## The Scottish Country Dance

## Its Origins and Development I

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In our book, Traditional Dancing in Scotland (Flett 1964), we have shown that in Scotland the Country Dance was traditionally a dance of the Lowlands. It reached the remoter parts of the Highlands, the Western Isles and Orkney only between about 1850 and 1880, and essentially it did not reach Shetland at all. In this article we attempt to establish the origins of the Scottish Country Dance, and to trace its development in the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

The history of the Country Dance in Scotland begins about the year 1700. For a hundred years before this date social dancing was condemned as sinful by the Presbyterian Church. There are remarkably few references to dancing in Scotland during this period, and most of those which do occur record the censure by various Church Sessions of people who had taken part in social dancing. For instance, in 1619 the Church Session of Elgin recorded that 'certain lasses had committed ane offense in dansing with ane pyper in Johne Hamiltoune's hous during the festuall days callit Youll' (Records of Elgin 1908). In 1649 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland gave strong encouragement to the Church Sessions by passing an act prohibiting 'promiscuous dancing' (i.e. dancing in which men danced with women), and this act was reaffirmed by the General Assembly in 1701 (Acts of the General Assembly 1843). Even Royalty had to conform: In the years 1681 and 1682, while the Duke of York [Later James II] . . . resided in Edinburgh, a splendid court was kept at the Palace of Holyroudhouse, to which resorted the principal of the nobility and gentry. . . . Balls, plays, and masquerades were introduced: These . . . were soon laid aside. The fanaticism of the times could not bear such ungodly innovations' (Tytler 1798).

Soon after 1700, a more tolerant attitude towards the lighter pleasures seems to have developed in Scotland as a whole, and although there was still some religious opposition, social dancing once again became possible. It is precisely at this period that Country Dances first appear in Scotland.

The term Country Dance today covers many different forms of dance, but to older people in Scotland it means a dance in which the dancers form two parallel lines, and each couple progress down the lines in turn. The progression can be made either one place at a time, as in the well-known Petronella and Duke of Perth, or directly from the

top to the bottom of the set, as in Haymakers' Jig and Strip the Willow. Cecil Sharp, in his study of the early English Country Dance, gave the name *longways progressive* to this type of dance (Sharp 1909–22). The traditional Scottish usage of the term 'Country Dance' to mean a longways progressive dance certainly goes back to about 1740, and probably earlier.

Nowadays a 'Country Dance' consists of a particular set of figures which can be performed to any tune of some specified type. However, until about 1850 a Country Dance consisted of a tune and a particular set of figures performed to that tune, and the name of the dance was that of the tune. The same tune may occur in two or more different sources with different sets of figures attached, and these were regarded as different dances, even though they have the same name. It was also a frequent occurrence for the same set of figures to be set to two different tunes; these too were regarded as different dances.

So far as we know, the first explicit mention of a 'Country Dance' in Scotland is dated 1698, in Martin's Voyage to St Kilda (Martin 1698). Martin (a native of Skye) describes a multiple wedding ceremony which he saw on St Kilda: 'Mr Campbell, the Minister, married in this Manner fifteen Pair of the Inhabitants on the seventeenth of June, who immediately after their Marriage, joined in a Country Dance, with a Bagpipe for their Music.' It seems unlikely that Martin's 'Country Dance' was a Country Dance in the technical sense, for in the Outer Hebrides, St Kilda's nearest neighbours, the only dances in use before about 1850 seem to have been Reels. It is therefore probable that he witnessed some form of wedding Reel, and that in his book he used a term that would be more familiar to readers in London, where his book was published.

The next explicit reference to Country Dances in Scotland is in 1723. In that year the first public dancing Assembly commenced in Edinburgh, and Country Dances were performed there (see Flett: 1967).

The Edinburgh Assembly was only nominally public, for it was confined to 'Persons of Quality, and others of Note'. It took place every Thursday, from four o'clock in the afternoon to eleven at night, the tickets being half a crown. Even at this late date it met opposition from the Church; the ministers preached against it, and one writer asserted that 'the foresaid Assembly... is dishonourable to GOD, scandalous to Religion, and of dangerous Consequence to Human Society'. But in spite of this opposition the Assembly flourished.

Until at least 1773, the only dances performed at the Edinburgh Assembly seem to have been Country Dances and Minuets. The Country Dances were almost certainly of longways progressive type, for in 1746 the rules of the Assembly stated that in the Country Dances only one set, consisting of not more than ten couples, was allowed on the floor at a time. In 1773 the number of couples in a set was increased to twelve.

From 1700 onwards the Country Dance slowly but steadily increased in popularity in Scotland. At first it seems to have been essentially a dance belonging to the upper classes, performed only in the larger towns and the country houses of the landed gentry.

By about 1750 it had spread to the smaller country towns—for example, in 1752 John M'Gill, a dancing-master in a Border town (probably Kelso) included in his repertoire 'Twelve of the Newest Country Dances, as they are performed at the Assembleys and Balls' (Notes and Queries 1855). However, this increase in the popularity of the dance seems to have been confined to the upper and middle classes; we have not been able to find any evidence, either in the popular literature of the time or in the memoirs of foreign visitors, that Country Dances were performed by the ordinary people of Scotland during the first half of the eighteenth century.

It is in fact not until about 1775 that we have the first real evidence of Country Dances being performed by the ordinary people of Scotland. Dr Currie, in his biography of Burns, describes the type of dancing school which Burns attended in Ayrshire in 1776: 'the school is usually a barn, and the arena for the performers is generally a clay floor. The dome is lighted by candles stuck in one end of a cloven stick, the other end of which is thrust into the wall. Reels, strathspeys, country-dances, and hornpipes are here practised...' (Flett 1964:28). Currie's account is clearly drawn from his own experience, and almost certainly refers to the time of his youth in Dumfriesshire, c. 1775.

In addition to the various references to Country Dances mentioned above, there are also a number of actual descriptions of Country Dances in eighteenth-century Scottish manuscripts. The first such description is that of the dance John Anderson my Jo, the instructions and music for which are given in the Agnes Hume MS of 1704 in the National Library of Scotland (Adv. MS. 5.2.17). John Anderson my Jo is the only dance described in the manuscript, and although the term 'Country Dance' is not mentioned explicitly, the dance is clearly of longways progressive type, the instructions being as follows:

'The first man and 2 ly turn right hands round and into their place and the second man and first ly the same. Then d:<sup>2</sup> back all four and turn S.<sup>3</sup> Then all hands round till the 2 couple come in the first place.

'The tune is to be played over through once over every time so the first couple has time to take their drinks to be danced with as many pairs you please.'

Apart from the Agnes Hume MS, we know of five extant eighteenth-century Scottish manuscripts containing descriptions of Country Dances, namely the Holmain MS, the Duke of Perth's MS, the Young MS, the Castle Menzies MS, and the Bowman MS. All the dances described in these are of longways progressive type.

The Holmain MS is a little notebook which was found in the charter chest of the Holmains, an old Dumfriesshire family. It contains instructions, without music, for twelve dances. These instructions were reprinted in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Carruthers 1924–5), and from a study of them we can say that the manuscript was written c. 1710–30. It was obviously written by an amateur, for very little use is made of technical terms in the dance instructions.

The Duke of Perth's MS and the Young MS were both written by David Young. The Duke of Perth's MS was discovered in 1954 in Drummond Castle, Crieff, by Dr

H. G. Farmer, the musical historian. It is a manuscript of some 170 pages, bound in ornately tooled leather, the contents being divided into two parts. The first part contains music and instructions for 48 Country Dances, and is entitled: A COLLECTION of Country Dances Written for the use of his Grace The Duke of PERTH. 1737. By Dav. Young. The second part, entitled A Collection of the Best Highland Reels, Written by David Young. W. M. & Accomptant, contains a number of Reel tunes which are of considerable interest to the musical historian but which do not concern us here.

The Duke of Perth for whom this manuscript was written later achieved fame as one of Prince Charles's generals in the Jacobite rising of 1745. He was born at Drummond Castle in 1713, where he lived until he was 7 years of age. His mother then took him to France to be educated there, and he did not return until 1734, at the age of 21. From 1734 until 1745 he lived at Drummond Castle and applied himself to the improvement of his estates. After the failure of the '45, he fled into the Highlands. He eventually succeeded in obtaining a passage to France, but his existence as a hunted fugitive had taken too great a toll of his strength, and he died on board the ship which was taking him to safety.

The second manuscript collection of Country Dances written by David Young, which we shall call the Young MS, is entitled A Collection of the newest Countrey Dances Perform'd in Scotland. Written at Edinburgh by Da. Young. W. M. 1740. This was discovered in 1957 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS Don.d.54), and contains music and instructions for a further forty-eight Country Dances, all different from those in the Duke of Perth's MS. It is the only one of these manuscripts which gives the phrasing of the dances, i.e. the musical lengths of the various figures of the dances.

It is probable that David Young merely copied the instructions for the dances in these two manuscripts from other sources, for several different styles are discernible in the manner in which these instructions are written. The instructions of about one quarter of the dances in the Young MS are written in a highly technical style, and the person who contributed these was probably also responsible for at least twenty (and possibly many more) of the dances in the Duke of Perth's MS. Another half of the dances in the Young MS were obviously written down by an amateur with some technical knowledge, but this second writer does not seem to have contributed to the Duke of Perth's MS.

The writing and ornamentation in these two manuscripts are of great beauty. In view of this, it is possible that the 'W.M.' following David Young's name in the manuscript stands for Writing Master.

David Young is well known to Scottish musical historians as the writer of the McFarlan MSS in the National Library of Scotland (N.L.S. MS 2084-5). There were once three volumes of these, but the first is missing. They are adequately described by the title-page of the second volume, which reads: A Collection OF Scotch Airs with the latest Variations. Written for the use of Walter McFarlan OF THAT ILK. By David Young W.M. in Ed. 1740. The music of the third volume was also written by Young, but the

title-page and index of this volume are in another hand. This third volume is undated, but it was probably written before 1743.

In the McFarlan MSS Young frequently added his initials after the titles of the tunes. We take this to mean that he was the composer of the 'latest variations' rather than of the original airs, though the latter possibility cannot be discounted entirely. A number of these variations are extremely elaborate; for instance, the Reel of Tulloch has no fewer than twenty-one parts. Many of the tunes in the Duke of Perth's MS and the Young MS occur also in the McFarlan MSS, often with further variations added.

The two remaining manuscripts contain instructions only. The Castle Menzies MS, which is headed Register of Dances at Castle Menzies, 1749, is in the Atholl Collection in the Sandeman Public Library, Perth (Castle Menzies is in Perthshire, near Aberfeldy). The manuscript contains instructions for eighteen dances, probably written by an amateur with a little technical knowledge.

The Bowman MS is in the Laing Collection in Edinburgh University Library (Laing MS 564a). It is a small leather-bound notebook, signed Alex<sup>t</sup> Bowman, containing the instructions, without music, for 122 dances. It is undated, but from the contents we can date it as belonging to the period from 1745 to c. 1770. The instructions are very brief and make consistent use of technical terms, and it is probable that Alexander Bowman was a professional dancing-master.

We mention here one further manuscript of this period, unfortunately now lost. This was written by the Border dancing-master John M'Gill, and was entitled: The dancing steps of a Hornpipe and Gigg. As also, Twelve of the Newest Country Dances, as they are performed at the Assembleys and Balls. All Sett by Mr John M'gill for the Use of his School, 1752. Some information about this manuscript, including the names of ten of the Country Dances, is given in an article written by the son of one of M'Gill's pupils (Notes and Queries 1855). The article is signed W.J., and the author was probably William Jerdan, well known in literary circles in the nineteenth century, whose father was brought up in Kelso.

The first printed Scottish collection of Country Dances is later in date than any of these manuscripts. It was published in Edinburgh in 1774, and was entitled: The Dancer's Pocket Companion, being a Collection of Forty Scots and English figures of Country Dances, with two elegant copperplates, showing all the different figures made use of in Scots or English Country Dancing. Properly explained by William Frazer, Dancing-Master, Edinburgh, 1774. To our regret this too is lost, and we have only the information given in the title above, which is quoted from Laing and Sharpe's Illustrations to the Scots Musical Museum (Johnson 1839). Apart from this, the only other Scottish collection of eighteenth-century date known to us is John Bowie's Collection of Strathspey Reels and Country Dances, published in Perth in 1789, which contains instructions for about half a dozen dances.

So far we have discussed the Country Dance only in relation to Scotland. However,

for a proper understanding of the origins and development of the Scottish Country Dance, it is essential to consider also the history of the Country Dance in England.<sup>4</sup>

The term 'Country Dance' in England seems first to have been applied to the ordinary social dances—the folk dances—of the village people of the English countryside. These folk-dances (which were, of course, not necessarily of longways progressive type) were introduced into English society during the reign of Elizabeth; for instance, in 1602 the Earl of Worcester wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury that 'wee are frolyke heare in Cowrt; mutche dauncing in the privi chamber af contrey dawnces before the Q[ueen's] Majesty' (Cunningham 1962). Some of the early references to Country Dances at the English Court may refer simply to exhibitions of folk dances by country entertainers, but there is positive evidence that English society took part in such dances in the record of '2 books of country dances' in the inventory of Hengrave Hall made in 1602.

It is probable that these countryside dances lost a good deal of their simplicity in the transition from a rural to an urban environment. They may also have been influenced during this early period by dances introduced to England from Italy (see Wood 1937). What is certain is that various forms united in a distinct type of dance which became known as the English Country Dance. Already in 1597 we find the English writer Morley referring to 'our countrey daunce' (Cunningham 1962). In France, too, this type of dance was recognised as peculiar to England: 'Il faut au surplus remarquer que de tout temps en chasque contree ou Prouince on a eu une danse affectee, comme les Anglois les mesures & contredanses, les Escossois les Bransles d'Escosse,...' (de Lauze 1623).

The earliest printed instructions for English Country Dances which have come down to us are those in *The English Dancing Master*, published by John Playford in London in 1651. At first sight the year 1651 may not seem to have been a particularly propitious date for the appearance of a book of dances, but the Puritans of England, unlike their Scottish counterparts, did not condemn ordinary social dancing; their objections were primarily directed at Morris and similar dances with a ritual background.

Playford's book seems to have had a good reception, and a second edition appeared in 1652, only one year after the first. Thereafter edition followed edition, the third in 1665, the fourth in 1670, and so on. Each edition was a little different from its predecessor, fresh (though not necessarily newly composed) dances being incorporated, and some of the old ones being omitted. All the editions after the first were entitled simply *The Dancing Master*.

John Playford retired in 1684 and handed over his music publishing business to his son Henry. After the death of Henry Playford c. 1706, the business seems to have passed largely into the hands of John Young, who continued to issue further editions of *The Dancing Master*, the last being published c. 1728. By this time the modest volume of 1651 containing about a hundred dances had become three volumes containing in all nearly 1,000 dances (the work first appeared in two volumes c. 1714, and in three c. 1728).

The dances in the original edition of John Playford's work probably represented the current English tradition of the time, and indeed a few of them can be found in earlier English manuscripts (see Cunningham 1965). It is evident that the dances were contributed by a number of people, for the instructions for the dances are written in several distinct styles. On the other hand it is probable that most of the fresh dances added to the later editions were composed especially for the work by professional dancingmasters. In one case we have actual evidence for this, the twenty-four dances in the Appendix to the ninth edition of 1696 having been 'made by Mr Beveredge, and . . . other Eminent Masters'. Further evidence of the intrusion of the professional dancingmaster lies in the increasing use of technical terms in the successive editions.

It can be seen from the original edition of Playford's collection that the English Country Dance of 1651 was very variable in form, for the book contains round, square and longways dances, for various numbers of dancers. The most numerous are the longways dances, the majority of these being progressive. From the succeeding editions of the book, it can be seen that the longways progressive type of dance slowly gained in favour at the expense of all the other types. By 1700, the fresh dances added to each new edition were all longways progressive in form, and most of the other types had dropped out.

One reason for the increase in the popularity of the longways progressive dances in England during the period from 1650 to 1700 was the innovation of public dancing assemblies. These called for an increased repertoire on the part of the individual dancer, and thus reduced the popularity of the more complicated dances. The simpler of the round and square Country Dances were rather dull in comparison with the simpler longways progressive dances, since the latter had the added variety contributed by the progression down the set. Thus the longways progressive dances came to be preferred to the other types.

During this same period English Country Dances spread into various parts of Europe. The Earl of Perth, in a letter home from Venice in 1695, wrote of the Italians that 'they dance scurvily when they pretend to French or English dances (for here they dance country dances at all their balls)' (Jerdan 1845). Even France, the home of courtly dancing, succumbed to the English Country Dance, and it is noteworthy that it was the longways progressive type of dance which became popular there. The first collection of Country Dances published in France, Feuillet's Recücil de Contredances (Paris 1706) contains a number of English Country Dances, the instructions being given in Feuillet's own system of 'Chorégraphie'. In this collection a Country Dance is actually defined as a longways progressive dance, and Feuillet says of Country Dances in general that 'Les Anglois en sont les premiers inventeurs'. Feuillet's collection was translated into English by John Essex in 1710, primarily as an example of the use of the 'Chorégraphie' system, for as far as the dances were concerned this was taking coals to Newcastle.

For many years after the publication of John Playford's English Dancing Master in

1651, the firm of Playford had a virtual monopoly in the publication of Country Dances. This monopoly ceased in 1705, when John Walsh, a rival London publisher who had set up in business in 1695, began to issue collections of Country Dances. Walsh immediately broke with the Playford's tradition of large collections by publishing a collection of twenty-four dances. He followed this with Twenty four new Country Dances for the year 1706, and thereafter he issued a fresh collection of twenty-four dances each year. The dances in these annual sets were almost certainly composed especially for the collections; in effect the compilers simply took the 'Top Twenty-four' tunes of the day and set Country Dance figures to them. In some cases the composers are stated; for instance, the dances for 1710, 1711, 1716, 1717 and 1718 were composed by a Nathaniel Kynaston, while those for 1721 were composed by Mr Birkhead of the Theatre Royal in London.

In addition to his annual sets, Walsh also issued larger collections of Country Dances, some of which consisted simply of a number of the annual sets bound together. Others of these larger collections went under the title of *The Compleat Country Dancing-Master*. Early editions of this were mainly copies of one of Henry Young's editions of Playford's *Dancing Master*, but a later series, of which Volume I was published in 1731, were completely new collections.

In 1733 Walsh published a collection of nearly seventy dances entitled Caledonian Country Dances. Being a Collection of all the celebrated Scotch Country Dances now in Vogue, with the proper Directions to each Dance. As they are perform'd at Court, & publick Entertainments. Eight further collections of Caledonian Country Dances were issued by John Walsh's son, who succeeded to the business on his father's death in 1736. The first of the younger Walsh's Caledonian collections, Book II of the complete series, was published in 1737, and the remainder followed at fairly regular intervals, Book III c. 1740, Book IV in 1744, and Books V-IX between 1748 and 1761.5

By no means all the dances in these 'Caledonian' collections have Scottish names. In Books I and II less than three-quarters of the dances do so, in Book III only about one quarter do so, and in Books IV and V the proportion is even lower. Moreover, it is probable that, of the dances in these collections with Scottish names, only a few actually originated in Scotland. It is at any rate certain that some of the dances in these collections were composed by the compilers of the collections, and only a mere handful of the dances possess Scottish characteristics (see Part 2 of this paper, Appendix II).

It is not difficult to explain why these 'Caledonian' collections were published at this time. Scottish tunes had first been introduced into England in any numbers about the beginning of the eighteenth century, and by about 1730 were very much the vogue. In publishing the first two or three books of Caledonian Country Dances, John Walsh and his son were simply catering for this demand for Scottish music. Later, the flow of tunes from Scotland slackened slightly, but by this time John Walsh junior had probably found it both convenient and profitable to publish collections of Country Dances distinct from his annual sets.

The elder Walsh had no serious rivals in his later years, but John Walsh junior had to face more serious competition, from John Johnson, who set up in business in London about 1740. Johnson published various collections of Country Dances, including six volumes each containing 200 dances, a collection of Caledonian Country Dances (this was first published in 1744 and reissued in 1748), and a series of annual sets of twenty-four dances. Most of the dances in Johnson's Caledonian Country Dances are taken word for word from the Walshs' collections, and the value of this work as an original source of Scottish Country Dances is negligible.

By 1750 there were four publishers issuing collections of Country Dances, the younger Walsh, Johnson, Hare and Rutherford, all in London. Of the two newcomers, only David Rutherford, a Scotsman, is of interest here. He began a series of annual collections in 1749, later gathering these annual sets into volumes each containing 200 dances. The same process was followed by another London publisher, Thompson, who began his yearly collections in 1751. After 1760 other London music publishers began collections of dances, for example, Straight and Skillern, c. 1767, Longman and his various partners, c. 1768, William Campbell, c. 1786, and Preston, also c. 1786.

The fashion of publishing annual sets of 24 Country Dances, begun by the elder Walsh in 1705, lasted well into the nineteenth century, one of the last such collections being that issued by John Townsend in Manchester c. 1838. Between 1750 and 1800 nearly thirty firms are known to have published large or small collections, and in the entire period during which the Country Dance was popular in England, the instructions, with music, for some 10,000 dances were published. All these dances are of longways progressive type, with the exception of some of the early dances in Playford's Dancing Master, and one other dance, the Scottish Bumpkin (see Flett 1965).

It is an obvious inference from these histories of the Country Dance in Scotland and England that the Country Dance which appeared in Scotland c. 1700 was of English origin. We have seen that by the year 1700 the English Country Dance had undergone a hundred years of continuous development, and the form which had emerged as dominant was the longways progressive dance. Thus by 1700 the Country Dance had attained in England precisely the form in which we first meet it in Scotland. The natural explanation is that when Scottish society began to dance again about the year 1700, after a century's abstention, they adopted the dances which were fashionable at that time in neighbouring England, and these were the longways progressive Country Dance and the Minuet.

An alternative theory which has been suggested is that the Country Dance which appeared in Scotland about 1700 goes back to pre-Reformation Scotland, and that it had been somehow preserved throughout that hundred years when social dancing was a sin. But it is stretching coincidence too far for us to believe that in 1700 it blossomed forth, after a hundred years of stagnation, in precisely the form which the Country Dance had reached in English society after a hundred years of continuous development.

It has also been suggested that the Country Dance was imported to Scotland from France, but even if this were so, it would still have been essentially the English Country Dance which was thus imported, for, as we have seen, the early eighteenth-century French contredanse was itself of English origin.

We may thus conclude that the Country Dance, as a dance form, originated in England. The question remains whether, following the introduction of Country Dances to Scotland, there developed a distinctively Scottish type of Country Dance. In a subsequent part of this paper we trace the development of the Country Dance in Scotland during the eighteenth century, and we show that there did arise a type of dance which was characteristically Scottish. At the same time we investigate also the interpretation of the dance instructions in the early Scottish collections of Country Dances.

## NOTES

- The most extensive study of the history of the Scottish Country Dance is that by Professor H. A. Thurston in his Scotland's Dances (Thurston 1954), a pioneer work in this field. This present article is based to a considerable extent on material which has come to light since the publication of Professor Thurston's book, and our account for the period 1700–1750 is more complete than his.
- 2 Probably 'double', i.e. four steps backwards, ending with feet together.
- 3 Probably 'single', here meaning 'by oneself'.
- 4 For accounts of the early history of the Country Dance in England see Sharp 1909-22, Wood 1937, Nicol and Dean-Smith 1943-45, and Cunningham 1962, 1965.
- 5 The dates of the Walshs' Caledonian collections have been misquoted by a number of authors. We are indebted to Mr William C. Smith for the dates given in the text, and for the following supplementary information:
  - Book I. The first edition was advertised in the Daily Journal, 21 Nov. 1733, the second edition in the Country Journal, 1 Nov. 1735, and the third edition in the London Daily Post, 3 Nov. 1736. Book II was advertised in the Country Journal, 24 Sept. 1737.
  - Book III was published in 1740 or later; three books were advertised in the Daily Advertiser, 17 Oct. 1743.
  - Book IV was published in 1744. Three books were advertised in Walsh's Twenty-four Country Dances for 1745, which was published late in 1744. Four books were advertised in the London Evening Post, 20–22 Dec. 1744.
  - Book V was advertised in the General Advertiser, 24 Dec. 1748, Book VI in the General Advertiser, 18 Sept. 1751, and Book VIII in the Public Advertiser, 20 Jan. 1757.
  - We have seen Books II, III, and V, the second and third editions of Book I and the second edition of Book IV. We have not seen Books VI-IX.

## REFERENCES

The following list does not include manuscript or printed collections of Country Dances whose titles are given in full in the text. Further information about the printed collections can be found in Kidson (1900), Nicol and Dean-Smith (1943-45), Smith (1948), and Thurston (1954).

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