Part II:
Context and comment

Club outing from the Eclipse, *Montgomery Street, Hove, Sussex, in 1913. The party includes a concertina player, with a good quality 30-key Anglo, and a trombonist. Scan's teaming with Trombone Billy at about the same period was evidently not unique.*

(Courtesy Graeme Kirkham)

Introduction

Scan's accessibility and longevity as an active musician provide an opportunity to document and discuss the music and dance activity of a small rural area over an eighty-year period. There were two distinct threads of musical tradition within the working population of that community: the first essentially aural, with skills, techniques, repertoires and attitudes deeply rooted in country working people's language, lore and life, and the second, a modification of the elite culture of the gentry, musical literacy allied to the values of genteel respectability. Some musicians were self-taught and played by ear, while others were trained and were musically literate. Some sang in church in one style, and in the pub in another. The two elements of tradition lived side by side, sometimes within the same person. The overlapping was as complex as the social structure itself. There was another significant dimension, namely, the relationship between the upper and lower strata of society, in that the music and dance culture of both allowed for originality, invention and self-expression, and there was room for cross-over of values, sometimes in the form of parody.

Scan was a central figure in his home community, but he was far from being the only musician. There were many others, at various levels, who served the needs of local working people. His area was bounded by his limited mobility but there is ample evidence of music and dance activity in neighbouring villages and towns, as indeed there is for the rest of Sussex, England and Britain as a whole. Influences from other areas must have penetrated Scan's part of the Sussex Weald, which may have been isolated, but was certainly not insular. Scan, deeply bedded in the aural tradition, had the dancing scene tied up around Horsted Keynes, while Wallace Chisholm, music teacher and band master, held a similar position a few miles away in the town of Uckfield (see chapter 9). They were polar extremes of a continuum; their co-existence, representing among other things differences between town and country, offers a clue to understanding the nature and causes of cultural diversity and regional style within the British Isles.

Scan is described, outside his own community and time, as a 'traditional' musician, and certainly his repertoire and style and the uses he made of his music ally him to others in Great Britain and Ireland who are similarly labelled. The strength and vitality of traditional music owes something to the way its practitioners side-step, parry and confront assaults from the outside, and in so doing absorb, re-model and adapt material to fulfil changing social demands. 'Traditional music' is a descriptive term and to attempt to define it here, in an attempt to place cultural and aesthetic values upon Scan and his associates, could easily deteriorate into a quest for purity. Labelling, in this instance, is more likely to cloud issues than illuminate them.

Some of the evidence assembled here will illustrate the close proximity, geographically and socially, of the 'other' culture, the music and dancing of the country middle class and gentry, and its overspill into sections of the poorer, working community. Newspaper reports give an idea of some of the musical and social events in neighbouring areas and further afield in Sussex. Seldom in the form of advertisement, but written as news items after the event, they were sent in by local correspondents, perhaps the postmaster or a shopkeeper, whose aspirations and values were directed up rather than down the social scale. The blandness and stodginess of these accounts were further compounded by sub-editing into a conventional style. Interestingly, Horsted Keynes, Danehill, Nutley and Fairwarp were particularly poorly reported in the *Sussex Express*. This may have been due to the absence or indolence of local correspondents, but it might also be concluded that the musical activities of Scan and his associates were dominant in his area, and being too far down the social scale did not warrant reporting.

Scan's was essentially a man's world. Friendly Societies, village bands, cricket and football clubs, slate clubs and smoking concerts - institutions associated with music-making - were exclusively male. But some women were involved in public music-making, and women became increasingly more so as the

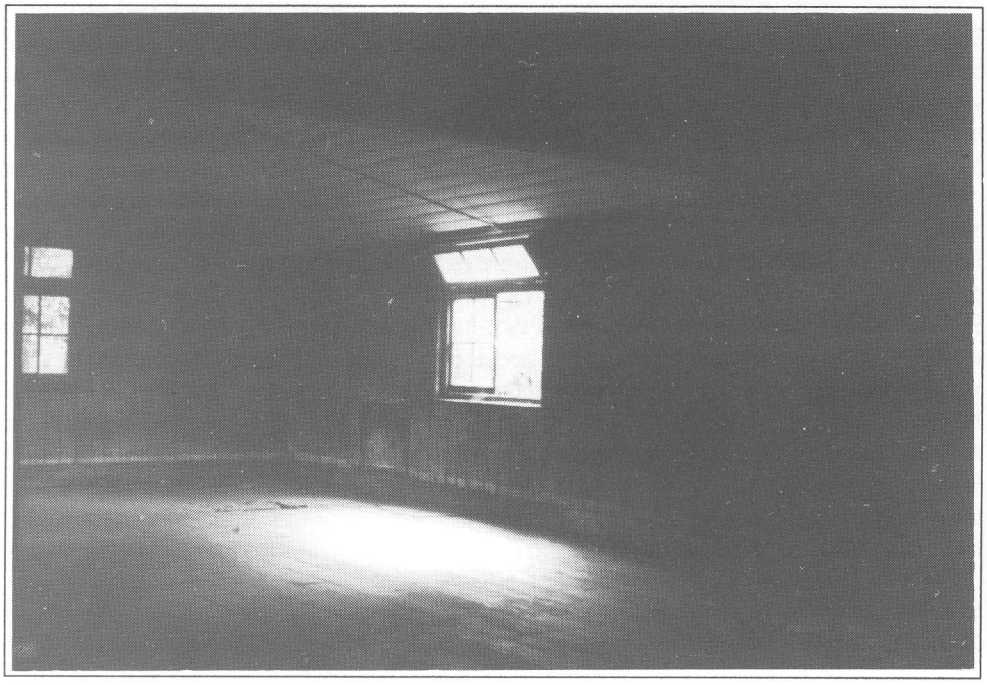
Daisy and Arch Sherlock at Victoria Cottages; 1971.
(Photograph: Hamish Black)

period progressed. What then of that male preserve, the taproom in the public house? As the pub was a major outlet for music, we need to know for certain if women had any presence there at all.

> **Bert Wood:** Oh, they wouldn't have 'em in pubs at one time... They used to stand outside. You take the drinks out to 'em... It caused trouble, soon as a woman got in there.

He was talking about the *Crocodile*, Danehill, in particular and pubs in general. His son-in-law, Charlie Bates, says things changed after the Second World War, but not after the First. How is this to be reconciled with Scan's story of women tambourine players and evidence elsewhere of women broomdancers and stepdancers? How could the waltz, the schottische, the polka, the *Waltz Vienna* and the *Heel and Toe Polka* have sustained their existence for so long as pub dances, if women were not around? Were women only in the pubs at very specific times and on special occasions, such as wedding parties? Scan's mother actually worked full-time in the *Green Man*, although the licence was held by Scan's father, and for considerable lengths of time the licensees of the *Sheffield Arms*, *Nutley Inn*, the *Prince of Wales* at Cackle Street and *William IV* were women.[1]

In Scan's family, the father sang, three sons played instruments and another was a singer, while the fifth son was by reputation too shy to do anything. But what of the mother and two daughters? Are we to believe they never sang, or stepped or knocked a tune out of a music? Their contemporary, Emma Gurr, played the melodeon at home, while her husband, Jack, occasionally played in the *Crown*.



Interior of Sheffield Park Reading Room; 1987. Testers' Imperial had a regular booking there .
(Photograph: Reg Hall)

Was this a representative pattern? Did women make music and sing largely in the privacy of their homes, while the men had a more public outlet? Martha Stephenson's presence in the dance band in the back room at the *Nutley Inn* appears to have been an unusual phenomenon, yet Scan made no comment about it.

Slightly higher up the social scale, the daughters of shopkeepers and tradesmen learned the piano and some were playing publicly at village events by the turn of the century. At a dance in the schoolroom in Fletching in 1909, for example, 'Miss Langridge presided at the piano', but the genteel report in the local newspaper missed the point, that the dancing from 7.30 p.m. to 1.30 p.m. meant a six-hour slog for the musician.[2] Daisy Sherlock, an ear-player, belonged musically in her father's camp. Her public image, however, was no different from that of other girls and young women who, having received piano lessons, were available to take part in the post-First World War boom in village hall dancing.[3] Women fulfilled part of the expanding demand for musicians, although their role was generally confined to playing the violin and the piano. Speaking proudly of the exceptional role his wife had adopted, Scan could say, 'You never see a woman drummer.' [RH] The Great War did, of course, soften attitudes and changed public house behaviour, and not long after the War, Testers' Imperial were playing for mixed dancing at the *Sloop* - not in a private room but in the bar.

There is no doubt music and dancing provided Scan with strong personal satisfactions, not just in achievement but within local society. From early childhood music placed him among the men, and he was privy to their conversation and values. This edge on his peers carried him into adolescence as 'one of the boys'; music admitted him to a diversity of small social systems, and in old age kept him in young company. Music and dancing were fun and the musician was at the centre of it all, popular and sought after. Scan gave of his best, very often with no question of financial gain, but behind it all were economic possibilities and realities. The collection made for him in a pub, his own enterprise as a dancing teacher and dance promoter, the week's supply of food he took home from the servants' parties, the packet of fags from a pub landlord, all supplemented his wages from other sources, and the formation of the family band kept the economic possibilities within the family. Scan never owned property, but in other ways he shared many economic values with the last of the Wealden peasantry.

To make sense of Scan's musical activities it is helpful to categorise them into five sections:

1. **Pubbing: 1895 - 1924.**
   Saturday nights, tontine shareouts, weddings, etc.
   Old songs, stepdances, the *Reel*, the *Broom Dance* and couple and round dances.

2. **Organised dances: 1897 - 1924.**
   Nutley Inn, servants' balls, servants' parties and his own dance promotions.
   Couple, round and set dances.

3. **Testers' Imperial: 1924 - 1931.**
   Semi-pro family band, public dances.
   Modern ballroom, couple, round and set dances.

4. **Coasting: 1931 - 1972.**
   Outings, the *Stone Quarry*, domestic.
   Current popular tunes and old favourites.

5. **Revival: 1957 - 1972.**
   Folk clubs, festivals, concerts, etc.
   Exposure beyond his own community.
   Recourse to his old repertoires in new social circumstances and settings.

These classifications are not discrete or mutually exclusive, and there are at least two important additional strands, namely, the village band and busking on Brighton beach. The events of sections 4 and 5 have been covered, but analysis of sections 1, 2 and 3 requires further examination of dance repertoire, tune repertoire, instruments and style.

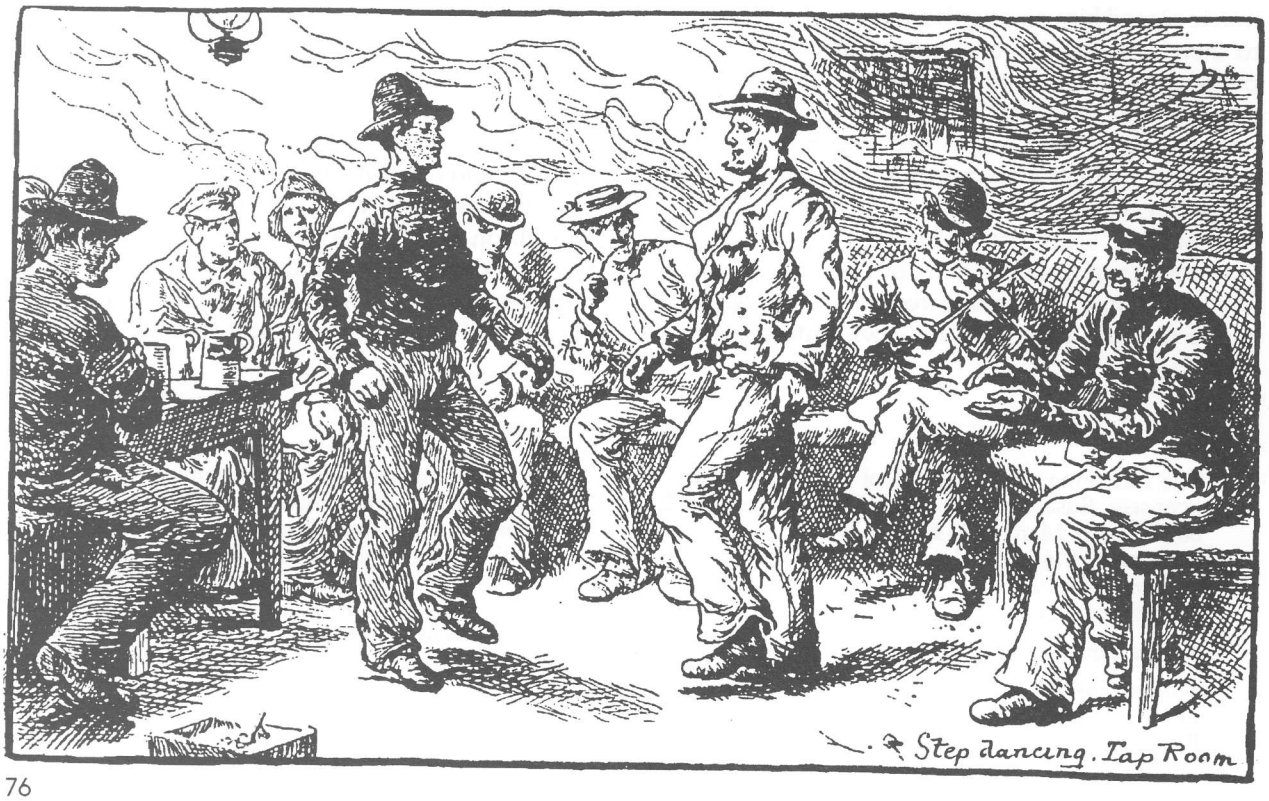
NOTES

1. The following are examples of women who were licensees: Susannah Coomber, *Sheffield Arms*, 1872-86; Ellanah Marchant, *Nutley Inn*, 1878-82; Ellen Marchant, *Prince of Wales*, 1886-94; Jane Weller, *Nutley Inn*, 1889-1901 or later (Uckfield Petty Sessions Register of Licences).

2. *Sussex Express*, 19.11.1909.
   See also *Sussex Express*, 1.1.1914, where the musician at a Boxing Night dance at Framfield was Miss D. Berry.

3. The following are examples of female musicians at public dances: Miss Buxton, banjolele, A. Bolton, drums, and R. Green, piano, in the church room, Whatlington (*Sussex Express*, 7.2.1930); Miss White, piano, and A. Bolton, jazz [drums] at the same venue (*Sussex Express*, 2.5.1930); E. Huss, Miss E. Tester and Mr. Rusich in Brightlington (*Sussex Express*, 7.3.1930); and Mrs. Anderson's Band from Wadhurst in Mayfield (*Sussex Express*, 14.3.1930).

'Stepdancing, Tap Room', by Charles J. Staniland, published in The Graphic, *22 October 1887. The venue is the* King's Head, *Hoverton, Wroxham, Norfolk, and the fiddler is the landlord, Mr. Jimpson . Note the 'Ring the Bull' game.*



Chapter 5:
Dances and dance tunes

Country stepdancing has been widespread through the southern half of England and in Ireland. There has been a range of styles, but the common characteristics - the relaxed posture, the low centre of gravity, the loose swinging arms, the rhythmic beating and scuffling of the feet on the floor and the glazed facial expression - unite the diversity into one recognisable phenomenon.[1] At its simplest, yet often most effective, the steps are little more than rhythmic battering and shuffling, picked up by watching others or invented by the dancer. Scan, like many others, learned precise steps and phrases from older stepdancers. Others, particularly in Ireland, learnt in childhood from itinerant dancing teachers, paying a small price for each step, and they were taught to dance sequences of steps, first leading with one foot and repeating the phrase with the other. It was good fun for the dancer and the onlooker alike, and a spirit of daring and informal, and sometimes formal, competition entered the proceedings.

In the *Foresters* at Fairwarp, in Scan's young days, they did the *Reel* (or *Four Hand Reel,* to give its generic name), which combined the centuries-old hey, a soft-shoe walking and weaving figure, with stepdancing.

> **Scan:** Course, they used to come in the pubs, you see, with their heavy boots on - the old pelted boots and all - and yorks and all on, and you see 'em out in the room that time of day doing the old stepdances, and they used to, if there was enough of 'em, they'd form a figure eight or form a four angles, you know, cross angles, and, you know, there was a lot of different ways they used to dance.[2] [AW]

> There used to be what we called a reel. It was ordinary four corners, four of them, and they used to step, and then the second part they change over and go in and form the figure eight. And really, they was old people that done it, mind you. They young ones, they used to join in. Get two in a set, see, so as to learn 'em. [MP]

They did the *Broom Dance,* cocking their legs up in time to the music as they passed a broom from one hand to the other under each leg in turn for eight bar phrases, followed by a walking figure. It was sometimes danced by four people at a time, when the walking figure became a hey. Scan's accounts of the *Reel* and the *Broom Dance* give little precise detail; both dances have had wide currency in southern England at least, and, I suspect, in the case of the *Broom Dance,* in southern Ireland too, and presumably embraced some measure of local and personal variation.[3]

By the time I met Scan he was too old to stepdance. He would get in the mood with the music and try a few steps before losing his balance and giving up in disgust. There was still stepdancing to be seen in country pubs in the 1950s and, of course, it survives in pockets even now and surfaces particularly when travellers get together. However, the heyday of stepdancing in Scan's area was long past, and several local people well into their seventies claim never to have seen it. My guess is that Scan had little or no call to play his stepdance tunes from just after the Great War until he met Mervyn Plunkett in 1957.

> **Scan:** You know, when you get older, the times are different and you don't get in the company where there is any stepping. [AW]

Scan's stepdance tunes, in all probability, originated in the second half of the eighteenth century. According to George S. Emmerson, 'The earlier hornpipe [i.e. before the mid-eighteenth century] was a peculiar syncopated limping gait to a tune in triple time - three/two, six/four or twelve/eight.'[4] While hornpipe dancing existed in both village communities

and on the stage, he wonders whether Thomas Arne's *New Hornpipe*, performed by Mrs Vernon at Covent Garden in 1760, 'was the first of the new genre of common-time hornpipe'. Both country and stage hornpipes were high dances, performed high off the ground in soft-soled shoes. The metamorphosis to the close-to-the-ground stepdancing indigenous to southern England and Ireland during this and the last century occurred when working men began to wear heavy leather soles and domestic buildings used timber or brick flooring. Soil floors, common even in Scan's day, or soil covered flag stones would give little sound back to a stepdancer. Emmerson says stepdancers in the last century preferred wooden surfaces, like a table or a door taken off its hinges, or dancing in hob-nailed boots on brick floors.

Without being specific, Scan gave the impression, by calling a certain type of tune in his repertoire 'stepdance tunes', that stepping was done exclusively in fast common time. Evidence from elsewhere indicates the use of other rhythms and, of course, Scan's own broom dance tune is in 6/8.[5] Scan had few names for his stepdance tunes and late in life resorted to numbering some of them.

> **Scan:** Well there it is. I've never heard the names, you see ... You see we just played for our own amusements. Course, lot of these tunes the old people didn't ... know the names, you see ... The majority of 'em was fiddlers, you know. [AW]

Scan claimed he knew 'any amount' of stepdance tunes, but in later years his recall ran only to those appearing on the Topic records and a version of *Waltzing Matilda*.[6] Among these tunes, *Soldier's Joy* is standard and has been common through Britain, Ireland and America; one of his untitled stepdances appears elsewhere as the *Cliff Hornpipe* and is known within Irish traditional music; and the *Monkey Hornpipe*, which takes its name from a pub dance, shares the last four bars of each part with the *Sailors' Hornpipe*. Scan's *No. 1 Stepdance* has phrases and a structure like some other tunes, but *No. 2* strikes me as being unlike anything I have heard elsewhere.[7]

Another of Scan's untitled stepdances seems to be *the* southern English hornpipe, often apparently the only stepdance tune known to some musicians.[8] Scan's *Reel* seems to be standard in southern England as the tune for the *Four Hand Reel*, although it too is used for stepdancing.[9] Could these have been prototype country hornpipes, originating with, and circulated by, country fiddlers, the first of the new common-time hornpipes? Neither appears to have a proper name among country musicians. If, in fact, they were prototypes, they needed no specific titles.

The former was published around 1781, untitled, but associated with a stage dancer, Robert Aldridge, who was active in London and Edinburgh. It was later named after John Bill Ricketts, an Englishman engaged in circus promotion in the United States in the 1790s.[10] The title *Rickett's Hornpipe* is American, so not surprisingly it is unknown among English country musicians. Irish musicians, among whom the titles, *Rickett's Hornpipe* and *Manchester Hornpipe* are known, may have learnt it directly or indirectly from print. The question remains: where did Aldridge get it from? Does the country version pre-date its stage use? The Italianate structure of the *Reel*, based on tonic, subdominant, and dominant chords, sets it aside from other country hornpipes, and perhaps ensured its integrity. Could the word 'breakdown', which we understand now, among other meanings, as an alternative to hornpipe, and which appears in several country titles, have been its original title or the original description of the genre?

Advertisements for sheet music and dance instructions for Pop Goes the Weasel *and* La Tempête.

Note that both Coulon and Jullien were offering their own versions of La Tempête.

(Illustrated London News, *19 March 1853*)

POP GOES the WEASEL.—Price 1s., post-free, with a description of the figures by Coulon, with the original music. Also, La Tempête (with the figures by Coulon). Price of each, 1s., postage free. COULON'S HAND-BOOK of DANCING, price 1s., containing a full description of all dances, illustrated with 100 wood-cuts; postage free 1s. 1d.—JULLIEN and Co., 214, Regent-street.

D'ALBERT'S TEMPETE, just published, price 1s., with the correct Figures, as danced in the fashionable circles, and Music properly adapted to the Dance.—Sent free of postage.—CHAPPELL, 50, New Bond-street.

COUNTRY DANCES

Scan had many tunes in 6/8 and 2/4 time, dating from the eighteenth century, which have persisted in popular usage until the present day. Many have had varied careers. They have been used for country dances (using the term in its technical sense), for songs and jingles, and been played by country musicians for stepdancing.[11] Later, some were adopted for the polka and quadrilles. Whether they *originated* as published compositions will probably never be known. Many were published and circulated among literate ballroom and theatre musicians, and co-existed in the repertoire of brass, military and fife and drum bands in villages and towns and in the Army. Among the tunes Scan played, *Seventeenth of March* or *St. Patrick's Day* was published in 1748, *Garryowen* in 1800, *Bonny Dundee* in 1854 and *The Irish Washerwoman* in 1789.[12] The regimental march of the Royal West Kents, which Will Tester must have played hundreds of times in the West Kents' band, was a medley of two such tunes, *A Hundred Pipers* and *Bonnets so Blue*.[13] O'Neill claims *The Girl I Left Behind Me*, probably the most widely known of old country tunes in southern England, as Irish, dating from the early part of the eighteenth century:

> [B]andmasters, at the request of the officers and soldiers, began to use the melody as a parting tune, and by the end of the [eighteenth] century it was accounted disrespectful to the ladies of the regiment to march away without playing 'The Girl I Left Behind Me'.[14]

Some measure of the currency of this material can be taken from the repertoire of 'Old Sarah' (born 1786), who learnt the hurdy-gurdy in 1806 to busk on the streets of London. Of the first eight tunes she learnt, excluding the *National Anthem*, Scan knew at least five: *Garryowen, St. Patrick's Day, The Girl I Left Behind Me, Haste to the Wedding* and the minstrel song *Oh, Susannah!* In the late 1850s she reported:

> The first tune I ever played was 'God save the King', the Queen as is now; then 'Harlequin Hamlet' [*Garryowen*], that took me a long time to get off; it was three weeks before they put me on a new one. I then learnt 'Moll Brook'; then I did the 'Turnpike-gate' and 'Patrick's day in the morning': all of them I learnt in the Union. I got a poor man to teach me the 'New-rigged ship'. I soon learnt it, because it was an easy tune. Two-and-forty years ago I played 'The Gal I left behind me'. A woman learnt it me; she played my cymbal [hurdy gurdy] and I listened, and so got it. 'Oh, Susannah!' I learnt myself by hearing it on the horgan ... I always try and listen to a new tune when I am in the street, and get it off if I can: it's my bread... 'Hasten to the Wedding' is my favourite; I played it years ago, and play it still. I like 'Where have you been all night?' It's a Scotch tune... At some places they like polkas, but at one house I plays at in Kensington they always ask me for 'Haste to the Wedding'.[15]

I heard Scan play *Pop Goes the Weasel, Rakes of Mallow, Cock o' the North, Keel Row, Old Mrs Cuddledee* and *No Luck about the House* among these old tunes, and almost certainly he would have played many more late in life, if only he could have triggered his recall. In common with Old Sarah, however, he placed a special value on *Haste to the Wedding:*

> That's one you want to strike up when you get out somewhere and you get a nice lot. Then they want to know! Most people like them old jigs, you know. I used to know several Irish and Scotch jigs, but they're all gone. [VS]

Thomas Wilson's *Companion to the Ballroom*, published in 1816, gives the notation of a large number of country dances available to elite society. An evening's dancing at a private function or at a subscription ball in public assembly rooms would have involved a repertoire of many different dances, all variations on well-known dance figures. Some of these dances were known and performed lower down the social scale, and Scan's dance repertoire before the Great War included one 'country dance' of this kind. Fanny Lander remembered the *Galop*, or *Haste to the Wedding*, danced to Scan's music at the *Coach and Horses* servants' ball:

> You lined up, men lined up and women lined up, and you took hold of her, and you went through an archway. I think that was *Haste to the Wedding*. It was really lovely in those days. You really got something out of dancing in those days.

Scan taught the *Galop* in 1959, after a thirty-five year lapse, at a social evening in Gravesend. He demonstrated with the minimum of verbal instruction and moved with a gliding, lilting walk and an occasional slip step. He described the musician's task as keeping the music going until each couple, no matter how many were in the set, had danced in first position and had galoped to the bottom of the set.[16]

> **Scan:** When you danced one of them *Galops*, you danced a lot, you see... If you get a roomful, the devils lasted so long. [MP]

There was another *Galop* that appeared on local dance programmes among the gentry in the late nineteenth century, but that was a couple dance, also known as the *Galopade*, which dated from 1829.[17] Scan's dance may well have been a hybrid, combining the galop movement from the *Galopade* with the country dance formation. For dances of later origin, such as the waltz and quadrilles, Scan played medleys of tunes, but as far as the *Galop* was concerned, he followed the old country dance convention of one dance, one tune.

There has been no study or adequate explanation of the social relationship between the country dancing of elite society on the one hand and the country dancing of country working people on the other. Clearly, there was some common ground. Circulation among the elite can be explained by the existence of professional dancing teachers and professional musicians available to sell their services. The 'season' required its participants to acquire social skills, dancing being one of them, which were then practised in public for the duration of the season. The dances were therefore taught and rehearsed. No such explanation fits further down the social scale, where economic resources were not available and leisure opportunities were much less frequent. The dances may possibly have been picked up by house servants, or may have been learnt by literate country fiddlers from instruction books, and they were practised at dancing booths at fairs and weddings.

Two mid-nineteenth century descriptions of country dancing by country working people mention just one dance each. Mayhew's informant, 'Whistling Billy', a London street musician, who played in the West Country in the late 1850s for local and migrant Irish harvesters, had this to say:

> My country dance was to the tune 'Oh don't you tease me, pretty little dear.' Any fiddler knows that air. It's always played in the country for country dances. First they dance to each other, and it's hands across, and then down the middle, and then it's back again and turn. That's the country dance, sir.[18]

Thomas Hardy had his Christmas party-makers in a Dorset cottage dance to the same tune under another title, *The Triumph*.[19] On the face of it, both groups appear to have known only one country dance and the custodianship seems to have rested with the musicians. If this was a general rule, and this is by no means proven, Scan's single country dance fitted the convention. He, too, played *Pretty Little Dear*, but for him it was simply another polka tune.[20]

Scan and Reg playing for The Galop *at a social evening in the Art School, Gravesend, Kent; 27 February 1958.*

QUADRILLES, LANCERS AND ALBERTS

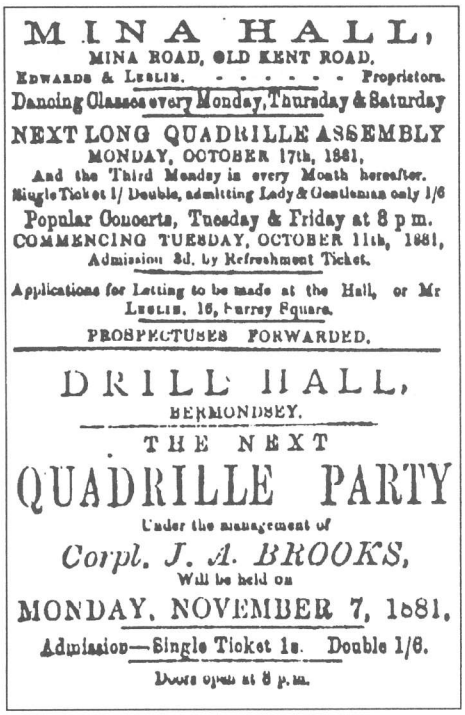
The *Quadrille* is a dance of four or five figures for four couples in square formation. It was introduced into British high society from France, at Almack's in London, in 1816, with a 'spin-off' version, the *Lancers*, making its debut at a society ball in Dublin the following year. The music publishing houses supplied a constant stream of variations on the theme, thereby satisfying the elite public's demand for fashionable novelty. Charles d'Albert's *Albert Quadrilles*, based on existing figures, was one such variation and matched the two original sets in popularity and staying power.[21] The difficult steps, which led to Cruikshank's characterisation of quadrilles as a grotesque romp, required too much learning and eventually atrophied to simple walking.[22] The music was in the light classical mode of the time: some pieces were composed especially, but some were adapted, on the cheap, from popular operatic arias and national airs.[23]

Quadrilles were slow to filter down the social scale in southern England. In the middle of the last century, there was a revival of interest in quadrille dancing among the elite, and by the early 1880s it had become a minor national movement at the lower end of the urban middle class and the upper working class. The Volunteers (the forerunner of the Territorial Army, formed in the 1860s), offered a mantle of respectability for shopkeepers, artisans and small contractors, providing organisation, locations and ready-made bands. Professional dancing teachers found extra custom for their classes and rewarded their pupils with 'long nights' and end-of-season quadrille parties.[24] Elsewhere, in Ireland and the West Indies, for example, these set dances were taken into the repertoires of rural working people and moved further from their upper-class ballroom origins. They were modified and adapted to existing vernacular styles, taking on characters of their own.[25]

In small Sussex towns there were quadrille bands - for example, Chisholm's at Uckfield, Finch's at Haywards Heath and Anderson's at Forest Row - and quadrille classes and long nights were held in the villages.[26] Scan almost certainly did not attend the quadrille class held in Fletching National Schools in 1905, but he did see the sets danced at Horsted Keynes feast days, and they were established as part of the repertoire at the *Coach* ball, in all probability by the time he started playing there.[27]

The string band of the Royal Engineers, which played at the Inhabitants' Ball in Lewes in 1897, used exclusively light classical material, as might be expected at such a select function.[28] A view of the repertoire, instrumentation and orchestrations used by a small town working musician, contemporary to Scan, would have been possible if only Wallace Chisholm's personal collection of sheet music had not been dispersed after his death (see chapter 9). Recordings of regimental marches made in 1915-7, however, include material in 6/8 time that is probably a fair approximation of the quadrille music played by Volunteer and village bands.[29]

There are commercial recordings of vernacular musicians from Scotland, where quadrilles entered the popular field very late and thus survived much later into this century. Peter and Dan Wyper, from near Hamilton, were straight-laced melodeon players with, I suspect, a smattering of literacy, and they were in the music business as retailers. Peter Wyper



MINA HALL,
MINA ROAD, OLD KENT ROAD.
EDWARDS & LESLIE. - - - - - - Proprietors.
Dancing Classes every Monday, Thursday & Saturday
NEXT LONG QUADRILLE ASSEMBLY
MONDAY, OCTOBER 17th, 1881,
And the Third Monday in every Month hereafter.
Single Ticket 1/ Double, admitting Lady & Gentleman only 1/6
Popular Concerts, Tuesday & Friday at 8 p.m.
COMMENCING TUESDAY, OCTOBER 11th, 1881,
Admission 3d. by Refreshment Ticket.
Applications for Letting to be made at the Hall, or Mr Leslie, 16, Surrey Square.
PROSPECTUSES FORWARDED.

DRILL HALL,
BERMONDSEY.
THE NEXT
QUADRILLE PARTY
Under the management of
Corpl. J. A. BROOKS,
Will be held on
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1881,
Admission—Single Ticket 1s. Double 1/6.
Doors open at 8 p.m.

GRAMMAR SCHOOL,
ROTHERHITHE.
MR. J. LEEDS
Begs to Inform his Friends and the Public that his
FIRST LONG
QUADRILLE PARTY,
Will take place on
TUESDAY NEXT, 25th inst.
And in order to keep it select, the Prices for Admission will be -
Single Ticket, Two Shillings.
Double (to admit 2 Ladies or Lady and Gentleman,) Three Shillings.
Dancing 8.30 p.m till 2 a.m.
TURNER'S QUADRILLE BAND.
Tickets to be had of Mr. Willoughby, Printer, Lower Road, Rotherhithe, and of Mr. Leeds, 72, Drummond Road, Bermondsey.

Typical local press advertisements of the 1880s, from the Bermondsey and Rotherhithe Advertiser and Southwark Recorder; *22 October 1881.*

recorded *Lion Quadrilles* in 1910 and *Blackthorn Stick Quadrilles* in 1912, and Dan Wyper recorded the *Pibroch Quadrilles* in 1921, both using traditional tunes, i.e., jigs, polkas and reels. However, at about the same time Dan Wyper recorded *The Original Lancers* using the original published melody line with simplified piano vamp, which eliminated the excesses of the composer's harmony. William Hannah's *Thistle Lancers* and *Lothian Quadrilles*, recorded in 1924 with button accordion, fiddle and piano, are closer to the vernacular style, utilising what seems to be written quadrille material, modified to the taste and techniques of people used to traditional music. *Patience Quadrilles*, recorded in 1930 by a Glasgow neighbourhood band run by a cycle dealer, Bob Smith, reverts to the classic practice of using selections from operetta. However, the drive and attack of the semi-legitimate violin playing and the loud, wild drumming are anything but Sullivanesque.[30]

> **Scan:** Course, I used to play the *Quadrilles* and the *Lancers* and the *Alberts*... Course, they was a little later dance, but they're very old dances, you know. The *Alberts* were the prettiest of the lot. [MP]
>
> Me and my brothers ... we used to play all the old set dances, *Lancers, Quadrilles* and the *Alberts*. Oh, we used to play the whole issue, and at that time of day there was always certain ones in the room were real set dancers, and you had to play a certain amount to keep them coming. Cor, I used to like playing that time of day, because nearly everybody was a round dancer, and as soon as ever you started, you'd get a floor full up. I used to like playing them better than I did any, but a lot of round dancers didn't know the sets, so you used to have to be careful or you could make it bad that way. [VS]
>
> We had to be careful what we played, so as not to upset anyone.[31]

Scan's tune repertoire for these set dances is now lost, except for one figure of the *Lancers* recorded by Peter Kennedy. Daisy says they used mostly songs and march tunes, and she remembered specifically *I Love a Lassie* for the chain figure. The first figure of the *Lancers* was danced to the tune which the mid-nineteenth century fiddler Thomas Shoosmith, of Arlington, Sussex, noted in his manuscript book as *John of Paris*, which was also the regimental march of the Rifle Brigade.[32]

While the waltz can be danced by just two people to a tune on the wireless, quadrilles require much more formal organisation. Once community demand began to wane, set dancing was on the way out. Newspaper evidence indicates that all the other local quadrille classes ceased to function before the Great War, so Scan's dancing classes with Bill Gorringe catered for a new, albeit rather old-fashioned, clientele, some of whom demanded the set dances right up to the time Testers' Imperial disbanded in 1931.

THE WALTZ, POLKA AND SCHOTTISCHE

Round dancing was the creation of the same class of dancing teachers and ballet masters, tuned in to continental high fashion, who introduced the quadrille to nineteenth-century society. The waltz, first seen in England in 1812, introduced new concepts. Partners embraced each other and danced as couples around the ballroom, independently of other couples, and this independence allowed a degree of personal choice in the movements and steps. The polka and schottische followed a generation later, in 1844 and 1848 respectively.[33] The process by which they became known further down the social scale is not known for certain, but there was a considerable time delay in their dissemination. A generalised account of dancing in private rooms in London pubs, published in 1861, gives some indication of the differences in style between the social classes, and the tardiness among the poor in catching on to the fashion of those better off.

> 'Twopenny-hops' are much resorted to by the costermongers, men and women, boys and girls. At these dances decorum is sometimes, but not often, violated... There is nothing of the leisurely style of dancing - half a glide and half a skip - but vigorous, laborious capering.... The music is always a fiddle, sometimes in the addition of a harp and a cornopean... The other dances [apart from stepdancing] are jigs, 'flash jigs' - hornpipes in fetters - a dance rendered popular by the success of the acted 'Jack Sheppard' - polkas, and country-dances, the last mentioned being generally demanded by the women. Waltzes are as yet unknown to them.[34]

Those making their living in the dance business invented dances, some in new, exotic rhythms, but all based on the format established by the waltz, the polka and the schottische. Some new dances barely saw the end of a season; others had more appeal and remained in fashion for several years. The *Varsovi-*

enne and the *Heel and Toe Polka*, in common with their parent round dances, have survived as vernacular dances modified by country working people in places throughout Britain and Ireland until modern times. The last nineteenth-century round dance to concern us pointed a new direction for our imported dances: the *Military Schottische*, better known as the *Barn Dance*, was introduced in 1888 from the United States rather than the Continent.[35]

Scan had a large selection of tunes for round dancing and claimed he could go on all night without repeating any of them. The sources of this material have never, to my knowledge, been discussed in print. In fact, within the folk dance movements in England, Scotland and Ireland, with the notable exception of Peter Kennedy's field collecting in the 1950s, the material has been ignored and largely despised. Some exploration, however tentative, is long overdue.

Nineteenth-century printed social dance music falls, broadly speaking, into two categories. First, there are compositions following the current academic rules and fashion, melodies complicated, even dramatised, by the use of chromatics and modulations, and prettified by trills, the rhythmic stress being that of academic rather than vernacular music. The second group are essentially diatonic, except perhaps for chromatic grace notes and chromatic lead-in notes; harmonic structures are simple and the general construction of the pieces is nearer that of traditional music. Some of these tunes may have been in the public domain before being filched by publishing house hacks, but who can now tell? A polarised typology such as this is a useful tool for analysis, but oversimplification carries with it dangers, and it should be understood there are gradations between these two extremes.

Jullien's *Original Polka* (1844), in all probability, set criteria for subsequent polka music composition. Easy to master for even a moderately proficient amateur pianist, its construction has the hallmarks of schooled composition, and it lies midway between the suggested polar extremes. Pitched in the key of G, the first sixteen bars are based on alternating G and D chords, but start on D rather than G and resolve on a G chord. The second twelve bars are pitched in D, but written with a G key signature, and are built on a three-chord structure of D, A and G. Although the themes are diatonic, they could not be mistaken for traditional tunes. The reversed order of the chords in the first part and the change of key in the second part, coupled with frills, dynamic variation from *pp* to *ff*, a leap of a seventh from F sharp to E in the seventh bar and three equally timed Gs in the eighth bar, stamp the piece with a marked period feel. The heavily accentuated first beat in each bar is rhythmic caricature; it is so foreign to vernacular music, it could never have been sustained within popular culture.

The testimony of an adolescent, earning his living playing the concertina on Thames excursion boats, provides evidence of an ear-player picking up material from literate professional musicians around 1852-1853. The tune he singles out, Charles d'Albert's *Sultan Polka*, subsequently became a standard country pub dance favourite. Or is this perhaps an example of a composer cashing in on an already popular tune?

> I'm nearly fifteen now; but I can remember when I was seven, being particularly taken with music. I had an uncle who was captain of a steamer that run to Richmond, and I was always on board with him; and they used to have a band on board... I used to go and listen to them. I learn all their tunes by heart. They mostly played dances, and very seldom any sentimental songs, unless anybody asked them... When ... the musicians put the harp down in the cabin, I'd get playing on it... I learnt myself several tunes, such as the 'Sultan Polka'. I must have been eight years old then. I didn't play it with both hands: I couldn't do the bass.[36]

The lad goes on to talk of the present (1861 or a little earlier), and singles out the *Varsovienne* as being a popular request by the ladies.

Another of Mayhew's informants, an Italian organ grinder, describes the popularity of various types of music among the social classes. His organ rolls would probably have been cut from printed scores, but here again is evidence of the exposure of Scan's type of material on the streets of the capital.

> There is two 'Liverpool Hornpipe'. I know one these twenty years. Then come 'The Ratcatcher's Daughter'; he is a English song. It's get a little old; but when it's first come out the poor people do like it, but the gentlemens they like more the opera, you know. After that is what you call 'Minnie', another English song. He is middling popular. He is not one of the new tune, but they do like it. The next one is a Scotch contre-danse. It is good tunes, but I don't know the name of it. The next one is, I think, a polka; but I think he's made from part of 'Scotische'. There is two or three tunes belongs to the 'Scotische'. The next one

LA POLKA.—In consequence of the numerous applications made to MRS. JAMES RAE for instruction in this Fashionable DANCE, in its most recherché and perfect style (as danced in the élite of society in Paris), Mrs. RAE has decided upon devoting MONDAY and FRIDAY EVENINGS for the practice of it. To commence NEXT MONDAY, the 22nd instant, at her residence, 50, Berners-street, Oxford-street, where terms and particulars may be ascertained.—The Soirées Dansantes on Wednesday Evening, as usual.

20 April

Published this day, price 1s.,

HOW TO DANCE THE POLKA!—All the Quadrilles, German Waltzes, Highland Reels, &c. &c., according to the Method of M. COULON. With a History of the origin of the inimitable LA POLKA. *** Sent to any part of the country by post, free, on receiving a remittance of 1s. 4d.

4 May

LA POLKA.—MRS. JAMES RAE, the First to introduce La Polka PERSONALLY from Paris, begs to announce that REUNIONS are held at her Residence, 50 A, Berners-street, Oxford-street, on Monday and Friday evenings, for the exclusive practice of this interesting dance, as taught in Paris, in its most pure style, by M. CORALLI, fils, and as danced by his pupils in the élite of Parisian society.

4 May

LA POLKA.—Mrs. JAMES RAE has the honour to announce that she has REMOVED from No. 50, Berners-street, to No. 16, Manchester-square. In addition to private instruction, her Polka Réunions, for the exclusive practice of the "Drawing-room Polka," "Polka Cotillon," and "Valse à Deux Temps," are held, under distinguished patronage, at her new residence, on Mondays and Fridays, where terms and particulars can be ascertained. Her Academy, hitherto held at the Hanover-square Rooms, is now continued in Manchester square, on Mondays and Thursdays.

8 June

GRAND POLKA BALL.—Mrs. JAMES RAE has the honour to announce that her GRAND FANCY and FULL DRESS POLKA BALL will take place at the HANOVER-SQUARE ROOMS, under the most distinguished patronage, on THURSDAY, the 27th of JUNE. Tickets, and all particulars, to be had only of Mrs. JAMES RAE, 16, Manchester-square, where the names of the Ladies Patronesses can be ascertained.

8 June

THE REDOWA POLKA, Danced by Mdlle. Cerito and M. St. Leon, at her Majesty's Theatre.—Just published, the charming Music of this favourite Polka, arranged for the Pianoforte, solo, price 2s.; duet, 2s. 6d.—"The newest and prettiest of Polkas."—Athenæum, June 1.—"The music of the Redowa Polka is immeasurably the most graceful and characteristic. Certain it is that the Redowa is infinitely the prettiest of Polkas."—Times, May 24.—London: CHAPPELL, 59, New Bond-Street

15 June

JULLIEN'S ORIGINAL POLKA.—The fifth edition of JULLIEN'S original POLKA is now published.—The immense success of this celebrated dance having induced many unprincipled persons to sell to the public spurious imitations, M. Jullien has published the original Polka at his own office, 3, Maddox-street, Bond-street; and, in order to secure the public against the possibility of purchasing the false copies published under so many disguised forms, he has attached his signature to each copy of his original Polka. None can therefore be relied on which have not his autograph. Correct copies of Jullien's original Polka to be had only of the respectable music-sellers in the kingdom, by asking for Jullien's original Polka, signed by the author.

22 June

DANCING TAUGHT in the most fashionable style, by Mr. WILLIS, 41, Brewer-street, Golden-square. Private Lessons at all hours to Ladies and Gentlemen of any age, wishing privacy and expedition. An Evening Academy on Mondays and Fridays. Lessons in the Polka and Valse à Deux Temps every day.—A card of terms may be had on application. The room may be engaged for private parties.

22 June

LA POLKA.—THE LADIES' GAZETTE OF FASHION for JULY (Price 1s., post-free 1s. 6d.) contains Music of Polka Dance and Important Novelties given in no other work: 50 beautifully coloured Costumes, Patterns of Morning, Evening, Promenade, and Sea-side Dresses; Hats, Bonnets, Caps, and Fashionable Millinery; with Descriptions, Tales, Poetry, &c. The Ladies' Gazette contains the Paris Fashions before any other work.—G. BERGER, Holywell street, Strand.

6 July

POLKA MATINEES, 16, Manchester-square.—Mrs. JAMES RAE has the honour of announcing to her Patrons and Friends, that she has REMOVED from 50 A, Berners-street, to 16, MANCHESTER SQUARE. Mrs. Rae's Réunions for the exclusive practice of the Polka and Valse being sanctioned and honoured with the greatest success, will be continued every FRIDAY MORNING, from Two to Five o'Clock. Mrs. James Rae's Academy for Dancing and Exercises (so many years established under the most distinguished patronage), and hitherto held at the Hanover-square Rooms, will in future be continued at her Residence, where terms and particulars may be ascertained.—Private Lessons daily; also Families Attended at Home.

6 July

The polka comes to London, 1844

Reports of the polka craze among elite London society in 1844 illustrate the promotional methods employed within the music and dance business and the professional rivalry between composers, publishers and dance teachers. Endorsement of originality and authenticity enhanced saleability in this field of high fashion, and each of the leading figures set out their case.

The *Illustrated London News* made some claim to being first in the field, with its publication of Jacques Offenbach's music for the *Polka Dance*, and news of the polka being the rage in Paris (23 March).

Mrs James Rae began teaching *La Polka* on 22 April, claiming to have introduced the dance to London elite society. This was a first step in a campaign of escalating self-promotion which proceeded through the year.

JULLIEN'S ORIGINAL POLKA.—Monsieur JULLIEN has the honour to announce that he has just published the seventh edition of his Original Polka, with description by E. Coulon, splendidly illustrated by Brandard. The immense success of this celebrated Polka having induced unprincipled persons to publish spurious imitations, Mons. Jullien has published the original Polka at his own Office, 3, Maddox-street, New Bond-street; and in order to secure the public against the possibility of purchasing incorrect copies, he has attached his signature to each copy; none can therefore be relied on which have not his autograph. Correct copies of Mons. Jullien's Original Polka to be had only at the respectable Music Sellers in the kingdom. Also, No. 2, the Royal Polka; No. 3, the Drawing room Polka; No. 4, the Rage of Vienna Polka; No. 5, the Imperial Polka; No. 6, the Douro Polka; No. 7, the Ducal Polka; all by Jullien, The Pollington Polka by Kœnig, and the Opera Polka by Puzni. The numerous base plagiaries of Mons. Jullien's Original Polka having on all their Title pages the following words—"The celebrated Polka, performed at every Theatre in London, the Nobility's Balls, &c."—M. Jullien feels compelled to inform the public that none of those pretended Polkas have been performed at Theatres, and that the above-mentioned Polkas, by Jullien, are the only Polkas that Mons. Jullien and Herr Kœnig have played nightly at the Soirées where they have had the honour to conduct, viz.:—the Duke of Wellington, the Duke of Beaufort, and the Duke of Leinster's Balls, the Countess of Jersey and the French Ambassador's Soirées, Countess of Mansfield's Fête, and at the Balls, Soirées, and Parties, given by the Marquis of Clanricarde, Marchioness de Salis, Countess Wilton, Countess Powis, Countess Norbury, Earl Sefton, Earl of Dartmouth, Lord Foley, Lord Kilmaine, Lady Bateman, Lady Balfour, Lady Denville, Lady E. Fielding, Lady Charlotte Guest, Lady Johnstone, Lady Rowyer Smith, Hon. Mrs. Carleton, Hon. Mrs. Damer, Hon. Mrs. Law, Hon Mrs. Meade, Mrs. Ames, Mrs. Arabin, Mrs. Edward Buller, Mrs. Tyrwhitt Drake, Mrs. Buller Elphinstone, Miss Elwes, Mrs. Charles Grenfell, Mrs. Hatfield, Mrs. Hogg, Mrs. Charles Mills, Mrs. Powel, Mrs. Ravenshaw, Mrs. Sebastian Smith, Mrs. Staniforth, Mrs. Symonds, Mrs. Wyndham, H. Fellowes, Esq., and all the leading Balls of the haut ton; also, the Royal Academy Ball, the Caledonian Ball, the Polish Fancy Ball, the Oxford Grand Commemoration Festival, &c., &c., &c.; in which Mons. JULLIEN and Herr KŒNIG have had the honour to conduct the above-mentioned POLKA, and where they have never played, or have been asked to play, the spurious imitations published under so many assumed forms and disguised titles.

3 August

16, MANCHESTER-SQUARE.

MRS. JAMES RAE begs to announce that she has LEFT TOWN for TONBRIDGE WELLS, to fulfil her country engagements, and introduce the POLKA to her numerous pupils in Kent. Mrs. Rae will remain for the first Six Weeks at the Sussex Hotel, Tonbridge Wells, and then proceed to Maidstone and Rochester. Mrs. Rae will be in London every Tuesday and Friday, for the purpose of continuing her Lessons, at her residence, 16, Manchester-square, and also receiving any new Pupils. The Academy will be resumed as usual the first week in December.

7 September

Mitchell's Illustrated and Improved Work on the Ball Room.—Now ready, price 1s.,

POLKA LESSON BOOK, or Ball-room Guide.—In addition to a complete Cours de Polka, with beautiful representations and correct instructions how to execute the various figures, so that a lady or gentleman may readily become a proficient, this work forms a perfect compendium of the etiquette of dancing with the figures of all the Quadrilles, Gallopades, Mazourkas, Polonaises, Polkas, and all those dances more particularly adopted at Court. May be had, by order, of any bookseller, or of the publisher, C. MITCHELL, Red Lion court, Fleet-street; who will send the work (post-free) on receipt of 1s., or postage stamps of equal value.

21 September

THE INNISKELLING POLKA FOR THE PIANOFORTE.—Just Published, Price 2s., as performed by the Bands of the Coldstream Guards and Enniskellen Dragoons.—May be had at Mr CARROLL'S Music Library, 171, North-street, Brighton, and all respectable Music-sellers.

21 September

SIX POLKAS for 1s.; with plain Instructions for Dancing them, in No. 45 of THE PIANISTA. Tenth Edition.—No. 46 contains Two Complete Sets of Polka Quadrilles, composed by Musard, for 1s.—Either Number sent free for sixteen stamps addressed to the Editor 23, Paternoster-row.—Supplements to 45 and 46, PIANISTA, each 2s., or by post, free, thirty stamps, contain Thirty-one Songs sung by Mr Wilson, forming Two of his Scottish Entertainments, complete.

SHERWOOD'S: TURNER 19, Poultry.

2 November

NEW MUSIC. — ANNEN POLKA (Strauss). — Notice is hereby given that the above Polka is our exclusive copyright, and we hereby caution and warn all persons publishing and selling the same, other than our edition, will be prosecuted forthwith. To those who fancy the melody is a national air we beg to refer them to the declaration made by the author himself:—'I testify and declare that my Anna Polka Op. 137 consists of original themes invented by myself.—Vienna, the 5th of October, 1844. Signed Johan Strauss, in the presence of Tob. Haslinger."—R. COCKS and Co., 20 Princes street, Hanover-square, London, publishers by Royal license, to her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, and sole proprietors of all the latest and most fashionable compositions of Strauss, Lanner, Labitzsky, Musard, Santos, and Camille Schubert.

2 November

WELSH QUADRILLES.—The very popular set, now playing, will be found in the "PIANO," December, price 1s., or 1s. 4d., post-free. Also Tolleeque's favourite Planet Waltzes, the set of six; the celebrated Weisbaden Polka, and he Ems Polka, by C. Hunter, now played at Vienna; Three beautiful Irish Polkas—the ipua ry Polka, the Waterford Polka, and the Kilkenny Polka; and Mr. Allen's very vo i e Song—"In the Grove near the River," as sung by him with great applause. pos o f Music for 1s., cheapest work published, 12 pages in every number. Published DUNCOMBE, 10, Middle-row, Holborn.

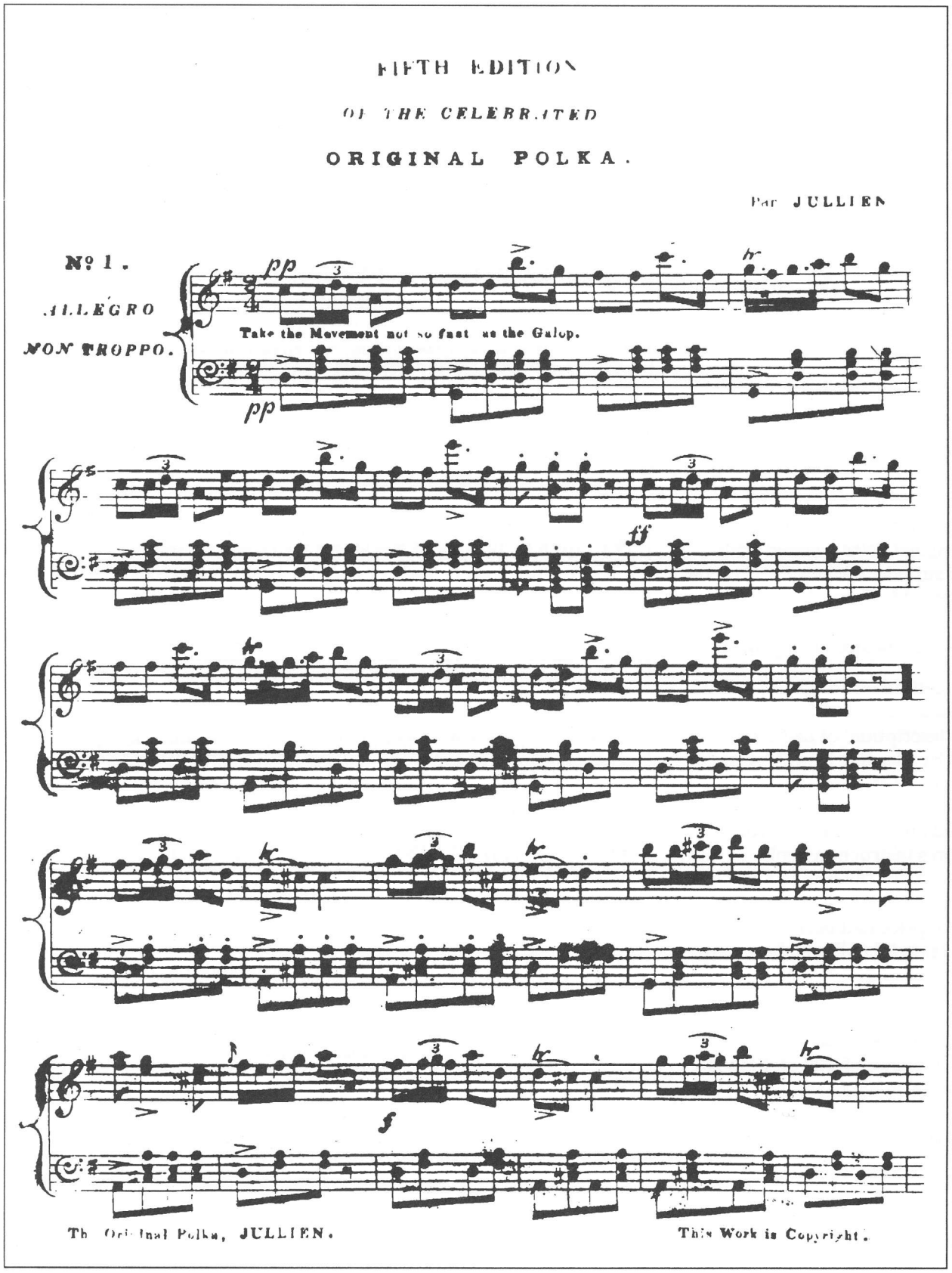
30 November

The claims of Jullien - composer of the *Original Polka* - gained additional support when Mlle. Carlotta Grisi and M. Perrot danced the polka to his 'original' score at Her Majesty's Theatre (27 April).

Then, setting one of its advertisers against another, the *News* printed a 'true description' of *La Polka*, procured by Mrs Rae from M. Corelli, a dancing instructor to the nobility of Paris, the week after it had printed an advertisement for M. Coulon's instruction book (11 May). By December, Coulon's book had reached its fifth edition and the price had been reduced from 1s. to 8d (7 December).

By the end of the year, new polkas and polka hybrids poured off the printing presses and the market was big enough for everybody, including plagiarists and forgers. Jullien's success was assured, with or without his protests.

(All advertisements and references, *Illustrated London News*, 1844.)



Title page of Jullien's Original Polka, *1844*
(Courtesy David Nuttall)

> is, I think, a valtz of Vienna. I don't know which one, but I say to the organ-man, 'I want a valtz of Vienna'; and he say, 'Which one? because there is plenty of valtz of Vienna'. Of course, there is nine of them. After the opera music, the valtz and the polka is the best music in the organ.....
>
> It won't do to have all opera music in my organ. You must have some opera tunes for the gentlemen, and some for the poor people, and they like the dancing tune. Dere is some for the gentlemens, and some for the poor peoples.[37]

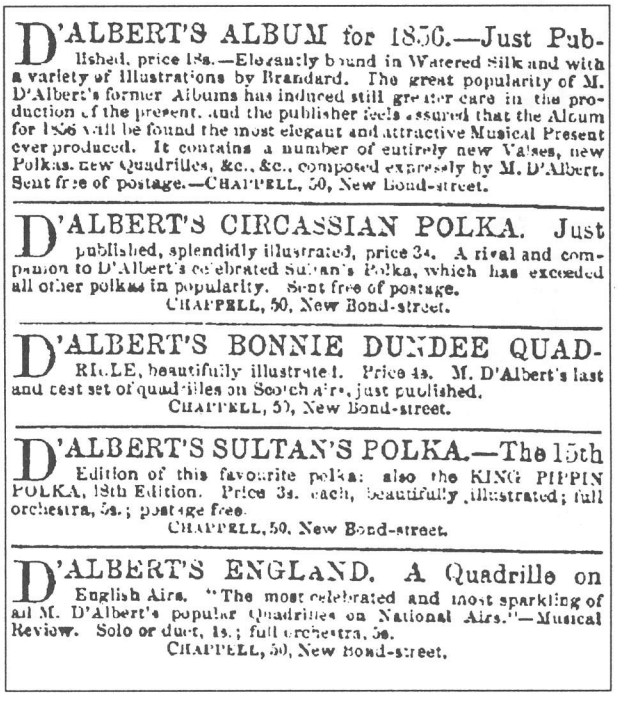
A number of Scan's round dance tunes can be attributed to mid and late nineteenth-century printed sources, and all of them, it would seem, fall within my second category of composed tunes, at the extreme limit of the polarity. The *Heel and Toe Polka* is none other than *Sultan's Polka* by Charles d'Albert, which ran to countless editions and remains in print today. In current popular tradition it is also the tune for the children's jingle:

> *One, two, three, four, five,*
> *Once I caught a fish alive.*
> *Why did you let it go?*
> *Because it bit my finger so.*[38]

The *Varsovienne* was written by Francisco Alonzo for the dance invented by Desire, a Spanish dancing teacher in Paris, and was introduced in London around 1853.[39] Subsequently there were many other variations on the original composition and as early as 1861 Mayhew reported a version of the corrupted title, *Waltz Vienna*.[40]

Jenny Lind, the 'Swedish Nightingale', took London society by storm in 1847, after her English debut as an operatic soprano at Her Majesty's Theatre. Anton Wallerstein's composition, *Polka de Jenny Lind*, appeared in London, having probably been published previously on the Continent, to celebrate her success and to exploit the outbreak of 'Jenny Lind fever'. Phineas T. Barnum's promotion of her in the United States in 1850, may well account for the tune's popularity in America.[41] Wallerstein, in keeping with the convention of composers at that time, wrote three parts to his polka. Musicians in the oral tradition, a hundred years later, and as far apart as Sussex and Chicago, Norfolk and Donegal, play versions of *Jenny Lind Polka* compatible with each other, but, following their own conventions, use only the first two parts of Wallerstein's piece.[42]

Rosalie, the Prairie Flower, by G. F. Wurzel, dates from 1855; Scan's version and those of other country musicians are amazingly close to the original.[43] Another of Scan's untitled polkas - in fact, *Bric a Brac Polka* by Charles Coote, Jr. - introduces several structural differences from the original composition.[44] The key change into the second part has been eliminated, presumably to accommodate the single-row melodeon, and the last four bars of each part, although related melodically to the original, are quite different, and have been reconstructed to follow local melodic conventions. The third part and a bridge passage have been left out altogether. The minstrel song, *Buffalo Girls*, as Scan played it, contains a subtle variation from the printed melody in the first part and a total invention for the second.[45]



D'ALBERT'S ALBUM for 1856.—Just Published, price 18s.—Elegantly bound in Watered Silk and with a variety of Illustrations by Brandard. The great popularity of M. D'Albert's former Albums has induced still greater care in the production of the present, and the publisher feels assured that the Album for 1856 will be found the most elegant and attractive Musical Present ever produced. It contains a number of entirely new Valses, new Polkas, new Quadrilles, &c., &c., composed expressly by M. D'Albert. Sent free of postage.—CHAPPELL, 50, New Bond-street.

D'ALBERT'S CIRCASSIAN POLKA. Just published, splendidly illustrated, price 3s. A rival and companion to D'Albert's celebrated Sultan's Polka, which has exceeded all other polkas in popularity. Sent free of postage.
CHAPPELL, 50, New Bond-street.

D'ALBERT'S BONNIE DUNDEE QUADRILLE, beautifully illustrated. Price 4s. M. D'Albert's last and best set of quadrilles on Scotch airs, just published.
CHAPPELL, 50, New Bond-street.

D'ALBERT'S SULTAN'S POLKA.—The 15th Edition of this favourite polka; also the KING PIPPIN POLKA, 18th Edition. Price 3s. each, beautifully illustrated; full orchestra, 5s.; postage free.
CHAPPELL, 50, New Bond-street.

D'ALBERT'S ENGLAND. A Quadrille on English Airs. "The most celebrated and most sparkling of all M. D'Albert's popular Quadrilles on National Airs."—Musical Review. Solo or duet, 4s.; full orchestra, 5s.
CHAPPELL, 50, New Bond-street.

Advertisements for a variety of D'Albert compositions, including the 15th edition of his 'celebrated Sultan's Polka, which has exceeded all other polkas in popularity', and two sets of quadrilles based on 'national airs'.

Illustrated London News, *12 January 1856.*

(The 58th edition of the Sultan's Polka *was announced in the* Illustrated London News *for 18 December 1875.)*

Not for Joseph was composed by a music-hall performer, Arthur Lloyd (1839-1904). The chorus - 'Oh dear no, oh dear no, not for Joseph, not for Joe' - was taken up as a political jibe and directed at Joseph Chamberlain.[46] One of Scan's untitled waltzes couples a theme from an Italian song, *Il Baccio*, by Arditis, with another that appears on American old-time fiddle recordings.[47]

George Grossmith's 1886 song hit, *See Me Dance the Polka*, has been improved, not only by a subtle shift in the melody but also by an additional part composed by Bill Gorringe, and *Down the Road*, by Frederick Gilbert, popularised by Gus Elen in the music halls in the 1890s, has similarly had a second part added to it.

> **Scan:** There's two parts to a tune, and if there was a tune I learnt and I ... didn't have the other part, well, I made a part up to it. [MP]

In the case of another of Scan's schottisches, the second part as played by Scan and Bill Gorringe is in the major key, as opposed to the minor key part in the original. David Nuttall identifies this tune as *Rainbow Schottische*, by Henry Kleber, and *Winter's Night Schottische*, arranged by Charles Coote, identical melodies dating from around 1856.[48]

One of Scan's waltzes was known as *Sweet Smiling Faces* by Harry Cox of Catfield, Norfolk.[49] Two other old waltzes Scan learnt from Trayton: *Nutley Waltz*, which Scan associated with dancing at *Nutley Inn*, and *The Man in the Moon*, for which a broadside text has been found.[50] The schottische recorded by Bill Gorringe is a relative of the country dance tune, *The Steamboat*.[51] One of Scan's favourite polkas was also played by Walter Bulwer. It shares one eight-bar part with *On the Green*, a multi-themed piece the Norfolk hammer dulcimer player Billy Bennington learnt from a village band, which in all probability learnt from a written score.[52]

Some of the tunes Scan used for round dancing presumably had little currency beyond a small network of musicians. Others circulated far and wide, even across national borders and oceans, apparently with little assistance from commercial media. If there was a degree of insularity within Scan's early environment, and if his repertoire of round dance tunes now strikes us as unique, he and his mates were, in fact, in the mainstream of a popular culture that existed among rural working people throughout the British Isles, and he shared tunes with musicians he could never have met. (See Appendix A.)

THE VELETA AND SEQUENCE DANCING

The combination in 1900 of the best-selling *Merry Widow Waltz*, and Arthur Morris's dance invention, the *Veleta*, brought about another fashion in ballroom dancing.[53] Based on the existing form of round dancing, the *Veleta* spawned a generation of derivatives: the *Military Two-step* (James Finnigan, 1906), the *Boston Two-step* (Tom Walton, 1908), *La Rinka* (W.F. Hurndall, 1909), the *Progressive Barn Dance* (C.J. Daniels), the *Esperano Barn Dance* (T. Almond) and many more.[54] Scan and his friends accepted them as similar to the old round dances; Scan, in fact, called them round dances, although professional dancing teachers favoured the term 'sequence dances'.

> **Scan:** I played the *Cake Walk* and the *La Rinka*. Of course, the *La Rinka* was a skating dance, and I used to play them one time of day, but they didn't last long; they went out of date. [MP]

Indeed, many lasted no time at all, but a half dozen or so passed into popular tradition and are still danced. The highly mannered posturing demanded by the Old Time Dance Committee of the official Board of Ballroom Dancing and projected on the television show, *Come Dancing*, has fortunately not affected the more natural style to be seen at socials and wedding parties, when middle-aged working people get together. Scottish accordeon players, from the Wyper Brothers in Edwardian times to William Hannah in the 1920s and Jimmy Shand in the 1930s, recorded music for these couple dances. The records by Jimmy Shand and his Band issued between 1947 and the late 1950s, including *La Rinka*, the *Barn Dance, La Va, Eva Three-Step, Gay Gordons, St. Bernard's Waltz, Military Two-Step* and many polkas and waltzes, are evidence enough of a market for these 'old-fashioned' dances.

The two decades either side of the turn of the century produced a great number of music hall and Tin Pan Alley songs, which became lasting, universally popular favourites. *Daisy Bell, Old Bull and Bush, Dear Old Pals, The Honeysuckle and the Bee, In the Shade of the Old Apple Tree, After the Ball, Comrades, Just Like the Ivy, Man who Broke the Bank at Monte Carlo*, and *Two Little Girls in Blue*, come easily to mind, and there were dozens more. Sheet music, gramophone records and personal appearances of Florrie Forde, Harry Lauder, Harry Champion and others at the variety theatres spread the songs around, and Scan had many of them, which he fitted into his dance and sing-song repertoires. He heard the gramophone early in this century, although he did not buy one until the 1920s, and he went to the variety theatre in Brighton. His interest was in tunes, rather than performances and throughout his life he had no

particular favourite professional musician or singer. In spite of the many records of his own kind of material available nationally by Peter and Dan Wyper, he told me he had never heard of them, nor had he heard of Alexander Prince, a prolific recording artist on the duet concertina. Fairground organs were more to his taste.

> **Bert Woods:** There used to be fairs come round. He'd be out there listening, and the organ's going round, and he'd have it ... Yeh, he'd have it on there next day. Yes, stand out there listening to it.

Over the Waves, a Mexican waltz of 1891, was one particular tune Scan learnt from a fairground organ:

> **Scan:** I got on the roundabout and I sat there till I learnt to play the bloody thing! [DN]
>
> Yes, it was only a penny a ride then, mind you. That was before the War, and I sit on there till I learnt it, and I don't know how many rides I had, but not many, because I heard it - heard this regimental band playing it at Crowborough sports - and I'd sort of got hold of bits and pieces and, you know, that all come to me when I got on that blinking roundabout, listening to the organ playing it. [DN]
>
> There's nobody likes music better than I do ... For example, when we used to have the clubs and fairs, those organs. I've always said, 'I wouldn't mind having one in my front garden.' Because it's marvellous things they are ... Well, he's a clever man that makes them. [AW]

NOTES

1. 'The Norfolk men are great at stepdancing. It is curious to watch the impassiveness of their faces and the utter stolidity of the upper part of the body and arms, and contrast them with the marvellous rapid patter and stamp of the feet on the floor.' (Charles J. Staniland, 'Norfolk Nooks', *The Graphic*, 22.10.1887, p. 457).
2. 'Yorks' are strings tied round trouser legs, just below the knee, 'to keep the dust out of your eyes.' (Jack Norris).
3. 'Women definitely did it even in the days of long skirts; it was a matter of feminine pride that women could outlast the men when in competition.' (Humphreys Family, 'A Broom Dance From Devon', *English Dance & Song*, XVIII, 6, (1954), p. 205).

   'A dear old Symondsbury woman in full black skirt and tight bodice did a spirited broom dance.' (M. E. Mayne, 'An Old Dorset Musician', *E.D.& S.*, XV, 1, (1951), p. 152).

   There are photographs of two mid-Suffolk women performing the *Broom Dance* in John Howson's, *Many A Good Horseman: A Survey of Traditional Music Making in Mid Suffolk* (1985), p. 33, 46.

   For examples of sound recordings of Scan's tune for the *Broom Dance*, see Appendix A.
4. George S. Emmerson, 'The Hornpipe', *Folk Music Journal*, II, 1, (1970), pp. 12-34.
5. Irish country stepdancing is commonly in hornpipe, reel and jig-time and less commonly in hop-jig-time. A sound recording of Irish stepdancing in waltz-time is the McNulty Family (Mayo/New York), *The Stone Outside Dan Murphy's Door - Waltz Clog*, Rex U234 (1937). Dick Hewitt (Norfolk) can apparently step in any rhythm.
6. **Scan:** 'That used to be a real old pub song, didn't it, at one time.' [DN]

   Waltzing Matilda was published in 1917 (i.e., after the Gallipoli campaign). Does Scan's stepdance tune pre-date its publication, or did Scan base it on the song air at a time after he had stopped playing for stepdancing?
7. The earliest known printed version of *Soldier's Joy* is in McGlashan, *Collection of Scots Measures* (c.1781).

   Scan's untitled version of the *Cliff Hornpipe* is on Topic 2-12T455/6, side 4, track 7.

   Charlie Wills, Ryall, Dorset, told me the *Monkey Hornpipe* was danced to the *Keel Row* by two men facing each other, squatting and holding both hands with each other. They kicked each leg out in turn in time to the music until one gave up.

   Scan's *No.1 Stepdance* and the *London Clog* are different hornpipes, sharing some common characteristics. Stephen Baldwin's *Liverpool Hornpipe* lies between them and makes the connection.

   For examples of sound recordings of these tunes, see Appendix A.
8. Scan's untitled version of this hornpipe is on Topic 2-12T455/6, side 4, track 8; Bill Gorringe's version is on side 2, track 6c.
9. For an account of Bert Pidgeon, melodeon, Alfie Tuck, tambourine, and a set of old-timers performing the *Four-Hand Reel* at the Women's Institute Symondsbury, Devon, see Mayne, 'An Old Dorset Musician', p. 140.

   For examples of sound recordings of Scan's tune for the *Reel*, see Appendix A.

10. '[D]anced by Aldridge' (McGlashan, *Collection of Scots Measures*). Information on John Bill Ricketts is contained in Emmerson, 'The Hornpipe'.

    For examples of sound recordings, see Appendix A.

    One title for the tune, *Pigeon on the Gate,* used in Suffolk, belongs to an Irish reel. The syntactical structure of the name (noun/preposition/article/noun) is used for Irish reels and jigs, and very rarely for hornpipes.

11. A country dance can be described simply as a line of men facing a line of women. Usually there are four eight-bar figures, the fourth being a progression, where the top couple finishes at the bottom of the set, and thus every couple eventual dances in the top place, or every other couple moves down one place and the remaining couples move up one place.

12. These are the earliest known references to the following tunes:

    St. Patrick's Day: Rutherford, *Two Hundred Country Dances* (see Francis O'Neill: *Irish Folk Music* (1910), p. 234).

    Garryowen appeared in a pantomime, *Harlequin Amulet* (O'Neill, p. 234).

    Bonny Dundee: Moffat gives the date and credits the composition to Charlotte Sainton-Dolby (*Minstrels of Scotland* (1896), p. 242).

    Irish Washerwoman: Thompson, *24 Country Dances for 1789.*

    The *Irish Washerwoman* represents two musical traditions in its composition. The first part, which harks back to *Dargason* or *Sedany* (John Playford, *The English Dancing Master* (1650-51)), is in what in Irish and Scottish music I term 'ethnic' style, i.e., based on a two-chord structure. The second is Italianate, employing a more complicated chord progression.

    For examples of sound recordings of the *Irish Washerwoman* and Scan's *17th of March,* see Appendix A.

13. Scan played *A Hundred Pipers.* I do not know if he knew *Bonnets So Blue.*

14. O'Neill, *Irish Folk Music,* pp. 178-9.

    W. Chappell noted of *The Girl I Left Behind Me:* 'This air has long been in use on the English stage as the Morris Dance, and introduced in all village festivities and processions. It is also played when a man of war weighs anchor; and by each regiment on leaving the town in which they have been quartered: indeed, no air has been, for the last fifty years, more universally popular.' (Chappell, *A Collection of National English Airs* (1838)).

    The following are examples of country and country dance tunes used as regimental marches:

    Kinnegad Slashers, Gloucestershire Regt.
    With Jockey To The Fair, King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry.
    Speed The Plough, Suffolk Regt.
    Huntsman's Chorus, King's Own Royal Rifle Corps.
    (The above from National Army Museum, London, ref. 6501-38.)

    Corn Rigs, King's Own Royal Lancashire Regt.
    Ap Shenkin, Welsh Regt.
    Old Towler, King's Shropshire Light Infantry.
    (Regal G7304, G7310 and G7310 respectively by Regimental Band of H.M. Welsh Guards (c.1916-17)).

    Dashing White Sergeant, The Berkshire Regt.
    (Winner 3078, Band of H.M. lst Life Guards (1917)).

15. Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor, III* (1861), pp. 159-160.

    'Come, Haste to the Wedding... is more frequently to be heard upon the chimes of country churches than any other, and usually played when a wedding is about to take place. In 1767, it was introduced into a pantomime called *The Elopement,* performed at Drury Lane Theatre, and we have not yet seen any older copy.' (Chappell, *National English Airs,* p. 129).

    For examples of sound recordings, see Appendix A.

16. I remember Scan's *Galop* as follows:

    Longways for as many as will.

    8 bars: Join hands in lines and dance with a springy walk forward and back twice.

    8 bars (or more, depending on the number of couples): Partners join both hands across the set, galop up the set, following the top couple who casts left, galoping down the set to the bottom and up the set to their original positions.

    8 bars: The two lines stand in position while the top couple galops between them to the bottom of the set.

    I am unable to remember whether there was a fourth part! Fanny Lander mentioned an arches figure.

17. Philip J. S. Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England* (1960), p. 69.

    The Galop was on the programme at the Batchelors' annual ball, Lewes, in 1914. *(Sussex Express,* 8.8.1914).

18. Mayhew, *III,* p. 202.

19. Thomas Hardy, *Under The Greenwood Tree* (1896), chapters 7 & 8.

    The Triumph appears in Preston, *24 Country Dances for theYear 1793.*

    The country dance, *Sir Roger de Coverley,* was still commonly danced at genteel private gatherings until comparatively recently. Rev. J. Ward Petley talked on 'Old Sussex Customs' at the Women's Institute meeting at the *Star* hut, Piltdown. 'Afterwards members joined in dancing Sir Roger de Coverley.'*(Sussex Express,* 21.3.1930).

20. For recorded examples of Scan's tune *Pretty Little Dear,* see Appendix A.

21. Richardson, Social Dances, pp. 58, 70-74.

    Charles Louis Napoleon d'Albert was born near Hamburg in 1809 and came to London in 1816. He is described as a French dancing-master and composer. He spent time with the ballet in Paris and became the ballet master at the King's Theatre in London [in the 1840s]. (Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, I* (1980).

22. G. Cruikshank, *Elegancies of Quadrille Dancing*, engraving (1817) (Reg Hall Collection).

23. The nearest we are likely to get to the original sound of the music is the Smithsonian Institute's recorded recreation, using original scores and authentic period instruments. This, of course, was not a functioning dance orchestra, and the performances sadly lack dance quality. Jullien's famous orchestra of the 1850s might, perhaps, have interpreted the notation with a little more lilt. (Smithsonian Social Orchestra And Quadrille Band (Washington, D.C), *19th-Century American Ballroom Music: Waltzes, Marches, Polkas and Other Dances, 1840-60*, Nonesuch H-71313 (1974).

24. Perseverance Cricket Club, annual ball, *Bridge House Hotel:* 'Mr. Goll's quadrille band was in attendence and played upwards of 24 pieces of music, comprising quadrilles, polkas, lancers, caledonians, redowas, schottisches, alberts, valses and galops.' *(Bermondsey and Rotherhithe Advertiser*, 5.3.1881).

25. Larry Lynch, in his recent book on Irish set dances, states: 'Throughout the nineteenth... century rural people danced sets in their houses and at public gatherings'. This is based on a misinterpretation of secondary source material. I am in process of piecing together the evidence and in anticipation of completing the research, I suggest the introduction of quadrille dancing in rural Ireland dates from the last quarter of the 19th century. (Lynch, *Set Dances of Ireland: Tradition and Evolution* (1989), p. 2).

26. Some further *Sussex Express* references to quadrille dancing in Sussex:

    Burwash quadrille class (6.3.1897).

    Winding up Burwash quadrille class (6.4.1897).

    Battle quadrille class long night (7.1.1905).

    Rotherfield quadrille class end of season dance (7.1.1905).

    Haywards Heath quadrille class end of season dance (4.3.1905).

    Heathfield and Waldron quadrille class (28.4.1911).

    Harry Martin, West Hoathly Tipteerers, told me that the *Lancers* was danced to melodeon and piano in East Grinstead during the Great War.

27. *Sussex Express*, 11.3.1905.

    Dancing classes were still being held there in 1910 *(Sussex Express*, 11.2.1910).

28. *Sussex Express*, -.2.1897.

29. Band of H.M. Irish Guards, *Regimental Marches of King's Royal Rifles, Royal Irish Rifles, East Lancashire Regt., East Surrey Regt., Royal West Surrey Regt.*, Winner 2805 (1915).

    Regimental Band of H.M. Welsh Guards: *The Buffs, Royal Sussex Regt., Queen's Own Royal West Kent Regt.*, Regal G7308; *Royal Irish Rifles, East Surrey Regt.*, Regal G7310 (c.1916-17).

30. *Lion Quadrilles*, Columbia-Rena 1436-8, (4th Figure is also on Topic 12T376); *Blackthorn Quadrilles*, Columbia-Rena 1946-8; *Pibroch Quadrilles*, Regal G7681-2; *Original Lancers*, Regal G7686-7; *Thistle Quadrilles*, Parlophone E3150-1; *Lothian Quadrilles*, Parlophone E3147-8; *Patience Quadrilles*, Beltona 1512-3.

    Other examples: Fred Cameron (Elgin), *Scottish Quadrilles*, Zonophone 309-311 (1909); Bob Smith, *Ideal Lancers*, Beltona 1691-2 (1931) (*5th Figure* is also on Topic 12T320); Bob Smith, *Highland Quadrilles*, Beltona 2337- 9 (1934).

31. Interview with Scan Tester, *Mid Sussex Times*, 2.9.1971.

32. Anne Loughran and Vic Gammon, *A Sussex Tune Book* (1982), tune no. 67.

    Recorded examples of the tune Scan used for the 1st figure of the *Lancers* include:

    Band of H.M. Irish Guards, Winner 2722 (1914).

    Regimental Band of H.M. Welsh Guards, Regal G7310 (c. 1916-7).

    Fred Pidgeon (Devon), *Circassian Circle*, Folktracks FSA087 (1954).

33. Whereas the polka took elite society by storm, the schottische appears to have caused no such stir, at least as evidenced in the contemporary press. The earliest reference I have found is a classified advertisement offering lessons in *La Schottische* (*Illustrated London News*, 21.10.1848).

34. Henry Mayhew and Peter Quennell, *Mayhew's London* (n.d), p. 42.

35. Richardson, *Social Dances*, p. 113.

36. Mayhew, *III*, p. 182.

37. Mayhew, *III*, p. 176.

38. For examples of sound recordings of the *Heel and Toe Polka*, see Appendix A.

39. Richardson, *Social Dances*, pp. 97-8.

    An early band recording of the original tune is: Musique de la Garde Republicaine (France), *La Varsoviana, Danse de Salon de Alonzo*, Lutetia F3081 (undated).

40. For examples of sound recordings of Scan's *Waltz Vienna*, see Appendix A.

41. Sadie, ed., *New Grove, X*, pp. 865-866.

42. Wallerstein was born in Dresden in 1813. He was a professional musician, who began composing in 1830, and specialised in composition from 1841. (Sadie, ed., *New Grove, XX*, p. 179).

43. Song sheet, with piano accompaniment (David Nuttall Collection); broadside (Steve Roud Collection).

    Recorded examples of this tune:

    Billy Ballantine/Jimmy Hunter (Northumberland), *Schottische*, Topic 12T283 (1954).

    Dan Wyper, *Selection of Schottisches*, Rena 1345 (1910).

44. Scan's version of this tune appears on Topic 2-12T455/6, side 4, track 2.

    I have seen a copy of the sheet music for the *Bric a Brac Polka* with the acquisition date of 1885 in handwriting. I worked from a manuscript copy from John Howson.

45. *Buffalo Girls* was first published in 1839 (Alan Jabbour, accompanying notes for the LP *American Fiddle Tunes* (Library of Congress L62).

46. Peter Gammond, *Your Own, Your Very Own!*, pp. 24-25 (David Nuttall).

47. Scan's version of this tune appears on Topic 2-12T455/6, side 4, track 3.

    For examples of sound recordings, see Appendix A.

48. Scan's version of this tune appears on Topic 2-12T455/6, side 1, track 7, and Bill Gorringe's on side 2, track 6d.

    For examples of sound recordings, see Appendix A.

49. Scan's version of this tune appears on Topic 2-12T455/6, side 3, track 8.

50. The first part of Scan's *Nutley Waltz* is the first part of *L'Amour Endormi Waltz*, c. 1910, by Leon du Terrail, one of the 46 pseudonyms of Charles Arthur Rawlings (David Nuttall).

    A broadside text of *Man In The Moon* is in the possession of Steve Roud.

51. Bill Gorringe's version of this tune is on Topic 2-12T455/6, side 2, track 6e.

    The Steamboat is printed in Maud Karpeles, *Twelve Traditional Dances* (1931), p. 27.

52. Walter Bulwer (Norfolk), untitled (1962), Topic 12T240; Billy Bennington (Norfolk), *On the Green* (1972), Topic 12TS229.

53. David Nuttall identifies the tune Scan used for the *Veleta* as the *Inspiration Veleta* by Everitt. Examples of country recordings of the same piece are:

    Percy Brown (Norfolk), *Waltz for the Veleta* (1972), Topic 12T229.

    Michael Gorman (Co. Sligo), *Veleta Waltz* (1952), Folktracks FSA 077.

54. 'I believe that details are available of some six hundred sequence dances... Only the best of them reach the ballroom, and of those which do, very few survive for long.' (Victor Silvester, *Old Time Dancing* (1949), p. 40).

    Silvester (1949) and Michael Gwynne give instructions for some of the dances in Scan's repertoire, and give dates and composer credits (Gwynne, *Old Time and Sequence Dancing* (1950)).

One of the two concertinas Scan owned at the end of his life, a 30-key C/G, made by C. Jeffries, c. 1900. Now in the possession of Will Duke of Barcombe, Sussex.

(Photograph: Graeme Kirkham)