IN MEMORIAM: PRUDENCE TRACY

In April, 1993, REED lost one of our founders. After more than a year's battle with cancer, Prudence Tracy, a senior editor at the University of Toronto Press, died peacefully at home. Prue was instrumental in REED's creation. When the idea for REED was born during the winter of 1974, those of us who had been doing extensive records work in York, Chester, Coventry and Norwich and our enthusiastic supporters were in search of two things — financial support to launch the dream of a research project that would allow others to continue archival research and a publisher who would publish what we had already collected and take on a long term commitment to the series. Before the finances had been put in place, Prue had persuaded the University of Toronto Press (where she was then a relatively junior editor) to become our publisher. The support of the Press was a crucial factor in the original five-year grant from the Canadian government that really got REED started in 1976. Prue became one of the key members of the REED Executive Board, at first helping us through the complexities of book production and then acting as liaison with the Press as one collection followed another through the editorial process.

Many in the scholarly world of medieval and renaissance studies have reason to mourn Prue's passing. She was an enthusiastic colleague in the true sense of the word. She believed in seeking out new scholars whose work might be published by the Press. As she gained experience, she became particularly good at helping many of us to clarify our scholarly projects and to face realistically the possibilities for publication. She was also a convivial companion whose wit and kindness will be sorely missed. I remember with particular delight one long drive back to Toronto from Kalamazoo when she seconded Alan Fletcher from Dublin in a hilarious reading of Winnie-the-Pooh. She loved books, she loved learning and she loved and was loved by her many friends. We have all benefitted from having known her.

Alexandra F. Johnston
Apropos 'The old Measures'

Things are seldom what they seem,
Skim milk masquerades as cream ....

Publication in _REEM_ of yet another copy of the eight Elizabethan social dances that came to be known as 'The old measures' is welcome; a description of them as 'traditionally performed at the beginning of balls held at the Inns of Court in London from c 1570 to c 1675' is less welcome, since it perpetuates a misreading of the sources first made by James Cunningham in 1965 and repeated many times since.

The Sources

Between the mid-1570s and the mid-1670s, six individuals made copies of 'the old measures'. Of these only Butler Buggins's copy of the eight dances, 'as they were first begun and taught by Robert Holeman a Dancing-Master before 1640 and continued ever since in the Inner Temple Hall', can be directly associated with one of the Inns of Court, and then not before the 1670s when Buggins, in his capacity as Master of the Revels, was called upon to restore an old custom of ceremonial dancing discontinued during the years of the Commonwealth. Other copies of 'the old measures' have different associations.

The dances in Bodleian _MS Rawl Poet 108, ff 10r–11r_, written sometime after 1572, appear to be _aides-mémoire_ of Edward (not Elinor) Gunter, a young student of the law with a taste for ballroom dancing. Nowhere in his commonplace book is it stated where or when they performed, nor is there any mention of Solemn Revels during which members of Lincoln's Inn, of which Gunter was a member, 'presented themselves in full professional attire' and danced round the coal fire in the middle of the hall.

John Ramsey's 'Practise for Dauncinge', Bodleian _MS Douce 280, ff 66av–66bv_, is part of an elaborate plan, devised c 1607, for the education of a son he was not to father for another fifteen years, its place in the scheme made clear in the draft of a letter written about the same time to a wife he was not to marry for another fourteen years. 'The ould Measures' are followed by descriptions, some exceedingly sketchy, of galliards, corantos, 'brawles' and the like, that is, of social dances popular early in James I's reign and typical of those performed during the revels of court masques. Nowhere in his commonplace book is there mention of ceremonial dancing in the Middle Temple, of which Ramsey was a member for a brief time in 1606 when he was twenty-six years old.

Elias Ashmole's copy of the measures must have been made sometime before the future antiquary, at age sixteen, left Lichfield for London, or shortly after he settled
there in 1633. The scribbled instructions, 'doubtless written by a boy', have the appearance of classroom notes made while the dances were being learned and have no connection with the customs of the Middle Temple to which Ashmole, a solicitor, was not admitted until 1657, at age forty, and then only as a special member. John Willoughby's copy of 'The olde Measures', one of the Trevelyon papers on deposit at Somerset Record Office in Taunton, is dated 1594, when the writer was twenty-three. Though never a member of an Inn, as Stokes and Brainard observe, 'he had close and sustained legal contacts with persons at the Inns of Court and was present there from time to time', which would be nothing surprising for the head of a large family and owner of several estates in so litigious an age.

Nothing is known about the copy in Harley MS 367 beyond the fact that the two leaves form part of a miscellany of manuscripts, some in the hand of the chronicler and antiquary John Stow (d 1605), some in other hands.

In short: only one of the six copies of 'the old measures' can be directly connected with one of the Inns. However, some if not all of 'the old measures' are known to have been performed, and on more than one occasion, by members of the four Inns. How did this come to pass?

Elizabethan measures.

'The old measures' were eight Elizabethan social dances, most of them relatively new when Gunter copied seven of them into his commonplace-book sometime in 1572 or somewhat later. They became 'old measures' sometime before 1594, the year in which Willoughby dated his copy of all eight of them. The seven measures in Gunter's MS are intermingled with eight other dances of the period.

<table>
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<th>'The old measures'</th>
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<td>The nyne muses</td>
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3
The three pavans in Gunter's ms must be among the last of this old genre added to the
Elizabethan repertoire, the measures taking its place in the 1580s.3 In Davies' well-
known encomium of the dance, written in the 1590s, 'measure' occurs twenty-four
times, the pavan but once, and then as synonymous with measure:

Who d六th not see the measure of the Moone
Which thirtee\[i\]ne times she daunceth euyer yeare?
And ends her pau[i]ne thirteene times as soone
As d\[o\]th her brother ...."16

Its disappearance from the ballroom of the 1580s makes all the more remarkable the
pavan's long life among 'the old measures'. Composers continued for more than a cen-
tury to write pavans; but these were for playing and listening, not dancing, musicians
taking up, as they often have, the castoffs of the ballroom.

Seven of Gunter's fifteen dances are almaines, a type introduced to the English court
(and presumably the rest of England) in July 1554 during the wedding festivities of
Philip and Mary.17 Two of the seven — 'Cycyllya Alemayne' and 'The new cycillia alle-
maine' — probably date from 1565–6, when Cecilia, sister of Eric, King of Sweden,
and wife of the Margrave of Baden-Rodemarchen, visited England as the guest of Eliz-
abeth, was the toast of the town until she overstayd her welcome, did many foolish
things, and left, hounded by creditors, the following April.18 About the same time,
music for the 'Lorayne' and 'Brownswycke' almaines first appears in French and Low-
lands publications of instrumental music.19 By the 1580s, the almaine, like the pavan,
had been absorbed by the measure and taken up by composers of instrumental music.20

'My lord of Essex measures' dates from after May 1572, when the title, not held
since 1554, was conferred on Walter Devereux.31 It is the only Gunter dance with
'measure' — or, rather, 'measures' — in its title, the plural form of the word signifying
how the dance is put together (by measures), not the type of dance.21 'Essex Measures'
is neither pavan nor almaine, but most likely a tintelore. In the Tiers livre de danseries
(1559) of Jean d'Estree the tune known in England as 'The Earl of Essex Measure' is
called 'Tintelore d'Angleterre', a type of dance for which Gunter provides what appears
to be the only choreographic record.22

'Quanto [\textit{recte} Guanto] Dyspagne',24 longest and structurally most elaborate of the
Gunter choreographies, appears to be a version of an Italian ballo, 'Li guanti di Spagna,
con certa piva in fine, molto galante', performed by some of Charles V's courtiers at the
time Henry VIII entertained the emperor at Canterbury in 1520. Gosson mentions the
dance by name in 1579, Munday composed a dittie to its tune in the 1580s, and it
may be among the dances named by a character in a Marston play of 1604.25

'The nyne muses', last of Gunter's choreographies, is not 'a concluding piece' for 'a
programme in which ... Olde Measures alternate with other choreographies' (Stokes
and Brainard, 4), but a five-strain dance for nine (female?) dancers consisting of four
duple-time, almaine-like strains and a triple-time 'galliard pace' strain to end with, in
other words a typical masque measure devised, perhaps, for one of the Lincoln's Inn
masques written and presented by Thomas Pound in 1566 the texts of which Gunter
copied into his commonplace book.26

When, towards the end of the century, 'The Black Almaine', was added to the group
and the suite of eight dances began to be called 'the old measures', each retained its original title, acquiring therewith a quadruple identity: eg., 'The Black Almaine' = a specific almaine; an almaine = a genre; a measure = a dance put together in a particular way; and an 'old measure' = one of a specific group of measures.

It appears that sometime before the 1560s English dancing masters applied the constructive principle — the mesure — of the basse dance to the pavan, almaine and other choreographic forms, stringing together two, three or more measures to form a dance, but without the theoretical framing of 'parfayte', 'unparfyte', and 'half parfyte' mesures of the older dance, and without the restriction to 'iii paces', which is all that were needed 'for to daunce ony bace daunce', according to the brief French treatise translated into English by Coplande and printed in 1521.

Eight different mesures suffice for the seven basses dances in Coplande's translation. Except for the reverence (R) and braule with which each dance begins, the mesures were composed of two single steps (ss), followed by one or more double steps (d), followed sometimes by more singles, and end with one or more reprises (3) and a braule (= branle) step (b). This rigid structuring is reflected in the way the dances are printed, with constituent phrases aligned one under the other, as in 'La brette', described by Coplande as composed of 'foure measures'.

La brette

R. b. ss. d. ss. 3. b.
   ss. d. 3. b.
   ss. ddd. 3 b.
   ss. d. ss. 3. b.

Gunter's dances were similarly constructed of mesures, which in England were called strains (presumably after the musical term for a section of a piece) or changes (the name for a division of a choreography); these divisions are usually indicated, not by line division, but by inserting the sign // between strains, thus:

The pavyan.
ij Singles and a Duble foward // ij singles syde
Reprynce backe

Except for the absence of an initial R. and enclosing b.s, the combined strains of 'The pavyan' are very similar to the first and last mesures of 'La brette'; and there are other correspondences between the strains of Gunter's choreographies and the mesures of Coplande's basses dances. Because English dancing masters were less restricted than the French in the number of different 'paces' and the way they could be combined, the variety of strains in the Gunter choreographies far exceeds that of the mesures in the Coplande dances.

In brief, 'measure' began not as the name of a dance but as that of a constructive principle, one that determined the way almaines and pavans were put together. Some-
time, most likely in the early 1570s, the name measure displaced that of the almaine and pavan (except for the pavan and almaines of the eight 'old measures'); by the 1590s the measure was recognized as a genre in its own right, one of the chief forms of social dance in England. So fundamental a change in terminology and construction is not likely to have been happenstance of the ballroom.

Academic measures.

Among the unusual features of 'the old measures' are: (1) the unvarying order in which they appear, even when mixed with other dances, as in the Gunter and Buggins MSS; (2) the absence of any substantive change in the pattern of steps for each dance during a century-long transmittal, apart from 'hop' in the Gunter MS, which became a 'double forward' in the other MSS, 'traverse' in the Willoughby MS, which became 'slide upwards' in Ramsey's MS and 'slide a French' in Buggins's; and (3) the very similar wording of the choreographies in all seven manuscripts.

Even the order in which the eight measures appear is significant. Nos. 1 to 3 are limited to different arrangements of the two basic steps (single, double), the three directions they can take (forward, back, side), and the number of times (one to four) each can be repeated. Nos. 4 to 6 introduce the 'double round' ('in your place', 'to the one hand', 'both ways'), 'take hands', 'change hands' (with a partner, though none is mentioned), and 'cast off'. No. 7 introduces 'singles face to face', 'change places' and 'honor and embrace'. No. 8, longest and most complicated of the measures, introduces the 'slide' (upwards, down), 'set and turn', 'traverse', and the sharing of a strain, first by the men, then by the women, the second time with the women first.

How does one account for this progressive ordering and familial resemblance of the eight dances written down by six individuals at widely separate intervals during a period of a hundred years or more? None of 'the old measures' is known to have been printed before Bliss published one of them in 1812; the whole set was not in print before Cunningham published his little monograph in 1965; and multiformity in the wording of the choreographies rules out derivation from a single source. I believe classroom instruction provides the answer.

Responding to the proliferation of dancing schools in the city of London during the 1560s and 1570s, and to the inability of the mayor and aldermen to limit their number or to exercise control over them,33 the Crown granted three dancing masters a monopoly 'to kepe and teache in schole or otherwise the lyke exercise during the space of twentie and one yeares', forbidding all others the right 'to kepe and teache in schole or otherwise the lyke exercise ... under the payne every suche teacher to forfeite and pay for every dayes teaching in schole or chamber ... fortie shillings and tenne dayes imprisonment without bayle or mayneprise'. The grant, made in 1574, wrote finis to a problem that had exercised the mayor and aldermen for nearly a quarter of a century.39

In the patent the three men were described as 'well known to many of our nobilitie, and others of good creditt to be of very honest and good conversation and best hable for their knowledge to kepe scholes and to be teachers of daunsing'. Best known of the three is Richard Frith, whose school was in the liberty of Blackfriars, a fashionable part
of London and outside the jurisdiction of the City. His neighbours included Rocco Bonetti, 'the most popular fencing master in Elizabethan England', and for a time the Children of the Chapel, who occupied the adjacent theatre. Frith is known to have taught the Earl of Rutland's children, members of Thomas Kytson of Hengrave's household, and John Petre, during the time William Byrd's future patron was a member of the Middle Temple. Less known are the two Warrens. Robert, along with Frith and five other dancing masters, was among those ordered, 18 November 1562, 'utterly to cease & leve of the kepinge of eny suche scole or scoles within the said Cyty from & after saterday now next comynge'. William, relationship to Robert unknown, played violin in the Queen's Musick — the appropriate instrument for a dancing master — if he is the William Warren who succeeded Ambrose Lupo in 1596. Patrons with court connections no doubt played a part in gaining the monopoly for the three men; being a servant of the Queen may have helped, but having friends in high places would have helped most of all; no one in Elizabethan England obtained a gift from the Crown on the basis of merit alone.

The eight 'old measures' appear to have been culled from a larger group of social dances being taught in London in the 1570s, a group like the one Gunter copied around the time Frith and his two colleagues received their patent. The fact that: (1) seven of the 'old measures' are among the fifteen in Gunter's ms; (2) that the seven occur in the same order as in later copies of the 'old measures', though intermingled with other dances; and (3) that, despite the greater number of dances, the steps and actions are introduced in the same order as in the suite of eight, suggests that Gunter's is not a miscellaneous collection of fifteen dances, but a pedagogically organized version and prototype of what became 'the old measures'. Whether Frith and the two Warrens were responsible for reducing the number of dances to eight is an open question. Thanks to their twenty-one year monopoly, they were in a position to make them the dances taught beginners in all London dancing schools during the last quarter of the sixteenth and the first years of the seventeenth century. Presumably these were among the dances George Manners practiced, who wrote to his father 'from his study in the Inner Temple Garden' in 1586: 'for exercises which ar last of all, I use the dancing scole, tennise, runing, and leapinge and such like in the fields'; the dances learned by William Fitzwilliam, a member of Gray's Inn, who paid 20s a month to Rowland for dancing lessons in 1594; and those studied by John Green, who noted in his diary shortly after entering Lincoln's Inn in 1635 that he and Mr Bladwell 'were admitted in the dancing school', adding somewhat later, 'Tindall admitted in the dancing schoole, and Smith paid quarteridge and began to learme'. Butler Buggins even names the dancing master, Robert Holeman, who taught 'the old measures' in the Inner Temple Hall itself.

Members of the Inns of Court were not the only students of the dance in Tudor and Stuart England, as we know from the choreographic notations of Willoughby, Ramsey, and Ashmole. They are the dancers about whom we are best informed, and some of them were capable of performing 'newly devisd measures' in a masque at court and taking out members of the audience in a galliard or coranto during the revels.
Ritual measures.

Sometime during the last quarter of the sixteenth century the academic measures of the dancing schools became the ritual measures of the Inns of Court.

Dancing, together with fencing and music — 'the courtly trivium' — formed part of the educational pattern of the Inns from at least the middle of the fifteenth century until the middle of the seventeenth, 'it being accounted A Shame for an Innes of Court Man not to have learned to dance'. This activity took two forms: one recreational, the other ceremonial and associated with the Solemn Revels performed on Allhallows (November 1) and Candlemas (February 2), 'upon whiche feast daies, the Jugges & Serieants at law formerlie fellowes of these Societies, personally feast & begyne the Revels with them in theise halles, & thence on every Saturday weeklie after Supper ended, the Benchers & Barristers daunce theise Solempne Revels in their Gowns with a Song or Carol begun by a Butler of the house....' Our chief authority for these activities is the author of the Brerewood Ms, a Middle Temple man, whose text, written sometime in the mid-1630s, provides the earliest and fullest account of what Buggins was to call 'the Ceremony'. In brief: after the ceremonial serving of dinner and before the concluding distribution of wafers and ipocrace, 'the Ancient [= one of two Readers] with his white Staffe in his hand advanceyth forward and beginnes to lead the Measures, followed first by the Barristers, then the Gentlemen under the Barre, All according to their severall Antiquities. And when one measure is ended, the Reader at the Cupbord [= the second Reader] calls for an other, And soe in order.'

For reasons set forth earlier, the 'old measures' cannot have become part of the Solemn Revels before the 1580s, by which time all of them were old enough to be so designated, their number had been increased to eight, and the term measure had changed from that of a constructive principle to the name of a type of dance. Presumably — and here one can only conjecture — an old tradition that made dancing an integral part of the training of a lawyer bifurcated into Solemn Revels, in which all the members of an Inn were expected to perform ritual measures, and Post Revels, for those who enjoyed recreational dancing and were good at it. The patent of 1574 and the uniformity it appears to have brought about in the way dance was taught in London enabled those who governed the four legal societies to assume that most if not all of their members would know how to perform the eight measures and thus be able to participate in the 'Commendable (or rather heroical) sports & pastymes ... held to be both honorable and memorable'. What began as an educational aspect of life in the Inns became in time ritualized.

'The old measures', already vueses jeu by the end of the sixteenth century, became in the next one 'grave, simple, chaste, and sober measures men with men', according to William Prynne, 'much like to walking'. Although fines were levied on members who absented themselves from Solemn Revels, the governors of the four societies found it increasingly difficult to compel participation, especially by those under the bar. For, despite the efforts of the Benchers in the different Inns to keep dancing as one of the activities associated with the three weeks of Christmas commons, and especially with Solemn Revels, early in James I's reign gaming at cards and dice had become the main
activity, and 'the traditional dances had grown unpopular with the young gentle-
men'.

In 1649 'Reellinge and Dancinge in the Inns of Courte and Chancery' was sup-
pressed by order of Parliament, to be revived together with 'the old measures' in the
1670s, only to die early in the 1730s, 'because the diversions (which must always con-
form to the humour of the age) are as different now from what they were a century or
two back, as the language, the dress, and general prevailing manners of those times, are
from the present'.

The reading of the sources here outlined is the only one, I believe, that accounts for
the fact that some of Charles II's subjects were still performing choreographies devised
during the first two decades of Elizabeth I's reign.

Post Revels.

'... besides the solempne Revells, or Measures aforesaid they [the Benchers and
guests of the house] were wont to be commonlie entertained either with Post Revells
performed by the better Sort of the younger Gentlemen of the Societie with Galliards
Corrantos, and other Daunces, or els with Stageplaies ...'.

The dances of Post Revels were not prescribed by tradition but chosen by 'the younger
Gentlemen' from whatever was in vogue — 'base daunsis, bargenettes, pauions, turgions'
and the like in the 1520s, measures, almains, tintermels, and galliards in the 1560s,
lavoltas, durettos, corantos, galliards and country dances in the early 1600s. Not all
members excelled in this kind of dancing, least of all the studious and never the Pur-
tans; but students of the law who hoped to make a mark in the world were aware that
excellence in the galliard could be as important to one's future as mastery of Coke.

The thumb-nail sketches of 'The Temple Coranta', 'Spanish Pavin' and similar dances
with which Ramsey filled the second half of the 'Practise for Dauncinge' furnish a hint
of what occurred during Post Revels, but nothing more than that; few details are pro-
vided, the writer observing that the dances 'must be learnt by practise & demonstra-
tion', like 'The French Galliarde', which 'is performed with ye cinquepace, halfe capers,
traverses, ye round turns & such like', the words telling us something about the spirit
of the dance, but nothing practical.

What appear to be full accounts of the sort of exhibition dances the younger mem-
ers of an Inn were capable of performing are the descriptions of two corantos found
among Ashmole's miscellaneous papers, the first of which reads:

2 ffained mounts a hop and a chase, a hop and a lene forwards, a winde an a
Chace back to the left hand side waies, a hop and a lene back, a hop to the right
hand with a chase, then a hop and a lene to the left hand, a wind and a chase
with a hop and a lene round with your face to the beginning, then a hop and a
chace forwards with a hop and aleane, a wind and a chace backe to the left
hand, a hop and a pas backe, a hop and a chace and a hop and a leane round
hop hop and wind a chace a halfe caper a clos & with this close draw smartly
your legg & do your honour
The text is accompanied by a diagram illustrating the path of the dance. Though the whole plan of the coranto is set forth, not knowing what the terms mount, wind, chace, and lene meant to a seventeenth-century Englishman, the description precludes explication. It does illustrate, vividly, how much the dances of Post Revels probably differed from the academic exercises-cum-ritual dances of the Solemn Revels.

Country measures

‘When [the farce of walking round the coal fire was over] ... the ladies came down from the gallery, went into the parliament chamber, and stayed for about a quarter of an hour, while the hall was putting in order; then they went into the hall and danced a few minuets. Country dances began about ten and at twelve a very fine collation was provided for the whole company: from which they returned to dancing, which they continued as long as they pleased.’

This description of Grand Day as observed by members of the Inner Temple in 1733 was, according to the author of Eunomus, the last time any one of ‘the old measures’ was performed by members of the Inner Temple. It was neither the first nor the last time, however, country dances were performed by ‘The Gentlemen of the Inns of Court, whose sweet and ayry Activity’, according to the publisher of the first printed book of country dances, ‘has crowned their Grand Solemnities with admiration to all spectators’. The participation of women during Post Revels belongs to the end of a tradition.

Cunningham concludes his brief monograph Dancing in the Inns of Court with the observation: ‘There are grounds for thinking that the later, more intricate, form of the country dance may have developed from the Measure. In fact, the country dance is nothing but a measure by another name. The vocabulary is much the same as that of ‘the old measures’ — ‘a Double forwards and back’, ‘set and turne Single’, ‘cast off’, ‘take hands’, ‘change places’, and the like — but enlarged, to accommodate the ensemble figures of rounds and longways for six or more participants; the organizing principle (ie, by measures) is the same; so is the practice of matching each choreography with music of its own. In both measures and country dances ‘an infinite variety was achieved by permutations of simple, constant elements, with the figure or figures peculiar to a particular dance distinguishing it from others. And like the measures, each country dance is identified in a number of ways, viz: (1) as a genre, (2) as a specific dance, eg, ‘The fine Companion’, and (3) as a type, eg, a ‘Round for eight’.

The step patterns of the country dance, like those of other types of measure, are limited and easily delineated in words by anyone able to name the basic steps and manoeuvres. A number of amateurs did just that, including one who interlaced his copies of ‘Moots, boltings, bench table cases’ and other legal matters with descriptions of four country dances, the last of which begins: ‘2 first couples lead vp fall back from each other march downe and close / yf back to yf places yf other 4 [dancers] doing yf same’.

Another non-professional dancer inserted précis of eleven dances between copies of ‘Astronomical observations’ and ‘Observations on trigonometry’, the first of which begins: ‘Lead up twice. Sett twice. first man set to the next Woman. First
Woman set to th' next man .... Most of the dances the two men wrote out can be found in one or more editions of Playford's *Dancing Master*, but with differences in the wording and sometimes in the patterning. Unlike 'the old measures', which changed but little over the years thanks to the way in which they were transmitted, different copies of a country dance, transmitted as much foot-to-eye as in print, exhibit the multiformity of things 'learnd by practise & demonstration'.

**In summary**

English dancing-masters applied the constructive principle of the basse dance — the *mesure* — to the pavan, almain, and other mid-sixteenth-century dances, creating therewith the English measure. Eight Elizabethan measures became an introductory course taught in the dancing schools of London from the mid-1570s into the 1630s and possibly later. Towards the end of the sixteenth century these academic exercises became ritual measures performed annually on Allhallows and Candlemas and intervening Saturdays by members of the Inns of Court during Solemn Revels. Concurrently English dancing masters applied the constructive principle of the mesure to the brawl and similar types of dance, transforming (if not actually creating) therewith the typical English country dance.46

**NOTES**


3 Inner Temple Records, vol 27, ff 3r–6v (the 'A' text), appears to be partly if not wholly in Buggins's hand, for it contains the statement, 'This is as plaine as I can express it &
with the Musick may be easily understood and practised', and is signed with the initials 'B.B.' The text includes corrections, additions, deletions, and shows signs of much use (e.g., the direction, 'and calls to Mf Young to sing the Mfs of the Bench a Song', has been inserted, then struck out), changes which suggest the ms was used on more than one occasion. About 1700, Joshua Blew, butler of the Inner Temple, made a copy of the 'A' text (Inner Temple ms Misc 28, f 11), and c 1713 made a second copy (Inner Temple ms Misc 29, ff [16–19]), each time inserting 'Argulius Measure' between 'Tenternayle' and 'The old Almayne'.

Royal College of Music ms 1119, ff 1r–2v (the 'B' text), in a hand different from that responsible for the 'A' text, consists of a fair copy of the dances with staves (unfortunately left empty) for music above each choreography, to which are added a list of what appear to be cues for the person in charge of the ceremony and a poem, headed 'An Holy Dance', in which the writer, no doubt a Puritan, invites 'Holy Sister' to dance, 'Not as the Wicked do not as / Hemini and Gemini in the Wilderness / But leading on to virtue and / back from vice retiring ...'. The list of cues specifies what is briefly summarized in the 'A' text; the poem appears only in the 'B' text. Music for three of the old measures, plus that for 'The House Measure', and 'Argulius', is found at the end of ms 1119, ff 38r–39r.

A third copy of 'The old measures usually danced in the Inner Temple Hall, by Mr. Buggins, a Butler [sic] may have been among 'Mr Courtney's Papers — Mich. 1718' (Frank D. MacKinnon, Inner Temple Papers [London, 1948], 83).

MacKinnon (1948, 83–6) includes an inaccurate copy of the 'A' text, Cunningham (1965, 23–37) gives a not completely accurate copy of 'A' and 'B', and Wilson (1986–7, 3–13) provides the only satisfactory edition of all but the Willoughby text, which was unknown to him at the time of writing.

Buggins was admitted to the Inner Temple, possibly in his late teens, in 1634 (F.A. Inderwick, A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records, vol 2 (1898), 268) and must therefore have been taught 'the old measures' by Robert Holeman. He was admitted to the bar in 1644, made Master of the Revels in 1671, 1673, and 1675 (ibid, 89, 94, 108), and was probably approaching sixty years of age at the time he made his copy of the old dances and the ritual to which they belonged.

4 Though Elinor Gunter's name appears on the cover of Rawl Poet 108, there are several reasons for thinking the volume belonged to her brother, among them the inclusion of recipes 'To know yf a man be sycke', 'To make a man slepe', 'good for a mans cold', and one 'To knowe a true mayde', beginning 'Burne mother wort lett her take ye smoke in at here nose yf she be not a mayde she wyll pysse' (Rawl 108, f 14r), information Elinor is not likely to have made notes of.

Edward and 'Ellyn' are listed as children of Geoffrey Gunter of Milton, Wilts, and grandchildren of John Gunter of Kintbury, Berks (British Library, Harleian ms 1907, 56:32; I am indebted to D.M. Barratt of the Bodleian for this reference). Edward was admitted to Lincoln's Inn on 3 February 1563 (Joseph Foster, The Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn, vol 1, Admissions [London, 1896], 70), called to the bar of that Society on 7 February 1574, and made 'Steward of the Reader's Dinner' for Autumn 1579 (W.P. Baildon, The Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn: The
The fifteen dances (on ff 10r–11r) come between a copy (on ff 8v–9r) of the first part of Laurence Humphrey's 'Oratio ad Elisabetham, in Aula Woodstockensi habitia', delivered in 1575 (repr. in John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 2nd ed. [London, 1823], vol. 1, 583–4), and what Baskervill took to be a jig (on ff 11r–11v) of roughly the same period (pr. Charles Baskervill, *The Elizabethan Jig and Related Song Drama* [Chicago, 1929], 415–16). A facet of f 10 is in Mabel Dolmetsch, *Dances of England and France from 1450 to 1600* (London, 1949), opp p 144.

Stokes and Brainard, 6.

Douce ms 280, f 93v. In this absurdly comprehensive plan, dancing, along with learning 'to playe on ye Lute, & singe to it with ye Dittye, to reade Greeke, & speake Lattin as a familiar Language', was to occupy the boy's years from seven to ten.

Ibid, 'Narratio de mea Progressione vitae', f 7.


SRO DD/wo 55/7, item 36.

Stokes and Brainard, 2.

The title of this dance was changed to 'Quadran Pavin' in the Willoughby ms (spelled 'Quatheren' by the Harl 367 scribe, 'Quadrim' by Ashmole, 'Quadran' by Ramsey, and 'Quadrian' by Buggins). 'Quadran' (more often 'Quadro') is the English name for the passamezzo B quadro = passamezzo in major, to distinguish it from the passamezzo antico = passamezzo in minor, called by the English the passingmeasures pavan. 'Quadran' does not mean 'the dancers trace a square on the floor' when performing the pavan (Stokes and Brainard, 3).

The additive 'le basse' may hint at a relationship with the basse dance, but the tune 'Turkeylony' has nothing in common with the old dance. The tune, a copy of which is in the so-called 'Ballet' lute book (Trinity College Library, ms 408, 91; pr. Ward 1983, 56–7), resembles that of a round dance, which may explain why it keeps company with Rogerio, Basilino, All the flowers of the broom, Pepper is black, Green Sleeves, and Peggy Ramsey in the list of dances Dick Harvey's 'wench or friskin was footing it aloft on the greene' (Thomas Nashe, *Have With You to Saffron Walden*, London, 1596, sig 7). This appears to have been an almaine. One setting of the eight-bar, duple-time tune entitled 'Tinternell' in Cambridge University Library, ms Dd. 4.23, ff 20r–21r, is called 'My Lo. of Oxords Short allmayne' in the same ms, f 24r; both versions are for cittern.

One of the earliest references to the pavan in England is in a letter of Martin de Salinas, ambassador of the Archduke Ferdinand at the Imperial court, in which he names 'la pabana' as one of the dances performed by Charles V and a few of his courtiers during Henry VIII's entertainment of the emperor at Windsor on 15 June 1522. A.
Rodriguez Villa, *El Emperador Carlos V y su Corte según las Cartas de Don Martín de Salinas, Embajador del Infante Don Fernando* (1522–1539) [Madrid, 1903], 41.

Music for ‘The empororse pavyn’, dating from about the same time, is in British Library, Royal Appendix 58, f 47r (pr Ward 1992, vol 2, 58).

16 John Davies, *Orchestra or A Poeme on Dauncing* (London, 1596), stanza 41. Shakespeare also names the pavan but once, in *Twelth Night*, V, i, 190, in a line that has puzzled editors of the play. Being told Dick Surgeon is drunk, Sir Toby remarks: ‘Then he’s a rogue and a passy measures pavin’. To explicate the line, J. Payne Collier fabricated ‘a list of thirteen dances, in a manuscript of the time’ (not otherwise identified), nine of which are thinly disguised borrowings from the Gunter ms, the title of ‘The pavyan’ changed to ‘The passing measure Pavyon’ (*The Papers of the Shakespeare Society* 1 [1844], 24–8). Sir Toby may have had in mind a pavin passing (= exceeding) measure, ie, out of bounds.

17 According to Juan de Barahona, who was in Winchester at the time, Philip knew no English dances, Mary no Spanish, so the prince requested two of the ambassadors present to perform ‘una alemana’, in order to acquaint the queen with what was then a new and easy dance to learn (as we know from the Gunter choreographies), after which the royal pair are said to have performed several more dances ‘al modo de Alemania’. C.V. Malfatti, *The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor as Related in Four Manuscripts of the Escorial* (Barcelona, 1956), 144.

18 See Ethel Seaton, *Queen Elizabeth and a Swedish Princess* (London, 1926), and the sources cited. The ‘Cycylla pavyan’ must also have been named for the margravine.


20 Lupold van Wedel, a German tourist, who witnessed an afternoon’s dancing at the English court in December 1584, thought at first that the courtiers were performing a German dance. ‘Ob sich wol der Tanz erstlich teutsch angestellet, ist er ime doch nicht gelich wesen, sunder sie sein etzlige Schritt forne, darnach widerumb zurucke getreten, letzlich von einander gangen, sich durcheinander vorweckselt, dennoch ein itzliger zu rechter Zeit widerumb zu seinem Danzer kummen’ (Max Bär, *Lupold von Wedels Beschreibung seiner Reisen und Kriegerlebnisse, 1561–1602*, Baltische Studien, 45 [Stettin, 1895], 361.

21 DNB, xiv, 443.

22 Ramsey also has the plural form of the word; Willoughby, Ashmole, and Buggins the singular; Harl 367 omits the word.

23 Music for Essex measures is in the Trumbull lute book, f 13r (facs Robert Spencer, Clarabricken, 1980), Trinity College, Dublin, ms 410 (the ‘Dallis’ lute book), 70 (pr Ward 1983, 46), and RCM ms 1119, 24r (facs in Cunningham 1965, 39). The ‘Tintelore d’Angleterre’ is the first of four tintelores in d’Estree’s *Tiers livre* (Paris, 1559), f 4r

24 Stokes and Brainard, 4, are not alone in reading the first word in the title of the four-teeth dance as 'coranto' instead of 'Quanto' (= It., Guanto; Eng., glove).


27 'The Black Almaine' is one of the tunes in RCM ms 1119, f 24r; a century earlier it appears in Folger Shakespeare Library, ms v.159, f 20r, with the title 'Measur' (both versions pr in J. Ward, *The English Measure*, *Early Music*, 14 [1986], 19). In the Folger ms the tune is in 4/2 time, in the RCM ms it is in 6/4 and more like a country-dance tune than one for an almaine. This I take to be another indication the revived 'old measures' differed stylistically from those pre-1649.

28 Willoughby's copy of 'the olde Measures' is dated 1594, the same year in which the Prince of Purpoole's 'Gentlemen-Pensioners and Attendants, very gallantly appointed, in thirty Couples', are said to have 'danced the Old Measures, and their Galliards, and other kind of Dances, revelling until it was very late' (ed W.W Greg, *Malone Society Reprints*, [1914], 20); no earlier use of the expression 'the old measures' has been found thus far.

The Willoughby ms ends with the words, 'The Galliard', the Buggins mss with the brief account of the 'Sink a pace' (= cinque pas), the characteristic step pattern of the galliard, a dance that was neither one of 'the old measures' nor constructed like one. Typical of the ad hoc nature of the galliard is the one to which Ramsey gives four titles — 'Robertoes', 'Bodkin', 'Marke Williams', and 'Pasemears' — each the name of music to which the galliard could be danced: it is 'performed with ye cinque pace & 4. or 5. seueralr trickes takinge ye gentlewoman out of her place & walkinge. 3. or 4. Stepps, soe honour, then pace further. 3. steps take her in your lefte hand, honour, (then) you walke. 3. steppes downe ye roome. shee vpp & soe fall in to your Cinque passe. In ye ende honour & conveye ye gentlewoman to her place' (Douce 280, ff 65bv– 66br).

30 Thomas Middleton, *Blurt, Master-Constable* (1601), I.i: 'Music for a measure; whilst Fontinelle speaks, they dance a strain'; Thomas Dekker, *Satiro-Mastix* (1601), lines 817, 833, 842: 'Then daunce a straine ...', 'Another change ...', 'At this third change they end ...'.

31 None of the terms is defined in Rawl Poet 108 nor in any of the other sources. As Stokes and Brainard, 5, observe, 'we can only conjecture as to how the various steps ... were done'. The earliest definitions of some of them are found in Randle Holme's *Academy of Armory* (London, 1688), 169, in the brief chapter on country dance. 'Cast off', he notes, 'is for Men and Women to loose hands, and stand off one another, each facing his partner; or to cast off from the leading, to the lower part or last'. A *Set*, is all that Dance to make a stand. A *Turn single*, is two steps to one hand, and two steps to the other.

The 'ramifications of technique', referred to by Stokes and Brainard, 6, include those aspects of the dance for which there is not a hint in the seven manuscripts, aspects Justinian Pagitt, a Middle Temple man, had in mind when noting, c 1628, in his memorandum book (British Library, Harley ms 1026, f 7r):

1. follow yr dauncing hard till you haue gott a habitt of dauncing neatly.
2. Care not to dauncel loftily, as to carry yr body sweetly & smoothly away with a gracefull comportment.
3. In some places hanging steps are very gracefull, & withall give you much ease & time to breath.


33 Their efforts had included an order, dated 18 November 1562, in which 'Richard ffrythe, John Drew, John Curwen, Thomas Kappe, Robert Raston, Robert Waren & Mathew Matson who kepe dauncinge stoles within this Cytye were here straightly charged and commaunded by the said Courte utterly to cease & leve of the kepinge of eny suche scole or scoles within the said Cytye from & after saterday now next comynge upon the payne of xh appynted by the Acte of commen counsell ...'. (London, Guildhall, Repertories, vol 15, f 144v).

34 Patent Rolls, Eliz i, memb 29–30; precis in the Cal of Patent Rolls, Eliz i, vi, 1381. Forty shillings was twice the amount John Petre paid 'To Currance for ... admyttance into his schole' in 1568; and almost twice what he paid 'to m' ffrite for ... admytance into his dauncyng schole' (Essex Record Office, MS D/DP A 17).

35 Granting a monopoly did not solve all the City's difficulties with the schools. On 21 May 1582, the Lord Mayor & Common Council 'ordeyned and enacted, That ebery
Apprentice which shall be in any Dancing=schoole, or Schoole of Fence, or Schoole or place of learning of Instruments, or learne or use dancing or masking ... shall vpon like prove as is aboue specified, be punished in such forme and according to such degrees for his first and easwownes offending, as is afore appoynted for Apprentises offending in wearing of forbidden Apparell agaynst their Maisters appoyntment ...' (London, Guildhall, Journal, vol 21, f 207v).


38 London, Guildhall, Repertories, vol 15, f 144v. Despite the ruling, two years later one Stempe was sufferdy to kepe a daunsing skole here within y= cyte', and he and 'all other persons y= nowe kepe y= lyke scoles shal be warned ... and to enter into bonde y= shall neyther teache nor cause nor suffer to be taughte at eny tyme hereafter eny apprentyses or menes wyfes to daunse in their houses, or to have eny other haunte or resorte unto eny such exercyse or pastyme within their saide houses as longe as they kepe eny such skoles within the said cyte' (Repertories, vol 15, f 372).

39 Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, vol 6 (Aldershot, 1992), 156. George Buc, 'The Third University' (in John Stow, *Annals* [London, 1631], 1085a), observes 'in these artes of dancing and vaulting, wee have Countrymen of our owne, which be very excellent, as M. Cardell, Groome of the Queen's priuie Chamber, and M. Warren, and M. Rolen [R Rubbridge Roland], the King's Musitians, and M. John Haset, and diuers others'.


41 On 18 February 1613, the inveterate gossip John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton concerning the masque performed at court on the fifteenth by members of two of the Inns: 'the Middle Templers and Lincolns Yinne gave great contentment on Monday night ... specially thryre excellent dauncing, wherewith the King was so much delight- ed that he gave them many thancks' (*The Letters*, ed Norman McClure [Philadelphia, 1939], vol 1, 428). Two days later he could report to Carleton concerning the masque that was to have been presented at court on the eighteenth by members of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn: 'great expectation thryre was that they shold every way exceed thryre competitors that went before them ... above all in dancing (wherin they are held excellent) and esteemed for the proper men ...' (ibid, 426). At a later date John Playford, whose shop was built against the porch of Temple Church, paid tribute to 'the Gentlemen of the Innes of Court, whose sweet and ayry Activity has crowned their Grand Solemnities with Admiration to all Spectators' (*The English Dancing Master*, 1651, 'To the Ingenious Reader').

42 Middle Temple Library, Brerewood ms, p 15. Sometime before 1471, Sir John Fortescue, a Lincoln's Inn man, wrote: 'In his vero hospiciis maioribus eciam et minoribus,
ultra studium legum est quasi gignasium omnium morum qui nobiles docent. Ibi cantare ipsi addiscunt, similiter et se exercent in omni genere armonie. Ibi eciam tripudio ac iocos singulos nobilibus convenientes exercere, qualsit in domo regia exercere solent enutrit' (S.B. Chrimes (ed), De Laudibus Legum Anglie [Cambridge, 1942], 118).

Translated a century later by Robert Mulcaster, *A Learned Commendation of the Politique Lawes of England* (London, 1567), f 114v, the passage reads: '...there is in these greater ynnes, yea and in the lesser too, byside the study of the lawes, as it were an universitie or school of all commendable qualities requisite for noble men. There they leare to seinge, and to exercise themselves in all kindes of armony. There also they practise dunsing, and other noble mennes pastimes, as they use to doe which are brought vppe in the kinges house'.

43 Brerewood ms, 82. On 31 October 1635, 'being all Saints Eve', John Greene, a member of Lincoln's Inn, noted in his diary, 'we had fire in the hall, noe gameing, noe revells. We had musicke and mirth and solace and the measures'. The following day, one of the 'Gawdies', the 'solemn revels' were performed, 'solace was song and measures danst, and alseoe after supper.' The following Saturday, 7 November, 'wee had revels at Lincoln's Inne'; on Saturday the 21st he watched the revels; and on Saturday, 4 December, 'after supper wee had noe mirth and solace, but Mr. Chamber and 4 couples danst the measure'. E.M. Symonds, 'The Diary of John Greene' (1635–37), *English Historical Reviews* 43 (1928), 388–9.

44 Brerewood ms, 15–16. The description of these events in William Dugdale, *Origines Juridicale* (London, 1666), 204–5, is based on the Brerewood account.

45 In their report to Henry viii on the state of the Inns of Court, c 1540 (pr Edward Waterhouse, *Fortescutus Illustratus*, London, 1663, 546), Thomas Denton and his colleagues found that 'to keep a solemn Christmas, then doe they [the senior members of an Inn] appoint and chose certain of the house to be Officers ... which Officers for the most part are such, as are exercised in the King's Highness house, and other Noble men, and this is done onely to the intent, that they should in time come to know how to use themselves. In Christmas time, they have all manner of pastimes, as singing and dancling ....'

46 *Histrio-Mastix: The Players Scourge, or, Actors Tragedie* (London, 1633), 252. This was the work that cost Prynne dearly, as it did the four Inns when they expressed their affection for King and Queen 'by the outward and splendid visible testimony of a Royal Masque'.

Prynne is not the only witness to the fact that women played no part in the ceremonial dancing of the Inns. In 1632 the Masters of the Bench of the Middle Temple ordered 'that in the present and performance of Revells hereafter the ancient and solemn forme be observed and that noe gentleman of the house presume to command or make use of the Gallery or bring downe anye Ladie or Gentlewoman to see their ordinary revells, or at anye such time to daunce with anye suche in the Hall in the absence of the Benche' (John Williamson, *The History of the Temple, London* [London, 1924], 356); see also T. Martin, *Minutes of Parliament of the Middle Temple*, vol 1 (1904), 802.

The inclusion of a woman in the Willoughby description of 'sicilia Almaine' and the Ramsey version of 'The Black Almaine' is further evidence that the choreographies
the two men copied were those of social-cum-academic, not ritual dances; their inclusion in Buggins's account of the revived 'Solemn revels' of the Inner Temple is yet another indication that the post-1660 ceremony differed from that of the 1630s and earlier.

47 The problem was not a new one. In 1549 four members of Lincoln's Inn were put out of commons 'for going out of the Hall on Hallowmas evyn at the tyme of the Revelles' (Baildon 1897, vol 1, 291); in 1571 something similar occurred in the Inner Temple (see RA. Inderwick, A Calendar, vol 1 [London, 1896], 262); and at Lincoln's Inn, 'by an Order made 6 Feb. 7 Jac. [ie, 1610] it appears, that the Under-Barristers were by Decimation put out of Commons, for examples sake, because the whole Bar offended by not Dancing on Candlemas day preceding, according to the antient Order of this Society, when the Judges were present: with this, that if the like fault were committed afterwards, they should be fined or disbarred' (Dugdale 1666, 246).

49 Baildon 1897, vol 2, 385. Despite the ban, revelling continued at least intermittently during the nineteen years of the Commonwealth. For example, on 27 February 1654, 'dancers and others' received £20, 'gratitude for instructing the gentlemen' and 'for occasions of the House of that nature'. (Hopwood 1903, 163).

50 Inderwick, A Calendar, vol 3 (1901), 388: on 25 November 1704 the Bench of the Inner Temple ordered 'that the ancient exercise of dancing be revived, and that it begin the first Saturday of next term, and that notice be given thereof by the sub-treasurer to the master of the revels, and for non-performance the usual amercements be imposed'.

51 Edward Wynne, Eunomus (London, 1774), vol 2, 255.

52 Brerewood ms, 16. The custom was of long standing. In 1568 gentlemen of the Middle Temple came to Lincoln's Inn 'to dance the Post Revels with the gentlemen of this Inn' (Baildon 1897, vol 1, 362). In 1633, when Prynne 'was a student and a Puny Barrister in Lincoln Inne, it was the constant custome of that House and all other Inns of Court. From All-Saints Eve to Candlemas night, to keep open Revels, Dancing, Dicing and Musick in their Halls every Saturday night (as we usually call it) till eleven or twelve of the clock and many times till 4. in the morning or later' (Prynne, A Briefe Polemical Dissertation [London, 1633], sig A2r).


54 James Shirley, The Coronation (1635), III.ii: '... an you mean / To rise at court, practise to caper'.
56 Rawl n.864, f 204r, 'The first Corant'; faces and transcription in Frank 1983, 3, 5, whose reading of the text is emended by D.R. Wilson, 'A Coranto with a Diagram: A Note on the Text', ibid, vol 2.4 (1984–5), 4.

57 Wynne, Eunomus, 2nd ed (London, 1785), vol 4, 285. The writer's account is based on the report of two friends who were present during the entertainment, which took place on 2 February 1733.
The occasion was in honor of the Lord Chancellor, a member of the Inner Temple. Dinner was followed by the performance of a play, Congreve’s Love for Love, and a farce, The Devil to Pay; then the hall was cleared and ‘the master of the revels, who went first, took the Lord Chancellor by the right hand; and he, with his left, took Mr. J. Page, who, joined to the other Judges, Serjents, and Benchers present, danced, or rather walked, round about the coal fire, according to the old ceremony, three times; during which, they were aided in the figure of the dance by Mr. George Cooke, the proponentary, then upwards of 60; and all the time of the dance, the antient song, accompanied by its music, was sung by one Tobe Aston, dressed in a bar gown ….’ Then followed the dancing of minuets and country dances with the ladies, noted above (Wynne 1785, vol 4, 106–7).

Frank D. MacKinnon, Inner Temple Papers (London, 1948), 71–87, provides a full account of the affair. MacKinnon failed in his efforts to identify the ‘the antient song usually sung on Grand Days’, the one George Johnson was paid 5s ‘for writing 18 copies’ for use when Tobe Aston performed it. J.B. Baker, ‘The Old Songs of the Inns of Court’, Law Quarterly Reviews 90 [1974], 188, prints a copy of ‘The Antient song that is Sung round about the Cole Fire in the Inner Temple Hall on a Publick Grand Day’ found among the papers of Joshua Blew (Inner Temple ms 28, f 1); he also prints a second copy, described as ‘An Excellent Song made 1000 Years ago Sung in Lincolns Inne Hall on Candlemas day 1725’, found in Lincoln’s Inn Library, ms Misc 718/11.

According to a brief notice of the 1734 Grand Day in The Gentleman’s Magazine, 4 February 1734, 101, ‘The antient Ceremony of the Judges, &c. dancing round our Coal Fire and singing an old French song, was performed with great Decency’. The French song may be that referred to by Roger North in one of his notebooks: ‘I remember in the Midle Temple a tune called Pensees-bien is solemnly called for, which I suppose was a French morall himne ….’ (John Wilson, Roger North on Music [London, 1959], 289, n 13). According to the Brerewood ms, 16, in the 1630s, ‘When the last Measure is dancinge, The Reader at the Cupbord called to one of the Gentlemen of the Barre, As he is walkinge, or dancinge with ye rest to give ye Lords, his Majestyes Judges A Songe. Who fourthwith begynnes, The first lyne of any psalme. Such as he takes best. After which, all the rest of the Company followe, and Singe with him’.

According to Sir John Spelman (1594–1643), a Gray’s Inn man, after vespers the Marshall returned to the inn with the fellows ovesque vn chaunte appell there shall none reigne downe reigne etc. et issint rounde abowt the fier plus hastivement que deuaunt ovesque vn shout al fire’ (bl. ms Harl 388, f 122; quoted in Baker 1974, 188, n 5). And according to the pamphlet Round about our Coal Fire, or Christmas Entertainments (London 1740), 6, ‘The Dancing and Singing of the Benchers in the great Inns of court in Christmas, is in some sort founded upon Interest; for they hold, as I am informed, some Privilidge by Dancing about the Fire in the middle of their Hall, and singing the song of Round about our Coal Fire, &c.’ This is one of the titles of the well-known ground Old Sir Simon the King; a frequently excerpted set of divisions on the ground composed about the middle of the seventeenth century was often drawn on by ballad poets; see Claude Simpson, The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music (New Brunswick, 1965), 545–51; also John Ward, ‘The Lancashire Hornpipe’,

59 John Playford, *The English Dancing Master* (London, 1651), 'To the Ingenious Reader'.

60 According to the *Memoirs, Biographical and Historical* of Bulstrode Whitelocke, assembled by R.H. Whitelocke (London, 1860), 57, after the measures the master of the revels 'took his seat whilst the revelers flaunted through galliards, corantos, French and country dances, till it grew very late'.

61 Cunningham 1965, 20.

62 Like three of 'the old measures', 'Upon a Summers day' and other country dances begin with the sequence of steps: 'Leade up all a Double forwards and back, set and turne Single. That againe'. Also like the measures, no two country dances share the same tune, though sometimes two share members of the same tune-family, eg, 'Goddesses' (Playford 1651, 52), 'Pauls Steeple' (ibid, 69), and 'The Fryar and the Nun', first half (ibid, 84); all three are part of the passamezzo antico family of discants.


64 In the Buggins ms both the 'Old' and 'Queen's' almaines are labelled 'A Round Measure', which suggests a fusing of measure and country dance.

65 British Library, Lansdowne ms 1115, ff 37r, 38r. The four dances are printed in Cunningham 1965, 42–4.

66 British Library, Sloane ms 3858, f 15r, 'Bobing Joe'.

67 '...de tout temps en chasque contree ou Prouince on a eu vne dance affectee, comme les Anglois les mesures & conredanses ...,' F. de Lauze 1623, 9.

News from the reed Office

**FROM THE DIRECTOR, A.F. JOHNSTON**

During the summer many of you received a letter from me outlining the financial and institutional crisis that faced the reed project. At that time, we were $50,000. short in our budget for the present fiscal year. I am delighted to report that, thanks in part to the enthusiasm and generosity with which many you responded, we have reached our immediate goal. A combination of individual donations, an unexpected and generous bequest from Prue Tracy and a grant from the George C. Metcalf Foundation of Toronto has put us over the top. Meanwhile, we have applied again to both the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The results of those competitions will not be known for some time, and we are continuing to seek individual and foundation support in the private sector. Nothing is certain in these days of fiscal restraint, but at least this crisis, brought about in part by policy uncertainty in Ottawa, has passed.

Our institutional problems are gradually being resolved. As in any very large institution, the wheels of the bureaucracy grind exceeding slow. I hope to be able to report the results of all our negotiations in the next issue of the Newsletter. I can say now that I am
greatly encouraged by the direction in which things are moving. The letters many of you wrote have been instrumental in changing the thinking of several university administrators.

I have written individually to those who have written on our behalf or sent us money. In case I have missed anyone, I want to say a general "thankyou" to all REED's supporters. The enthusiasm for the project that was conveyed by your letters of support kept us going through a very difficult period.

FROM THE EXECUTIVE EDITOR, SALLY-BETH MACLEAN

As this report is typeset we are moving the next REED collection into production, with the target date of summer 1994 for publication. The next two volumes to order for your libraries and personal bookshelves will be Alan Somerset's dramatic records of Shropshire, a county that will soon assume more prominence in our revisions of provincial theatre history. The records of Shrewsbury, stretching back into the thirteenth century, could make a book in themselves, but their combination with a rich array of documents from Bridgnorth, Ludlow, and the villages and households of the county will complete REED's survey of the West Midland border region.

Although Shropshire comes next in the series, there are several other collections nearing production. The collections for Bristol (1 vol) and Somerset including Bath (2 vols) have been given favourable assessment by external reviewers appointed by the University of Toronto Press. James Stokes (Somerset), Robert Alexander (Bath), and Mark Pilkington (Bristol) are collaborating with REED staff in the final round of revisions to ensure a steady stream of red volumes over the next eighteen months. When the records of Cornwall are submitted this coming year for publication with Dorset, our survey of the south-west will also be concluded.

I am delighted to report that new editors have joined our collaborative team. Laetitia Yeandle, Curator of Manuscripts at the Folger Shakespeare Library, will be starting work on the Wiltshire records soon, and we look forward to her progress reports from Wilton and Longleat, among other finely-appointed repositories. We also welcome John McGavin, Co-Chairman of the Wessex Medieval Group at the University of Southampton. Dr McGavin has agreed to tackle the systematic survey of Scottish Provincial Records, starting in the south-east. In the past couple of years the Executive Board has approved further research proposals for Cheshire (David Mills and Elizabeth Baldwin), Hampshire (Peter Greenfield and Jane Cowling), Lincolnshire (James Stokes), and Wales (David Klausner). It should be noted that the special collections for Ireland, Scotland and Wales should be referred to as Records of Early Drama or RED, a reduced acronym for our expanding horizons.

At head office we have also increased our numbers despite the drastic budget cuts experienced by the project in recent years. Although departing part-time staff could not be replaced, we have been blessed with four exceptionally able graduate student assistants this year, thanks to the generosity of the Department of English and the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Toronto as well as the University of
Western Ontario. We have also been lucky enough to attract several dedicated volunteers (from undergraduate to retirement age) who are helping us with a variety of essential tasks, from the maintenance of our bibliographic files to answering the telephone. The intergenerational profile of the office has been further enhanced by the infectious energy of senior high school students, through the University of Toronto’s Arts and Science Mentorship Program. Our participation in the program last year encouraged us to continue, so I am presently collaborating on one aspect of a multimedia pilot project for high schools with a Grade 13 student who can speak with authority about the interests of her peers.

Although the multimedia pilot is at present only a 5 minute demo in 3 disks, REED’s first venture into the popular presentation of our research has continued to find an audience after its successful run at the Theatre Museum in Covent Garden. The exhibit, “Pageants of Delight”: Theatrical Influences on Shakespeare’ returned to Canada in time to open on Shakespeare’s birthday at the Stratford Public Library in Ontario, where it ran in conjunction with the Stratford Festival until the end of November. We expect to announce the first American location for the exhibit on tour in the next issue of the Newsletter.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA TO VOLUME 17, NUMBER 2 (1992)

Page 3, line 21: Quadran for Quadrans

Page 14, line 3: Prescot had ‘at the least iii hundred soules ... sise score vnder the adge of xvj years.’

Page 15, note 9: In their forthcoming book Lancashire and Cheshire from AD 1540, John H. Smith and C.B. Phillips estimate Lancashire’s population in 1563 as 82,371, using 4.75 persons per household as their multiplier for the 1563 Diocesan Survey. Using the same multiplier for the 1664 Hearth Tax returns, they suggest 141,319 for that year.

Subscriptions to the REED Newsletter are invited. The cost per year of two issues is $10.00 for Canadian subscribers and $10.00 in U.S. funds for American subscribers. Cheques should be made payable to Records of Early English Drama, and mailed to 150 Charles St. W., Toronto, Ontario M5S 1K9, Canada. The cost per year for British and European subscribers is £5.50. Cheques should be made payable to University of Leeds, and mailed to Peter Meredith, School of English, The University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT, England. Please address correspondence to the editor, REED Newsletter, % English Department, Erindale College, Univeristy of Toronto, Mississauga, Ontario L5L 1C6, Canada.

Typeset by William Rowcliffe

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