The end of a revival: contemporary New England contra dancing and fiddling

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When does a revival end and a new tradition start? It has now been almost half a century since the beginning of the latest contra dance revival movement in New England and across the United States. Since then, new dance compositions and original tunes created by fiddlers and callers such as David Kaynor have formed a new tradition of their own. Dancing styles are faster and more athletic than ever before, and new tunes incorporate international influences. The popular weekly contra dance in Greenfield, Massachusetts (MA) is one example of that new tradition.

Figure 1 David Kaynor and the Greenfield Dance Band at the Greenfield Grange
Photo by Jeff Hinrichs

Contra Dancing in Greenfield
Greenfield, MA, is, at the time of writing, the hotbed of contra dancing in Northeast America. Located in the northwest part of the state, Greenfield attracts dancers from across New England and the Northeast, including Vermont, New York, and Canada.
Every Friday and Saturday night throughout the year, about fifty to one hundred people gather at the Greenfield Grange to dance contra sets to live music and the infectious rhythms of bands like the Greenfield Dance Band (headed by long-time fiddler and caller David Kaynor – see Figures 1 and 2), the Moving Violations, and Wild Asparagus. While contra dance popularity waned after the Second World War in America, it experienced a revival in the 1970s parallel to the international folk music and folk song revivals. David Kaynor and other musicians who play at the Greenfield Grange were an instrumental part of this revival. Like the rural square dance traditions in New England and New York state, contemporary contra dancing has its own unique conventions, musical idioms, and dance styles. As in most revival movements, it continually incorporates innovations in newly composed dances and tunes. Both veteran musician David Kaynor and Lissa Schneckenburger, an accomplished fiddler of the younger generation, perform their own compositions along with traditional tunes at contra dances across New England.

![Figure 2 Dancers at the Greenfield Grange](Photo by Jeff Hinrichs)

**History of Contra Dancing**

Contra dancing is a form of line dancing. Often called ‘longways dance,’ it is related to square dancing, but danced by couples in a long line to live music. It came to North America with immigrants from the British Isles. According to New Hampshire dance caller extraordinaire Ralph Page, the form was English, the tunes Irish, the Scots had a big influence on the steps and figures, and the French Canadians influenced the fiddling style and the long swings. The Irish ‘Chorus Jig’ became a favourite in America as did the Scottish ‘Lady Walpole’s Reel’, in New England variously called...
‘Boston Fancy’, ‘Lady Washington’s Reel’, and ‘Speed the Plow’. The term ‘contra dance’ resulted from a cultural exchange between England and France. Country dance was the original English term for general figure dances, including round, square and longways dances. One form of country dance, the square dance for eight, became the ‘contre-danse’ in France. Between 1650 and 1728, the longways dance gradually became the most popular dance in both England and France. When the term ‘contre-danse’ was retranslated into English as ‘contra dance’, it came to stand for the type of dance with two lines facing each other, misleading some to think that it referred to dances where couple stood opposite, or contrary, to one another. The contra dance originated in England among the folk, but by the mid-eighteenth century was popular with English, Irish, Scottish, and French people of every rank of life.

Older contra dances were often associated with tunes of the same names. Old favourites, for example ‘Money Musk’, ‘Opera Reel’, and ‘Chorus Jig’ denote both specific tunes and dance figures. However, the tunes and figures were not necessarily fixed to the titles. There were variations and mixing and matching of both the tunes and the dances. Ethnomusicologist James Kimball notes that in Wilson’s dance collections of the early nineteenth century, there were at least two sets of figures for almost every tune. Conversely, distinct tunes were often played for the same dance figures. E. T. Root’s collections of old fiddle and dance orchestra tunes from the late 1800s lists a ‘New Money Musk’, a different tune for the same dance. Locally, certain tunes came to be associated with certain dances. The dance figures used for ‘Opera Reel’ in New York were danced to ‘Chorus Jig’ in New England. Some common contra dance tunes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century that have retained their popularity over the years include ‘Money Musk’, ‘Hull’s Victory’, ‘Petronella’, ‘Chorus Jig’, ‘Lady Walpole’s Reel’, ‘Portland Fancy’, ‘Morning Star’, ‘Lady of the Lake’, ‘Lamplighter’s Hornpipe’, and ‘Fisher’s Hornpipe’. They are still played regularly at the Greenfield contra dances, though usually danced to new choreography.

Dances and tunes were passed around, borrowed, and modified by various cultural groups. Many times the same tune or dance would appear with a different name in another community. ‘Money Musk’ was originally a Scottish strathspey called ‘Sir Archibald Grant of Monemusk’s Reel’ composed c.1775 by Daniel Dow, a butler in his household, and first danced on the village green of Monymusk on the River Don in Aberdeenshire. Its name was later shortened to ‘Money Musk’. It became part of the repertoire of most New England fiddlers, who commonly played it as a reel, and was traditionally played to accompany the bride and groom as they left the church after a French-Canadian wedding. ‘Hull’s Victory’ was ‘The Scottish Reform’ before it crossed the Atlantic. It got its name after the victory of Captain Isaac Hull, commanding the USS Constitution, over the British Captain James Richard Dacres and the HMS Guerriere in the War of 1812. What is called the ‘Virginia Reel’ in America is ‘Sir Roger de Coverly’ in England and ‘Haymakers Jig’ in Ireland.
and Scotland. In Québec, the dance has other titles, such as ‘La Contredanse’ and ‘Brandy Simple’.9

In the nineteenth century New England experienced a great deal of immigration from French Canada, especially in New Hampshire. French Canadians came to work in the lumber camps, then textile and shoe factories. They influenced the fiddle repertoire, bringing tunes such as ‘St Anne’s Reel’, ‘Glise a Sherbrooke’, ‘Reel de Montreal’, and ‘St Lawrence Jig’. They also had a strong influence on the New England swing style, with long swings from eight to sixteen counts, or even longer.

James Kimball writes that in the 1920s and 1930s, as lumber camps were starting to decline, Canadian music influenced American fiddle styles through radio, records, and printed tune books. In particular, fiddler and radio host Don Messer had a huge influence on North-East American fiddle styles in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. Kimball writes that Messer ‘has been credited with standardizing a “down east” style’ , both in his playing and repertoire. His style was clean, precise, and uncluttered, and his repertoire included waltzes, jigs, reels, two-steps, polkas, schottisches, as well as original tunes.10

Traditional New England style is characterized by strong rhythms played on the beat, with less syncopation and complex bowing than in the southern United States. Kimball notes that it translates easily to the printed page and that ‘printed collections of fiddle tunes have been readily available in the north since the early 19th century’.11 Fiddlers play a wide variety of tune types and metres, and traditionally favour major keys, symmetrical tunes, and uncomplicated bowing styles. It was usual in New England for the fiddler to also be the caller, and sometime in the 1800s calls began to be sung. In contrast, contemporary contra fiddling favours minor or modal keys, syncopation, and extended phrasing that avoids the cadence in order to create tension for the dancers.

The Grange Movement
As in the past, contra dances in New England today are often danced in Grange halls. Granges are social and agricultural organizations formed in the late nineteenth century for farmers and their families. They sponsored non-religious family events with no drinking and their members built beautiful halls. According to the Greenfield, MA, Grange website:

The roots of the Grange organization are in farming, and while few members now earn their livelihood growing field crops or raising livestock, our collective interest in issues related to food and the land continues. Because all of us do eat, after all, and most of us prefer to breathe clean air, drink good water and live on a nice patch of earth, maybe with a bit of a garden, we all have a reason to care about the world’s resources. Recognizing that people are a valuable resource, too, the National Grange now emphasizes ‘community’ as a raison d’être for local Granges. How to turn that broad directive into focused action is the subject of much discussion.12
The Greenfield Grange was founded in June 1873, and because it was the first Grange in Massachusetts, was called the ‘Guiding Star Grange No. 1’. The Grange movement was started in 1867 by Oliver H. Kelley in order to promote the spiritual and social well-being of farming families. The Grange’s more formal designation is Patrons of Husbandry. The Grange is the country’s oldest extant agricultural organization, though many Granges now define themselves more broadly. The current Greenfield Grange hall was dedicated in February 1932 and the crest of the Patrons of Husbandry hangs over the door.

What happened after that is documented on the Greenfield Grange website:

Over time, active membership in the Grange dwindled. The number of farming families diminished, and members who had joined in their teens and twenties, now getting their 50- and 60-year membership awards, were growing too frail to climb ladders and too stiff to scrub floors. Preserving the hall became a struggle: the will and spirit remained, but the means was fading. Meanwhile, in the fall of 1980, local contra dance caller and musician David Kaynor began renting the hall for Friday night contra dances. In those early years, on nights when so pitifully few dancers tossed their $2.00 into the fiddle case that the band did not make the rent, Grange member Clarence Turner would wave a hand and say, ‘Make it up later.’ By the mid-1980s, Clarence Turner’s ‘later’ had come to pass. Now contra dance music fills the hall every Friday and Saturday night, and often other times as well.13

The dances in this hall, known for consistently good music, good dancing, a relaxed spirit, and a floor, have become a destination for as varied a group as you could find anywhere in semi-rural New England.

**David Kaynor and the Greenfield Dance Band**

As well as acting as fiddler and caller for the Greenfield Dance Band, David Kaynor also organizes the contra dances on the second, fourth, and fifth Friday nights of the month at the Greenfield Grange. His cousin, Van Kaynor, plays fiddle in the band Moving Violations, on the first Fridays. His cousin, Cammy Kaynor, and uncle, Ed Kaynor, are also fiddlers. His family became involved in music in his father’s generation. His father came from a huge household in Springfield, Massachusetts. David’s grandfather was a Congressman. When he was killed in a 1929 plane crash, the family’s income was cut off. Coupled with the Great Depression, the large family could no longer afford to maintain domestic staff. David’s father was one of six siblings. Along with his brother, Van’s father, he would have to clean up the dishes after meals for ten to twenty people. The brothers started singing to pass the time. Soon, the kitchen became the place to be, a weekend social scene for the whole neighbourhood where family and friends would sing in harmony. David heard music all throughout his childhood years. Later, he started square dancing in Maine and the Connecticut River Valley in Vermont. He became involved in the modern contra dance scene in Burlington, Vermont, in 1973. He started playing music with
the guitar, but soon switched to the fiddle. He is self-taught, but influenced by his cousins and fiddler Peter Sutherland.

David moved to Montague, MA, a rural town near Greenfield, and joined the local Grange there. After the Second World War, the popularity of contra dances waned. Elderly Grangers associated dances with brawls and rowdy behaviour. David was influenced by legendary New Hampshire caller Dudley Laufman to revive dances in Grange halls. In the early 1980s, he started running contra dances three times a month at the Greenfield Grange, calling and fiddling, with either Nick Hawes or Becky Ashenden on piano and Diane Sanabria on banjo.

David’s Greenfield Dance Band now consists of Peter Siegel on mandolin, Stuart Kenney on bass, and Mary Cay on keyboards. David never uses dance notation cards when he calls. He knows so many dances that he says he can call several sessions a week and never repeat a dance. He gets dances from many sources, including other callers, dance books, and occasionally, the internet.

He does not make a specific plan about which dances to call or which tunes to play in advance. He prefers to go by ‘the seat of (his) pants’. But he does have an overall pattern in mind for the dance, which he describes as a kind of arc. He starts out with less complex dances that have a lower ‘piece content’, or fewer figures. Most contra dances have 32 bars consisting of an A one, A two, B one, B two part. Dances with a low ‘piece content’ might have one figure for each eight beat phrase. As the dancers and musicians get warmed up, David calls more complex dances. Then he ends the evening with easier dances. He mostly calls dances that he has already danced. Around ninety per cent of the dances will be recently or fairly recently composed. He often calls several of his own compositions, plus some ‘old chestnuts’, such as ‘Chorus Jig’, ‘Lamplighter’s Hornpipe’, ‘Hull’s Victory’, or ‘Petronella’.

The tunes he plays are typically in D, G, A, or the relative and parallel minors, but he also tends to play in E, F, and B-flat more than many other contra dance musicians. The band plays mostly medleys of 2 or 3 tunes which they choose together in the minutes before each dance. They have played together for some time, so are able to communicate non-verbally for changes and solo arrangements.

**Lissa Schneckenburger: Carrying on the Tradition**

Young fiddler Lissa Schneckenburger stands out among the younger generation of contra dance fiddlers. She often comes down to play at the Greenfield Grange from Brattleboro, Vermont. Originally from a small town in Maine, she comes from a strong musical tradition. She began fiddling at the age of six and attended contra dances with her family when she was growing up. She studied with influential Maine fiddler Greg Boardman and sat in with the Maine County Dance Orchestra, modelled after Dudley Laufman’s band, when she was just eight years of age. Like David, she now composes her own tunes. She says she does not consciously stick to one style when composing new tunes and has many influences, although she composes mostly in the style of what is around her, a mix of Irish, Scottish, and
French-Canadian influences. Like typical New England Dance music styles, she likes clear phrasing and an easy to follow rhythm.

**The Contra Dance Revival**

Newer dances and tunes have become much more complicated in the last fifty years. Modern dancers demand more fancy moves to do, more figures, and longer phrases. Newer tunes are influenced by world music, including Klezmer, African, Balkan, and Scandinavian music. In the book *Zesty Contras*, by Larry Jennings, Petronella includes a variation of balances and turns done with four people instead of the traditional two. First published in 1983, this book documents the new style of modern revivalist contra dancing. Mary Dart notes that today’s contra dancers want a high level of activity. They get impatient waiting for other dancers, resulting in few dances with active and inactive couples; they want to be dancing at all times. The choreography of recently composed dances includes an increased number of figures per phrase and more vigorous transitions. In addition, dancers at the Greenfield Grange add to this active choreography by improvising added spins, stomps, and twirls.

In a revival movement an activity is often spurred on by people who did not learn by growing up in a living tradition. They might have learned from teachers, workshops, music camps, books, CD, and most recently, the internet. In the 1920s, industrialist Henry Ford championed square dancing as a way to foster an American identity and instil social manners. He brought New Hampshire fiddler Benjamin B. Lovett from Worcester, MA, to Dearborn, Michigan. In 1926, he published ‘*Good Morning*: After a Sleep of Twenty-five Years, Old-fashioned Dancing is Being Revived by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ford.’ He also founded the Greenfield Village living museum in 1929 in Dearborn, which showcases traditional American activities and is still operating today. A revival is different from revitalization. After the Second World War farmers in upstate New York revitalized a square dance tradition that had fallen out of fashion. Older people who remembered dances from when they were young started participating in dances again. The dances and dance styles changed little in the twentieth century compared to the contemporary contra dances of the 1970s revival movement in places like Greenfield.

Comparing rural old-time square dancing in upstate New York with contemporary contra dancing in Greenfield, MA, sheds light on the changes that characterize the 1970s revival movement. The two types of dances come from similar roots, and often contras and squares are done at the same dance event. Old time square music is usually played at a relaxed tempo, with simple, repetitive figures. There is never a walk through. The calls are usually sung, allowing a lot of variation and spontaneity within the dance. An individual caller might throw in some humour by playing pranks on the dancers, making them go one way, then surprising them by suddenly making them go the other direction. The tunes are generally in major keys with little or no syncopation. Swing position is not a ballroom hold, but with arms crossed in front of the waist.
In contrast, contemporary contra dance music is characterized by fast tempos, syncopated rhythms, minor or modal keys, and extended phrasing. Unlike rural square dancing, all dancers are active at the same time. The tradition of watching and being watched is not popular. Dances that involve active and inactive couples, going up and down the set, and casting off are seldom done. Swings are done with a ballroom hold, rotating in a clockwise direction with a buzz-step turn in which the right foot slides while the left foot creates momentum. Dancers like new and different dances and tunes mixed in with the old favourites. There are usually one or two waltzes, a hambo (a Swedish round dance), and/or a schottische (a German round dance) during the evening.

In the John Bishop film, *New England Fiddles*, folklorist Nicholas Hawes contrasts a 1980s version of the ‘Chorus Jig’ with a more traditional style:

Chorus Jig is one of a half dozen traditional contra dances, which are as popular today as they were a century ago. Although the form is the same, the performance style applied to these older dances has changed dramatically to meet the needs of modern dancers. The differences between the two Chorus Jigs in the film are typical of the changes incorporated into old contras by dancers of the new revival. In (the modern dance), there was a greater overall level of activity, more contact between dancers, and a lot of individual variation. In (the more traditional dance), the dance is done as a more relaxing triple minor, there is much less contact between dancers (especially in the cast off and contra corners moves), and individual variation is not encouraged.

The modern style of dancing, choreography, and original tunes constitute quite a different repertoire of dances and tunes than what could be found at local dances prior to the 1970s. The social meaning of the dance experience has changed as well. People come from over a wide area, from different communities, and create a new community that only convenes for the weekly dances. People come to dance, not necessarily to be seen or celebrate a local event. They dress informally, often in athletic wear. The way they learn new dances and tunes has expanded to the utilization of new technology.

The popularity of contra dancing has ebbed and flowed over the last two hundred and fifty years, with the recent trend towards more active involvement. In the post-Revolutionary War era, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, contra dances were ‘triple-minor’, danced in groups of three couples with one active couple and two inactive couples. Later, in the 1830s–1850s, alternating active and inactive couples came into fashion. Boston caller and choreographer Ted Sannella revived the triple couple formation in the 1980s, setting them to faster jigs and reels, and called them ‘triplets’. Contra dance compositions continued to get more and more active throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Chicago based contra dance choreographer Al Olson noted:
Now, in 1988, it is obvious that there have been lots of changes in contra
dancing since my introduction to it back in 1962. Dancers now expect a lot
of vigorous action, elegance has largely disappeared, a caller has a hard time
getting dancers to use a full eight counts for an allemande once around, hey
for four have been introduced, contras with much more complex patterns are
acceptable, and there are a great many new dances.\(^{19}\)

So, what are the traditional dances? The dances as danced in Europe, in
colonial America, in the 1930s, or the 1980s? The popular dances that came over
with British, French, Irish, and Scottish immigrants continue to go in and out of
fashion, with some incorporating changes along the way, or being danced to new
tunes. Others remained essentially the same. In common with all folklore, contra
dancing is part of a continuous cycle of revival, creating and recreating an imagined
past. Dances listed by Henry Ford in the 1920s, by Ralph Page in the 1930s, by Rickey
Holden in the 1950s, and by Larry Jennings in the 1980s show a pattern of continuity
and innovation. An old favourite like ‘Hull’s Victory’ is essentially the same in Page’s
book of 1937 and Holden’s books of 1956, only with different notation. In Holden’s
notation (beats in parenthesis):

‘Hull’s Victory’
A1(1–4) Right to your partner left below and
   (5–8) Balance four in line
   (9–12) Turn with the left hand twice around
   (13–16) Reel your outside all around
A2(17–20) Right to your partner all the way round and
   (21–24) Balance four in line once more
   (25–32) Swing your partner in the centre
B1(33–48) Down the centre, other way back and cast off
B2 (49–64) Right and left with the couple above

These days, dancing down the centre and casting off is rarely done at
Greenfield Grange. More recently composed dances have more elements. A popular
newer dance is ‘Mary Cay’s Reel’, composed by David Kaynor in 1987 for his
longtime friend, band mate, and accordion virtuoso, for her birthday. It has become
a modern classic and is regularly danced at the New England Folk Festival (NEFFA),
the sponsored annual Ralph Page Legacy Weekend dances, and appears on all major
contra dances online indexes.\(^{20}\) In Russell Owen’s notation:

‘Mary Cay’s Reel’, by David Kaynor, edited by Russell Owen, from \textit{American
Country Dances On-line}
Formation Becket
A1 (6) Circle left 3/4
   (2) Pull by along the line
   (8) With the one you meet allemande left, then return to your neighbour
A2 (4,12) Neighbours balance and swing
B1 (8) Long lines go forward and back
   (4) Ladies allemande right 3/4 to form a long wave of women in the centre
   (4) Left-hand ladies allemande left 3/4, as men slide left a bit to meet them
   End near your partner

B2 (4,12) Partners balance and swing

Instead of one couple dancing down the centre between two lines of dancers, long lines go forward and back, so everybody is participating. There is no casting off, figures flow from one to the next. It represents the aesthetics of contemporary contra dance. If this dance continues to hold the interest of contemporary dancers, perhaps it will someday achieve the status of an ‘old chestnut’.

Conclusion

Burt Feintuch writes that ‘music revivals create their own canon of repertoire, of style, of authenticity’. Contemporary New England fiddling and contra dancing have their own unique style and forms. Dances in Greenfield, MA, are lively and energetic. Dancers move simultaneously to upbeat live music. Many men commonly wear skirts. Dances contain complex figures and there is always a walk through. The caller rarely sings and usually drops out after the dancers know what they are doing. The fiddle or another melodic instrument like the accordion, rather than the caller, is the main musical focus. Tunes are played in medleys, with arrangements of solos and two part harmony. This style differs considerably from rural New York square dances, where the music tends not to incorporate syncopation, and there is a smaller repertoire of dances with few newer compositions. Dances at the Greenfield Grange are representative of contemporary revival contra dances. There is a high level of musicianship and new tunes and dances continuously composed.

Handler and Linnekin argue that tradition is always defined in the present and ‘is not a bounded entity made up of bounded constituent parts, but a process of interpretation, attributing meaning in the present though making reference to the past’. David Kaynor and Lissa Schneckenburger are part of the ongoing process of creating a new repertoire of dances and tunes that contribute to the continued popularity of New England fiddling and contra dancing in the United States. The most recent contra dance revival of the twentieth century now has conventions and traditions of its own. Maybe in fifty years from now, it will be called a tradition, not a revival.

Notes

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5 Interview with James Kimball, Geneseo, New York, 15 June 2010.
6 Interview with James Kimball, Geneseo, New York, 15 June 2010.
7 Nicholas Hawes, note 17 in annotated transcription to *New England Fiddles*, dir. by John Bishop, VHS film, Multicultural Media, 1984. Annotated transcription to film available at [http://www.media-generation.net/Articles/NEFD.pdf] (accessed 22 April 2011). Hawes quotes Maine fiddler Ben Guilleme��e: 'Ben said it was traditional for fiddlers to play *Money Musk* to accompany the bride and groom as they left the church after a French-Canadian wedding'.
11 Interview with James Kimball, Geneseo, New York, 15 June 2010.
12 Guiding Star Grange, [http://www.guidingstargrange.org/] (accessed 22 April 2011)
13 Ibid.
16 Henry Ford and Mrs Henry Ford, 'Good Morning': *After a Sleep of Twenty-five Years, Old-fashioned Dancing is Being Revived by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ford* (Dearborn, MI: Dearborn Publishing, 1926).