1985); *Tunes, Songs & Dances from the 1798 Manuscript of Joshua Jackson, North Yorkshire Cornmillier and Musician*, ed. Bowen and Shepherd (Ilkley: Yorkshire Dales Workshops, 1998); *The Dorchester Hornpipe: Thirty Four Country Dance Tunes from the Manuscript Music Books of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Joan Brocklebank (Dorset County Museum, 1977); *Old English Country Dances Gathered from Scarce Printed Collections and from Manuscripts*, ed. Frank Kidson (London: William Reeves, 1890; repr. Louth: Celtic Music, 1983); *The Joseph Kershaw Manuscript: The Music of a 19th Century Saddleworth Fiddle Player*, ed. Jamie Knowles ([UK]: Inwac, 1993); *A Sussex Tune Book*, ed. Anne Loughran and Vic Gammon (London: English Folk Dance and Song Society, 1982); Thomas Marsden, *A Collection of Original Lancashire Hornpipes Old and New Containing Divisions upon Each* (London: Henry Playford, 1705); *Lawrence Leadley the Fiddler of Helperby: The Life and Music of a Yorkshire Fiddler*, ed. James Merryweather and Matt Seattle (Newbiggin: Dragonfly Music, 1994); *John of the Greeney Cheshire Way: The Famous Double Hornpipes of Lancashire and Cheshire*, ed. John Offord (London: Friends of Folk Music, 1985); John Peacock, *A Favorite Collection of Tunes with Variations Adapted for the Northumberland Small Pipes, Violin or Flute* (Newcastle: W. Wright, c.1805; repr. Newcastle: Northumbrian Pipers Society, 1980); *The Master Piper: Nine Notes that Shook the World, A Border Bagpipe Repertoire Prick'd down by William Dixon AD 1733*, ed. Matt Seattle (Newbiggin: Dragonfly Music, 1995); *Wm. Mittell His Book. Being a Collection of Dancing Tunes for the Flute, Violin, Oboey etc.,* ed. Dave Roberts (Tiverton: Timespan Music, 1993); *The Great Northern Tunebook: William Vickers Collection of Country Dance Music*, ed. Matthew Seattle, 3 vols (Blyth: Dragonfly Music, 1985-87); *Wessex Tune Book: Folk Dances from a Manuscript Book Belonging to the Family of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Elna Sherman, 2 vols (Boston, MA; Schott, 1963); *Lincolnshire Collections Volume 1: The Joshua Gibbons Manuscript*, ed. Peter D. Sumner (Grimsby: Breakfast Publications, 1997); *The Musical Heritage of Thomas Hardy Volume 1*, ed. Roger Trim (Blyth: Dragonfly Music, 1990); *Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1772* (London: Longman, Lukey & Co., 1772); *One Long Whitson Holyday: Country Dance Tunes from an 18th Century Northamptonshire Hall*, ed. Richard York (Northampton: Lizard's Music, 1991).
- ² Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols (London: Macmillan, 1980), XIX, 823-24, 827-28, 831, 833-45; David Cameron, *The English Fair* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), pp. 44-45, 122; Reg Hall, *I Never Played too Many Posh Dances: Scan Tester Sussex Musician* (Rochford: Musical Traditions, 1990), p. 18; *Musical Traditions*, 8 (1990), 14; *Musical Traditions*, 10 (1992), 19-20; *Traditional Music*, 2 (1975), 21-22; *Musical Traditions*, 3 (1976), 20.
- ³ *New Grove*, VI, 529, XVII, 56-59; Barlow, *Playford's Dancing Master*, pp. 70-7-1, 102; Marsden, *Lancashire Hornpipes*, pp. 2, 27; Offord, *Greeney*, pp. 32, 58, 59, 60; John Playford, *The Division Violin* (London: 1685), no. 1; 'Gregg's Pipes', *24 Country dances for 1772*.
- ⁴ *New Grove*, XIX, 832; Paul Roberts, 'Facundo Gonzales', *Musical Traditions*, 2 (1984), 29; Mark Wilson, essays accompanying *The Art of Traditional Fiddle*, Rounder Heritage CD 1166-11592-2, 2000; and *The Rover's Return: Traditional Fiddle Music of Cape Breton Vol. 2*, Rounder CD 7038, 2002.
- ⁵ VMP, Mittell (Kent) MS: WM 017; Moore (Tyneside) MS: JMT 006, 007, 008, 011, 026, 027, 041, 054, 059, 063, 066, 106, 111, 012 [112], 115; Spencer (Leeds) MS: GS 110; Watson (Norfolk) MS: GHW 060-064, 070, 078; Ashman, *Ironbridge*, pp. 31, 47; Bowen, *Jackson*, p. 57; Merryweather, *Leadley*, pp. 35, 36, 39; Sherman, *Wessex*, I, 10, 12, *Wessex*, II, 1, 4; Trim, *Hardy*, no. 43; 'A Professional Player' [William Honeyman], *The Violin: How to Master It*

Play It Like It Is: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic

- (Edinburgh: Honeyman, 1892), Ch. 9; David Reiner, *Anthology of Fiddle Styles* (Pacific, MO: Mel Bay, 1979), p. 13.
- ⁶ VMP, Winder (Lancashire) MS: JWDM 09, 44; Ashman, *Ironbridge*, p. 26; Bowen, *Jackson*, pp. 18, 31; Honeyman, *The Violin*, Ch. 9; Merryweather, *Leadley*, pp. 55, 56; Marsden, *Lancashire Hornpipes*, pp. 1-30; Jim Rutherford, 'Corn Rigs', in *North Country Rants and Reels*, Folktracks Cassette FCS-60-121, 1977; Stephen Baldwin: *English Village Fiddler*, Leader LP LED 2068, 1976; Harry Lee, 'The Breakdown', in *Boscastle Breakdown: Southern English Country Music*, Topic LP 12T240, 1974.
- ⁷ Alan Kaufman, *Beginning Old Time Fiddle* (New York: Oak Publications, 1977), p. 29.
- ⁸ *New Grove*, VI, 529, XIX, 832-33; Stephen Baldwin: *English Village Fiddler; A Devonshire Fiddler: Local Village Country Dances Fred Pidgeon of Stockland*, Folktracks Cassette FSA087, 1975; *The Earl Soham Slog*, Topic LP 12TS374, 1978.
- ⁹ VMP, Barnes (Cumbria) MS: Notes/Carlisle Fiddle Tutor, CFT 07, 10, 35, 43, 45, 49, 53, 66, 83, 84; Fox (East Yorkshire) MS: CJF 188; Jackson (Lancashire) MS: HSJ 015, 027, 119, 120, 133, 143, 163, 175; Mittell (Kent) MS: WM 086, 090, 108, 129; Moore (Tyneside) MS: JMT 030, 048, 094; Tildsely (Lancashire) MS: TLY 031, 033, 037, 038, 044, 079; David Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the 18th Century* (Edinburgh: John Donald, [1984]), p. 31; Frederick Niecks, *Dictionary of Musical Terms* (London: Augener, [1884]), pp. 38-53; Peacock, *A Favorite Collection*, nos. 10, 24, 26, 27, 29, 35, 36, 37, 39; Seattle, *Vickers*, I, nos. 31, 34, 37, 43, 49, 74, 75, 94, 156, 161, 181, 196; York, *Whitson Holyday*, nos. 1-22.
- ¹⁰ C. J. Ormston and J. Say, *The Clough Family of Newsham: 200 years of Northumbrian Piping* (Newcastle: Northumbrian Pipers' Society, 2000); *Golden Age of Mechanical Music*, Vol. 2: *Parry's Barrel Organ*, Saydisc LP SDL234, 1973; Tom Clough, 'Holey Ha'penny', 'The Keel Row', in *Holey Ha'penny: Classic Recordings of Traditional Music from the North-east of England*, Topic LP 12T283, 1976.
- ¹¹ VMP, Barnes (Cumbria) MS: CFT 10, 21, 26, 41; Fox (East Yorkshire) MS: CJF 102, 112, 182; Moore (Tyneside) MS: JMT 018, 024, 070, 083, 108; School of Scottish Studies, John Rook (Carlisle) MS; *New Grove*, V, 509-11; Ashman, *Ironbridge*, p. 8; Francis Collinson, *Traditional and National Music of Scotland* (London: Routledge, 1966), p. 243; Marsden, *Lancashire Hornpipes*, pp. 1-30; Merryweather, *Leadley*, p. 48; Ormston & Say, *Clough Family*; Peacock, *A Favorite Collection*, pp. 1-24; John Playford, *The Division Violin* (London: 1684); Seattle, *Dixon*; Christopher Simpson, *The Division Violist* (London, 1659); Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols (London: T. Payne, 1776; reprint in 2 vols, New York: Dover, 1963), see 'Yellow Stockings' at www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/YEL_YM.htm.
- ¹² VMP, Browne (Cumbria) MSS: BF13 005, 024 [ignore editing], 049; Mittell (Kent) MS: WM 006; Moore (Tyneside) MS: JMT 108; Spencer (Leeds) MS: GS 035; York, *Whitson Holyday*, no. 14; Harry Lee, 'Flowers of Edinburgh', in *Boscastle Breakdown*; Walter Bulwer, 'Off She Goes', in *English Country Music*, Topic LP 12T 296, 1976.
- ¹³ VMP, Moore (Tyneside) MS: JMT 001, 014, 028, 035, 036, 038, 042, 049, 054, 082, 083, 012 [112], 117, 122; Spencer (Leeds) MS 086-88; Ashman, *Ironbridge*, nos. 2a, 2b, 37a, 38, 44a, 44b, 46, 51-54, 55b, 64, 65a, 69b, 70-71, 76, 77, 81-83a, 85a, 94-95, 96-97, 104, 111a; Bowen, *Jackson*, pp. 71-72; Merryweather, *Leadley*, nos. 19, 25, 31, 32, 34, 37, 38, 40, 45, 67, 81, 88, 92, 94, 96-101, 103, 104, 116, 120.
- ¹⁴ VMP, Spencer (Leeds) and Watson (Norfolk) MSS; *New Grove*, XVII, 67-68; Barlow, *Playford*, p. 10; Honeyman, *The Violin*, Ch. 9; Merryweather, *Leadley*, pp. 28-40; *Ryan's Mammoth Collection* (Boston: Howe, 1883; repr. ed. P. Sky, Pacific, MO: Mel Bay, 1995), pp. 119-160 (pp. 154-160); Seattle, *Vickers*, III, 'conclusion'.

- ¹⁵ Donald Akenson, Forrest & Ellen McDonald, and Thomas Purvis, 'The Population of the United States, 1790: A Symposium', *William and Mary Quarterly*, series 3, 41 (1984), 85-135; American Council of Learned Societies, 'Report of Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States', in *Annual Report for the Year 1931* (Washington DC: American Historical Association, 1932); repr. as *Surnames in the United States Census of 1790: An Analysis of National Origins of the Population* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1969), pp. 107-25; Bureau of the Census [USA], *A Century of Population Growth from the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), Ch. XI; Nicholas P. Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Nicholas P. Canny, 'The Marginal Kingdom: Ireland as a Problem in the First British Empire', in *Strangers Within the Realm*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), pp. 35-66; John Davies, *A History of Wales* (London: Penguin, 1994), p. 315; David H. Fischer, *Albion's Seed* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 609, note 9; T. W. Freeman, *Pre-Famine Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 15, 50; B. J. Graham and L. J. Proudfoot, *A Historical Geography of Ireland* (London: Academic Press, 1993), pp. 123-57, 160, 194-5, 399-438; E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *A Population History of England 1541-1871* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 527-35, 563-87.
- ¹⁶ *New Grove*, XIX, 823-4, 833; *Musical Traditions*, 2, (1984), 27; *Musical Traditions*, 3 (1984), 3; *Musical Traditions*, 6 (1986), 55, 61; *Musical Traditions*, 10 (1992), 8, 11, 26, 34, 47, 48, 55; *Transylvania: The Band Plays On*, Nigel Finch and Anthony Wall, directors, BBC, 1991; Wilson, *Traditional Fiddle*; Wilson, *The Rover's Return*.
- ¹⁷ *New Grove*, XVII, pp. 56-59; Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music*, Ch. 4; Collinson, *National Music*, p. 227; Wilson, *Rover's Return*; *The Gow Collection of Scottish Dance Music*, ed. Richard Carlin (New York: Oak, 1986), nos. 240, 255; Honeyman, *The Violin*, Ch. 9; *Selected Duets for Flute, Vol. 1*, ed. Himie Voxman, Educational Library No. 177 (Miami: Rubank, [n.d.]), pieces by Devienne, Geminiani, and Anon; *Tom Hughes and His Border Fiddle: Fiddle Music from the Scottish Borders*, Springthyme LP SPR 1005, 1981. The earliest use of the Nashville shuffle I have found so far is in the work of the great baroque violinist Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762): see Voxman.
- ¹⁸ Roberts, 'Gonzales'; Patrick Kelly, 'Foxhunter's Reel', in *Ceol an Chlár Vol 1: Traditional Fiddle Music from West Clare, c. 1980*. CCE LP CL17; Pat White, 'I'm Leaving Tipperary' and Packie Dolan, 'Grove Hornpipe', in *Farewell to Old Ireland: Music of the Early Irish Immigrants Recorded in the U.S.A.*, Proper Records CD Properbox 3, 1999; *The De'il in the Kitchen: Auld Scots Fiddle Music*, Folktracks Cassette FSC60, 1978.
- ¹⁹ Frederick Niecks, *A Concise Dictionary of Musical Terms* (London: Augener, [1884]), pp. 38-53.
- ²⁰ John Geoghegan, *The Compleat Tutor for the Pastoral or New Bagpipe...* (London: Longman, Lukey & Co., [c.1775]), p. 7; National Library of Scotland, Skene MS, Adv 5.2.21; Mark Wilson, 'Producer's Note', in Dwight Lamb, *Joseph Won a Coated Fiddle*, Rounder CD 0429, 1999.
- ²¹ NLS, Skene MS; Carlin, *Gow Collection*; Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music*; *O'Farrells Pocket Companion for the Irish or Union Pipes...adapted for the Pipes, Flute, Flageolet and Violin* (London: Goulding [c. 1810]; repr. Pat Sky: Chapel Hill NC, 1999); Patrick Kelly, 'Banish Misfortune', in *Ceol an Chlár*.
- ²² *New Grove*, XVII, 67-68.
- ²³ Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music*, pp. 1-13; Sky, *Ryan's Mammoth Collection*, pp. 174-76; Wilson, *The Rover's Return*.

Play It Like It Is: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic

- ²⁴ NLS, Skene MS; *New Grove*, XIX, 833, 847; Collinson, *National Music*, pp. 205-206; Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music*, Chs 1-3, 7; *O'Farrells Pocket Companion*; Breandan Breathnach, *Folk Music and Dances of Ireland*, rev. edn (Cork: Mercier Press, 1996), p. 33.