

PLAYFORD AND THE COUNTRY DANCE

This paper brings together much of what has been found to have been written about the Playford family as publishers and something of the consequent history of the country dance. It is "illustrated" by a set of extracts from Pepys' Diary first published in EFDS News.

The Puritan Attitude

There is a considerable literature existing which implies that the Puritans were against the use of music and dance both in England and in the American colonies. However as was first shown by Percy Scholes in *The Puritans and Music in England and New England, a Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations*, OUP, London, in 1934, this was not so, although the misunderstanding appears to persist. The major problem in understanding the period is that the culture was Protestant but not as that today. It is not to be confused with the distorted Puritanism of the 18th and especially the 19th century. It was Calvinist in flavour, looking for a Presbyterian form of government to replace the Episcopal, but not yet accepting the Armenian position. This was a certainty that Christ has died for all, but that the benefits of salvation were only received through personal faith not by works, whereas the Calvinists tended to accept predestination. The Puritans in time fragmented into Congregationalists, Baptists, Quakers, and other sects.

The Reformation was for the removal of scandals and abuses, but retaining both the doctrines and usages. However Calvinists did not want the trappings and ceremonies of Romanism and moved towards the use of the vernacular and the avoidance of musical elaboration in worship, although music itself was considered an innocent species of sensual enjoyment. The Puritan conscience attached much importance to the quiet and the religious observance of Sunday. This was contrary to those who wanted to retain the Festival Culture, that saw Sunday as a day of enjoyment, to contrast with the realities of the rest of the week. Although the reign of Charles II was a period of insincerity in the leading public lives and in many quarters a licentiousness of private conduct, the Puritan influence survived as the quiet Sunday, the stay at home and church going associated with it, and hence eventually allowing of the evangelical revival starting with the Wesleys.

The Puritans were keen music lovers. The leader of the Mayflower Pilgrims was a luteist whose children became musical performers. Oliver Cromwell possessed an organ and employed an organist. The first recorded public music concerts in England or New England occurred during the Protectorate. John Bunyan made a flute from a chair leg whilst in prison, played a violin, and favourably mentioned music and dancing throughout his inspirational books. There were no enactments on either side of the Atlantic against music or dancing on **weekdays**. They were neither anti-pleasure, as long as it was kept in proportion, anti-art, as long as it avoided superstition, or anti-music, as long as it did not distract in worship. The Puritans looked upon music as one of the good gifts of God.

Card playing and games of chance were associated with gambling, and this was objected to because it was believed that everything which happened in this world was arranged by a personal God, so these were believed blasphemous activities. Dancing was considered better than gaming for money or going forth to places of

debauchery! When abused it was seen as an introduction to whoredom, wantonness, provocative uncleanness and an introduction to all kinds of lewdness, rather than a pleasant exercise of the mind, or a wholesome practice of the body. A familiar response to young people's dancing to this day!

Often quoted is Philip Stubbs *Anatomie of Abuses* of 1583, a wonderful source of descriptive social material. He was educated at both Oxford and Cambridge, without taking a degree, and then he travelled widely. However he was not a Puritan but a self proclaimed Episcopalian who was actually abusive of the Puritans and the Sects. He was much disturbed by the social conditions of the day, at a time when gross exaggeration was a legitimate ploy.

Beginnings of Music Printing

The first recognised music printer was Petrucci in Venice from 1501. Successful concerns were established in Paris (1527), Nuremberg (1532) and Antwerp (1540) and then such spread across Europe. Psalm books with music were printed in London from 1559 and secular music less successfully by Vautrollier from 1570. Thomas East acquired Vautrollier's set of type by 1585, but was then forbidden to print music from 1598-1602 under the royal patent given to Thomas Morley. By 1610 the momentum to sustain an English music publishing industry had faded and from 1620 new music was rarely published here. East, the leading printer of his day, had printed most of the works of Byrd and Morley. The evidence from format, style and printing, together with the stationers' registers, suggests that the elder Playford's music was printed with East's types. In many instances Playford adopted East's device and its surrounding motto, "Laetificat cor musica".

The Playford Family

John Playford was born in Norwich in 1623, the son of a mercer who died in 1639. Shortly afterwards he was apprenticed to John Benson, publisher at St Dunstan's Churchyard, Fleet St, on the north side of Old St Paul's, the scene of executions during the Tudor religious persecutions and of some of the members of the Gunpowder Plot. In 1640, on achieving his freedom, he became a member of the Yeomanry of the Stationer's Company in 1647, entitling him to trade as a publisher. He was twenty eight when he published *The English Dancing Master, or Plaine and easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances with the Tune to each Dance*, addressed to the "Gentlemen of the Innes of Court", in March 1651, four years after setting up shop in the angle of the porch of the Temple Church, becoming the only music shop of account in London at that time, and trading from there until his retirement. He implied that "there was a false and surreptitious copy at the Public Presse, which if it had been published would have been a disparagement to the Professors thereof and a hinderance to the hearer."

Playford had begun by publishing political tracts culminating in the official account of the trial and execution of King Charles, *The Perfect Narrative of the Tryal of the King*. As a Royalist, a warrant had been issued for his arrest in 1649. But from 1651 he produced little else than music, the first possibly being *A Musicall Banquet* in conjunction with his former master, and he set about amassing a stock-in-trade of the musical works published in the previous one hundred years. *A Musicall Banquet* contained the genesis of many later books. It included a list of teachers of musical instruments, showing how he was in contact

with the music, and presumably dance teachers of his day, and from whom he must have drawn. During 1653 he published his *Catalogue of All the Musick Bookes printed in England*, and in 1654, a *Brief Introduction to the Skill of Music*. Covering every publishing opportunity, in 1655 he published *Court-Ayres* or the Court Dances of *Pavanes, Almains, Corants* and *Sarabands*.

A partial list of Playford publications is given in Grove.

From 1653 until his death John was clerk of the Temple Church, beginning soon after publishing the 2nd Edition of *The Dancing Master*, was devoted to the repair and maintenance of the fabric and the ordering of the services, and for a while before the Great Fire he was also vicar-choral at St Paul's Cathedral. He married Hannah Allen about 1653. They moved to Islington in 1655, where she had inherited from her father Benjamin Allen, a publisher in nearby Cornhill. There she established a boarding school for girls and ran a dancing school until her death in 1679. Playford then moved back to Arundel Street by the Strand, which he later passed to his son. He was called to the livery in 1661 and admitted to the court of assistants in 1681, at the request of the King. As a publisher he used a series of printers, Thomas Harper the successor to Thomas Snodham, the adopted son of Thomas East (d.1608), and who had inherited East's business in 1634, William Godbid (d.1679), the successor to Harper, and finally Playford's nephew, also called John Playford (1655-1685), son of brother Rev. Matthew Playford, one time vicar of Stanmore Magna. This John started as Godbid's apprentice and went into business until 1679 with Godbid's widow Anne. He appeared in the livery list of the Stationers Company in 1682. His business passed on his death to his sister Eleanor.

English music printing resumed with Playford, who sensed and met the distinctive spirit of the middle class audience. Playford's publications covered three categories, theory of music and lesson books for various instruments, collections of songs and instrumental pieces, and psalms and psalm paraphrases and hymns. *The Whole Book of Psalmes* was published in 1651 for the Stationers' Company. There were many "new" editions which differed little from their predecessors. Later songbooks could be rearrangements of earlier titles under new names. He enhanced the musical literacy of the generation before the advent of popular sheet music just after 1700. Later British music publishing never forgot this origin in the popular song sheet, and the annual output of several hundred such editions every year persisted from soon after 1700 to well into the 19th century. Also he published the "books" of the Lord Mayor's Shows for 1672, 1674, 1675, 1680 and 1688, which were in those days more of a pageant than a simple procession.

John dominated the English music trade, then largely confined to London, until he retired in 1684, just before James II came to the throne. He was not a dancing master nor, as far as is known, a musician. He left his business to Henry Playford and Robert Carr, a member of the King's Musick, who was the son of John Carr (ff. 1672-1695) a collaborator in publishing at the nearby Middle Temple Gate, but he took no active part and he and Henry soon parted. John died in 1686 aged sixty three. In his will Henry Purcell and John Blow, both composers, were beneficiaries. On his death Purcell wrote the *Elegy on my friend, Mr John Playford*. John Blow (1649-1708) was in 1669 Musician of the Virginals to Charles II and in 1674 Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and Master of the Children, which

made him the teacher of Henry Purcell. He wrote an anthem for the Coronation of James II in 1685.

Henry Playford was born in 1657, the younger son and only known survivor of John's children, and apprenticed to his father from 1674 to 1681. He updated many of his father's titles to suit more modern tastes, showing a lively perception of the requirements of public entertainments and the pleasure garden concerts which created a market for more ephemeral "favourite songs" and instrumental pieces. From 1687 he published large numbers of non-musical works, roughly one third of his total output. Married to Anne Baker in 1686, they probably had a daughter. Between 1690-3 he promoted sales and auctions of art works and antiquarian music books. Starting in 1692 he published most of Purcell's music. He took a number of not too successful initiatives to increase trade.

On John's retirement, his son Henry had moved the business to the Temple Change, over against St Dunstan's in the West Church in Fleet Street, from where he sold the eighth to twelfth editions of *The Dancing Master*, which after the first edition had dropped the word *English*. These thoroughly revised editions provided the Longways type of country dance more suited to the assembly room than the figure dances of his father's editions. The stock of the Temple Church shop was auctioned in 1690. John Cullen of The Buck, Fleet Street and John Young took over Henry's publications from 1707. In 1706, Henry's final stock had been sold, probably by Young. John Young (c 1660-c 1732), established in London by 1695, of the Dolphin and Crown at the west end of St Paul's Churchyard, published a further six editions after Henry's death in 1709. He also published more editions of Henry's *Wits and Mirth or, Pills to Purge Melancholy* of Tom D'Urfey's songs to popular airs, and also made violins. They were followed by John Johnson who between 1740 and 1762 published annual volumes of music and large collections of country dances. Then he was followed as a music publisher by his widow until 1777.

The Dancing Master Book

The front plate of the book was an illustration, apparently by Hollar, taken from the pornographic book *The Academy of Love : describing ye Folly of Younge Men and ye Fallacy of Women*, by another John Johnson, son of John Johnson of Oddington in Gloucestershire, a thin quarto published in 1641, showing the Young Gentleman, guided by Cupid, arriving at the last stage of his progress. Country Dancing did not form part of that Academy's activities! The book was dreary attempt at humour and of no literary merit. When the design was redrawn for the seventh edition, Cupid, now playing a violin, was retained, but it was not uncommon to find on surviving copies that he was snipped out by owners of delicate susceptibilities, or his person was clothed with pen and ink unmentionables. The new title page for the final edition suggested the Pump Room at Bath.

The production of a book which could be circulated throughout the Kingdom was the answer to the prevailing condition in which many people stayed at their country home and were cut off from the urban dancing schools. The book circulated widely, not only in England and France, but among the Puritans and others in North America. Later editions cost three shillings and six pence for about three hundred and sixty dances. The most important rival collection, Walsh's *Compleat Country Dancing Master* only appeared in 1719. John Walsh

(1665-1736) and his son, also John (1709-1766), started publishing in 1695 when Henry Playford appeared to lack the initiative to maintain the family firm's dominance. Henry stayed with the old fashioned production methods, not seriously adopting engraving. From then onwards until the early nineteenth century Prof J Flett estimated that nearly ten thousand notations appeared in print, with many repetitions of course, but reflecting that the country dance had become fashionable and had to have the appearance of innovation. The most comprehensive collection eventually was Thomas Wilson's *Complete System of English Country Dancing* of 1820.

As a Source of Melody

The first to recognise in *The Dancing Master* a source of English melody was John Malchair (1730-1812), a German who lived in England from 1754, who interested his friend William Crotch (1775-1847) sufficiently to include examples in his book of *Specimens of Various Styles of National Music* in 1807. William, a prodigy, had played for the King and Queen at Buckingham Palace when three and half years old, and became the organist at Christ Church College Oxford from the age of fifteen until 1807, and he had gained a Doctorate of Music in November 1799. He had befriended Malchair in 1788 when he became blind and acknowledged his help in the book. John had been collecting airs, one of what were at least three volumes is now with the EFDSS. They are mostly from Playford but include some from singers and military bands heard in the streets of Oxford. Malchair also wrote a chime still used at Gloucester Cathedral.

Thirty years later William Chappell (1809-1888), noted for an interest in early music, but also for his prejudice against Scotland and everything Scottish, brought out his *Collection of (Two Hundred and Forty Five) National English Airs : consisting of Ancient Song, Ballad and Dance Tunes* in two volumes (1838-1840), and from 1855-9 *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, also in two volumes. He and later workers have identified many of the tunes, so far sixty six out of one hundred and five, in broadside ballads, English MS collections, eg. *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, or in foreign printed collections. Therefore it is unlikely that the editor(s) of the first edition drew directly on any traditional sources for the music.

Source of the Material

The styles of the original notations suggest that several hands helped, but so far no one has made a serious study of the likely number of collaborators. The rich variety of form provided by the early editions might have reflected a sweeping together of archaic forms. The slow rate of change considered to be typical of a tradition would imply a long history for such diversity to have developed, all unnoticed, and would imply also a more sophisticated folk form than that in polite society because one would not expect Society to pick up all the peasant material. Alternatively and much more likely is that it reflects a brief period of intense innovation with a very tenuous connection with its roots of inspiration.

The tunes were often altered between editions, particularly to eliminate archaic features, especially the modal characteristics much prized by the revivalists. Oddly it was often the tune that attracted the modern performer to the dance, yet in no way does the interest in a dance in the twentieth century reflect its popularity in its day, at least as measured by persistence through several editions.

Rufty Tufty appeared in the first edition only and the better known version of *Sellengers Round* not until the fourth edition.

It is surprising that there has been no further attempt to use the vast corpus of tunes in the Playford and later English collections until quite recently, and it seems incongruous to work with Irish and Scottish collections which themselves have drawn on such sources without acknowledgement.

The Country Dance

The English Country Dance seemed to have sprung fully developed from Playford's shop, but it must have grown from something, even though the evidence is scanty. The sixteenth century was the end of the old artistic world in which all the forms from the twelfth century onwards were gathered up and worked out to their logical conclusion. In 1501 Katherine of Aragon came to marry Henry VIII's elder brother and brought Spanish music and dancing to England. When Princess Katherine met Prince Arthur at Dogmersfield House, Hampshire, before the wedding, they found that their dances were incompatible and they had to dance with their own attendees. When Henry VIII's sister Mary, the widow of Louis XII, returned, with her lady-in-waiting Anne Boleyn, French fashions became the order of the day. But none were country dances.

Rounds as dances were mentioned by Sir Thomas Elyot in 1531. The term Country Dance was used in 1560 in a play *Misogonus*. Several dances were named, some of which occurred in Playford, eg. *Heart's Ease*, but there is no means of knowing if they were the same. Country people danced before the Queen at Cowdray in 1591. In 1600 the Queen liked to watch her ladies dance the "old and the new" Country Dances. Although she preferred the solo performances in the *Galliards* and *La Volta*, and the more demanding couple dances in which the steps were more important than the tracks of the dance. Whilst medieval gentlemen could fight in tournaments to show off before their ladies, sixteenth century gentlemen were deprived of such outlets. Sport as we now understand it did not exist, so the Elizabethans became "The Dancing English". In 1623 the Court Masquers danced *The Soldier's March* and *Half Hannikan*. However this may just have been the reuse of known tunes.

In dancing, as with costume and other things affecting social life, there was a clean break during the first quarter of the seventeenth century with a fresh start on new lines. It was in many ways the beginning of a recognisably modern world. In 1625 Charles I had succeeded his father and married the sister of Louis XIII.

The *Gavotte* had become prominent because after their solo the gentlemen kissed all the ladies and his partner all the gentlemen. *Gavottes* were progressive, but not in the Country Dance sense. The top couple did not work their way down the set, but after the kissing immediately took the lowest place. Ten of Playford's first edition dances included kissing, only two of which were revived by Sharp, and it is still thought that this type of dance really belonged to an earlier period. Foreign visitors to England in the sixteenth century observed that kissing was a salutation ubiquitously used but that the habit as a common greeting went out by the mid seventeenth century. The *Galliard* became a shadow of its former self, with the springs reduced to instep movements, and so was forgotten by society, but it

presumably contributed something to the Cotswold Morris at the revival of Merry England following the Restoration of 1660 because of the similarities.

At Court the simple outdoor dances came indoors and, as it happened earlier in Italy under similar circumstances, they quickly became figure dances. Only in Court Masques are we sure of large numbers of dancers. The disturbed conditions in England in the seventeenth century favoured the development of domestic dancing with only a few dancers. The existence of rigid distinctions made it easier for the classes to mix. The Country Dance was impersonal and it was possible to call in servants to make up a set. Also then there was less of a difference between town and country. Urban centres were smaller and products and produce were directly exchanged, and fashions and behaviour readily observed. Many of Playford's dances fit comfortably into the average living room or kitchen of the better people of the period, with the Longways for use in the Long Gallery that was a feature of so many grander country houses. The countryman's ballroom would be the threshing floor of beaten earth or fitted boards, typically about twenty by fourteen feet. Later, when public assemblies had largely replaced dancing at home, the Longways formation became the sole one, and variants, such as the triple minor were popular, both to accommodate socialising and yet another basic change to a more cumbersome style of fashionable clothes, driving to graceful rather than robust movements.

From the middle of the sixteenth century there are literary references to a few Country Dances whose names eventually found a place in Playford's volumes, but there is little certain knowledge of the steps or figures used. Only in two cases are there documentary evidence, *Turkeyloney* and *Basilema*, in MS about 1590, when such dances are assumed to be coming to Court. There is little resemblance to the form now associated with the Playford publications and it is reasonable to assume that any original dances, if such really existed, were much altered and improved. The characteristic form of three "Introductions" followed by a figure repeated, or three unique figures had no known antecedent, yet sixty nine dances in the first edition are of this form, including over half of the Longways-for-as-many-as-will. Some dances, for example *Chestnut*, are in common with Daniel Wright's *Country Dances Volume I*, c.1720, without these movements, so perhaps they were taken for granted and actually were used even more frequently than the Playford volumes state explicitly. The Wrights, father and son, traded from 1709 until 1735 and 1730 until 1740 respectively, and were notorious musical pirates, especially from John Walsh. They also published works under the same or very similar titles. There was a marked discrepancy between the later Dancing Master published notations and actual common practice in ball rooms from the mid nineteenth century, so why not earlier?

At Court

During the Interregnum various country recreations were frowned upon, particularly maypoles and maygames, primarily on the grounds that they were practiced on Sundays. That they led to mixed, promiscuous or lascivious dancing to wanton ditties and with amorous gestures and wanton dalliances, especially after great feasts, was regarded as indecent and therefore sinful. There was a similarity with minstrels or street singers because of their bawdy, licentious and loose minded songs to which they objected to the words. The crudity and vulgarity of the times cannot be ignored. These behaviours were not sanctified by reference in the bible and therefore labelled heathenish and superstitious.

Presumably the country dances with their minimum of body contact were more acceptable. Music itself was not the target, Oliver Cromwell and many leading followers were devoted to it, where it could be reconciled with religious susceptibilities. Dancing was also acceptable. The mixed dancing at the wedding of Cromwell's daughter Frances went on until 5am. Bulstrode Whitelocke on a mission to Sweden in 1653 assured Queen Christina just before her abdication that dancing was not forbidden. After the *Brawls*, French dances and some country dances, his gentleman-in-waiting taught her ladies some new steps. Two (presumably unenforceable) ordinances passed in June 1657 are of interest, the first declaring that any fiddler or minstrel playing in an alehouse or entreating any person to hear him play was to be punished as a rogue, and the second that anyone profanely singing or playing on the Lord's Day would be fined ten shillings.

Not everyone liked all the dances being performed, Arbeau and Louis XIII did not approve of *La Volta*, and Philip II of Spain did not like the *Sarabande*. The *Spectator* of 17th May 1711 remarked adversely on "kissing dances" and the "most impudent and lascivious step called setting."

When 27, James, Duke of York, contracted on 24th November 1659 to marry Anne Hyde, then 22, a Lady-in-Waiting to his sister Mary, and it was conducted in secret on 3rd September 1660, when she was pregnant. She was the daughter of the fat but able lawyer Edward Hyde, later at the Restoration the Lord Chancellor and created the Earl of Clarendon. She loved dancing but later "lost her spirits". She died in 1671.

William of Orange's minority was ended in September 1668. He visited England from 18th November to 28th February 1671. At that time James' daughter Mary was in the charge of Colonel Edward Villiers, uncle of Lady Castlemaine, and Lady Frances Villiers, the youngest daughter of Theophilus Howard, 2nd Earl of Suffolk. Mary's household was small but paid her dancing master £200 a year. He was the Frenchman who had taught her grandparents and her father, but he remained still a brilliant teacher. Mary was an excellent dancer for the rest of her life.

Charles sent James, the Duke of Monmouth, to Paris in 1668 for two months to further improve his graces and to sweeten Louis XIV. Almost 19, he met his aunt Henrietta-Anne, Duchess of Orleans, only five years his senior. "Madame" danced with incomparable grace and sang like an angel. They adored each other and he delighted her by teaching the country dances which were fashionable at Whitehall.

The Duke of Monmouth had stayed in Lady Wentworth's house at Toddington, Bedfordshire, when first ordered abroad by the King in 1681. He was then in Holland for a year and a half. Monmouth was a favourite of Princess Mary and a friend of her husband William of Orange. He danced at State Balls, taught her the latest country dances of England, and skated with Princess Mary on the frozen canals.

Playford's Dances

The formations in Playford are Rounds, Squares and Longways for four, six, eight or as-many-as-will, although it is unlikely that the Longways-for-as-many-as-will

were originally done with many more than four couples. The days of the New England "String" Dances was still to be a long way off. In Victorian times six to eight couples were the usual maximum and such a limitation is observed by the Scottish Dancers today. It was usual to start a longways dance with the top pairs only and to continue by bringing in pairs at each progression until all had returned to their starting places, so that even a simple longways would last for at least as many minutes as there were couples in the set.

From the original one hundred and five dances the numbers published grew with each edition. Major revisions in content were associated with the changes in publisher. Before the eighth edition, of 1690, with two hundred and twenty dances, only five of the original first edition had been dropped. By the tenth edition, of 1698, with two hundred and twelve dances, only fifty three survived. The final edition was in three parts, Part 1, eighteenth edition, of 1728, had three hundred and fifty seven dances, Part 2, fourth edition, had three hundred and sixty, and Part 3, second edition, had two hundred, but thirty one dances still survived from the first edition. With the changes and omissions over one thousand dances were published, an impossible number to have been in general use. Current fashion was reflected, in the third edition, of 1665/7, there were tunes for the "most usual" French Dances, and another set in the 1668 edition. Playford described other dances, eg. *Passepied* in the 12th edition was a Court dance.

One important change was that in the 17th century, music no longer remained the servant of the dance, until then the dance forms had dictated the characteristics of the music so that they developed side by side. The spread of printing gave music an advantage which it never relinquished. Dance developed a notation of sorts, but it did not compare in quality. It became common to have musical suites which reflected dance speeds and rhythms, with such sequences as *Prelude, Allemande, Courante, Gigue* and *Sarabande*, that were brilliantly exploited by Bach and Handel, but for listening not dancing.

Not only did the Longways develop, but so did the other social dances, the *Volts* and *Galliards* were replaced by *Minuets* and *Allemandes*, then by *Waltzes* and *Polkas*. With the appearance of the *Cottillions* and *Quadrilles* in the 19th century, which started as two pairs of dancers facing across a square, a simple development of the French *Contra Dance*, the Longways that remained became both simple and fun, more party dances than serious. It is said that the *Quadrille* was popular because you could chose the group you danced with and did not have to mix with so many strangers.

Social Background

Up to the end of the seventeenth century dancing remained domestic and informal and a way part of everyday life with a spontaneity in its occurrence. At the turn of that century the Country Dance crossed the English Channel and was taken up with enthusiasm in many European countries. Except for brief period under Queen Anne, the Court gave little lead to Society and the English nobility and gentry remained on their estates. The tenantry were often regarded as an extension of the family and festivities at the big house were shared by all in addition to the round of local seasonal festivals. As the century progressed Society started to congregate at places of amusement, like Vauxhall Gardens and Ranleigh, or at the fashionable spas and watering places such as Bath, where the

highest standards of dancing and deportment were demanded. Up and down the country every town and many a village inn had its Assembly Room which was used for public and private balls. The first were probably those at Hampstead, Tunbridge and Epsom, where it was no coincidence that the supposedly health giving waters were being exploited. As society people were now living in smaller houses they found it convenient to join forces to hire the local hall. The atmosphere can be appreciated by reading Jane Austen's novels.

Beau Nash reigned at Bath from 1705 until 1752. Four years after his death in 1762, the orchestra at the Bath Assembly was led by a young Hanoverian whose knowledge of music was gained from a short experience in the Duke of Cumberland's army band, from which he had deserted. He remained at Bath from 1766 until 1782, using his spare time, with the help of his sister, to make telescopes. William, later Sir, Herschel in March 1781, discovered the planet Uranus. He went on to become Astronomer Royal.

The Revival of the Dances

Starting in 1911, Cecil Sharp published a selection of dances, rising to one hundred and fifty one in all, in four of the six volumes of his *Country Dance Books*. He had no training in dance research. *The Dancing Master* was terse and frequently obscure, being only an aide memoire, and there was no mention of steps or style. Sharp intended to make them enjoyable for a new generation and did not reconstruct them for historical purposes, thus although keeping close to the originals, unlike some previous interpreters, he leaned heavily on the movements and style of the traditions he had met, and the figures he considered to be similar to the those in the morris and sword dances. The dances were an immediate success, but it was found nearly impossible to persuade dancers to change when interpretations were found to be faulty. For example in 1922 Sharp accepted that Siding was a side-by-side movement, like the half-gyp of the morris with no turning, but it was not until fifty years later that this became at all acceptable in performance. (see xii)

At the time to be able to describe something as of folk origin conferred upon it a particular merit, both moral and artistic. Sharp, at the height of his fame, was determined that Playford should contribute, even though the dances were not of pure folk form, which may seem surprising considering his firm ruling about traditional song. Maud Karpeles wrote that Cecil Sharp believed that the older dances in the collection were deeply rooted in tradition, although certain features may have been added at a later and more sophisticated period, while others owed a great deal to the creative efforts of Playford's contributors. This view of a conscious manipulation of traditional material by those who were immersed in the spirit of the dance justified republication, along with the artistic beauty of the results.

The question still remains, where is the Folk in all this? Where did the dances come from and where did the tunes? The literary references can only be extrapolated to the immediate circle of contact of the gentry. More recent tradition only provides negative evidence. Such dances are simple and party like, most of the English ones can be traced to published sources or can be shown to have evolved from such, as for example the separate dances derived from the figures of *The First Set of Quadrilles*. Thomas Hardy remembered as a youth the Country Dance form spreading into the social life at the common level in Dorset about

1840. The Fletts established that it spread into the Highlands and Islands of Scotland in living memory at the time of their enquiries. In this century, when dancing in many idioms could become a pastime or hobby for anyone, it is notable that the standard of complexity of the dance of the enthusiast is akin to that of Playford. By contrast the Playford material contributes little to the modern recreational leader or caller at one night stands.

Often those who have written about folk dance were steeped in the Song. This is personal and shows an ability to persist of a different order to the dance, which requires group participation. For example Mervyn Plunkett has shown that the nonsense burdens of ballads in the carol form can often be explained as rationalisations of medieval Latin phrases. Even simpler is the survival of superstitions, eg. throwing coins into wells or fountains. The story of folk song gives a false background to any understanding the social dance, as also does the so called ritual dance. No matter how much that drew on social dance forms.

Discussion

Of all the folk arts, I believe that the content of the social dance until the appearance of dance halls or palais in the later nineteenth century, is unique in that it is all by devolution from fashionable society. Such a mechanism for diffusion downwards can be demonstrated to exist in other areas, so should not be surprising.

Too often writers have perceptions of the past which no longer reflect the realities which are apparent in the modern researches by historians of the period, as is happening in most fields of the "folk arts".

This as in all articles on Playford and *The Dancing Master* volumes is greatly indebted to the work of Margaret Dean Smith. Much activity continues on the dances, tunes and background, although little is available in easily accessible sources, as will be seen from *The Playford Ball : 103 Early English Country Dances* by Kate Van Winkle Keller and Genevieve Shimer (1990).

Although thanks to so many for their publications from which this is drawn, errors, omissions and opinions are entirely the author's responsibility.

V 1.0 R L Dommett, 1978

V 2.1 R L Dommett, 1996

file : playford.wri

DATES IN CONTEXT

November	1623	John Playford born in Norwich.
23 February	1633	Samual Pepys born in London.
22 August	1642	Charles I raised his standard at Nottingham.
30 January	1649	Execution of Charles I.
19 May	1649	England was declared a Commonwealth.
	1651	Playford published <i>A Musicall Banquet</i> .
	1651	First Edition of <i>The English Dancing Master</i> .
September	1651	Charles II defeated at Worcester.
12 May	1652	Start of First Dutch War - ended 5 April 1654.
	1652	Second Edition of <i>The Dancing Master</i> .
16 December	1653	Oliver Cromwell became Lord Protector.
	1654	<i>A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Music</i> .
13 October	1655	Elizabeth Pepys started her diary.
	1657	Third Edition of <i>The Dancing Master</i> .
	1657	Henry Playford born.
03 September	1658	Oliver Cromwell died.
24 May	1659	Richard Cromwell retired.
01 January	1660	Pepys started his Diary.
01 January	1660	General Monck began his March.
29 May	1660	Charles II enters London.
22 February	1665	Start of Second Dutch War - ended 31 July 1667.
	1665	Reprint of Third Edition of <i>The Dancing Master</i> .
July/January	1665/6	Great Plague.
1/5 September	1666	Great Fire of London.
31 May	1669	End of Samuel Pepys diary.
10 November	1669	Elizabeth Pepys died.
01 January	1670	General Monck, Duke of Albemarle died.
	1670	Fourth Edition of <i>The Dancing Master</i> .
March	1672	Start of Third Dutch War - ended February 1674.
	1685	James II became King and Monmouth's Rebellion.
	1686	John Playford died.
	1688	The Glorious Revolution.
26 May	1703	Samuel Pepys died.

[check later edition dates]

PEPYS ON DANCING

This text is copied from EFDS NEWS volume 1, pp. 305-312, and 364-371.

The following, being the principal accounts of and references to dancing in the Dairy, are reprinted from the full text, as edited by Wheatley and published by Messrs. G Bell and Sons, by permission of the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and of the publishers.

March 6th, 1659-60. "I went to see Mrs. Jem ... They all went down into the dining room, where it was full of tag, rag, and bobtail, dancing, singing, and drinking, of which I was ashamed, and after I had staid a dance or two I went away."

September 24th, 1660. "Went ... to a dancing meeting in Broad Street, at the house that was formerly the glass-house, Luke Channell Master of the School, where I saw good dancing, but it growing late, and the room very full of people and so very hot, I went home."

March 27th, 1661. "To the Dolphin to a dinner of Mr. Harris's where Sir Williams both and my Lady Batten, and her two daughters, and other company, where a great deal of mirth, and there staid till 11 o'clock at night; and in our mirth I sang and sometimes fiddled (there being a noise of fiddlers there), and at last we fell to dancing, the first time that ever I did in my life, which I did wonder to see myself to do. At last we made Mingo, Sir W. Batten's black and Jack, Sir W. Ren's, dance, and it was strange how the first did dance with great deal of seeming skill."

April 10th, 1661. "Here [at Mr Hempson's house] we had, for my sake, two fiddles, the one a base viall, on which he that played, played well some lyra [viol] lessons, but both together made the worst musique that I ever heard ... After we had done eating, the ladies went to dance, and among the men we had, I was forced to dance too; and did make an ugly shift. Mrs. R. Allen danced very well, and seems the best humoured woman that ever I saw. About 9 o'clock Sir William and my Lady went home, and we continued dancing an hour or two, and so broke up very pleasant and merry."

May 8th, 1661. "To-day I received a letter from my uncle, to beg an old fiddle of me for my Cozen Perkin, the miller, whose mill the wind hath lately broke down, and now he hath nothing to live by but fiddling, and he must needs have it gainst Whitsuntide to play to the country girls."

November 11th, 1661. "He [Captain Ferrers] took me to a dancing school in Fleet Street, where we saw a company of pretty girls dance, but I do not myself like to have young girls exposed to such vanity."

October 5th, 1662. "Dined with my wife, and to talk again above, chiefly about her learning to dance against her going next year into the country, which I am willing she shall do."

November 22nd, 1662. "This day I bought the book of country dances against my wife's woman Gosnell comes, who dances finely; and there meeting Mr. Playford he did give me his Latin songs of Mr. Deering's, which he lately printed."

This entry seems to have been made after the day's doings had been set down. There is no antecedent to the word "there," but Pepys mentions that he visited his cousin Roger, who was a barrister of the Middle Temple, after dinner that day. Playford's address was Temple Change, so Pepys must have dropped in on his way. The "book of country dances" was presumably (it is not in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College), *The Dancing Master*, second edition, 1652.

December 8th, 1662. "We sit up looking over the book of Dances till 12 at night, not observing how the time went."

December 31st, 1662. "Mr. Povy and I, to White Hall; he carrying me thither on purpose to carry me into the ball this night before the King ... Into the room where the ball was to be, crammed with fine ladies, the greatest of the Court. By and by comes the King and Queen, the Duke and Duchess, and all the great ones : and after seating themselves, the King takes out the Duchess of York; and the Duke, the Duchess of Buckingham; the Duke of Monmouth, my Lady Castlemaine; and so other lords other ladies : and they danced the Bransle. After that, the King led a lady a single Coranto; and then the rest of the lords, one after another, other ladies : very noble it was, and a great pleasure to see. Then to country dances; the King leading the first, which he called for; which was, says he, "Cuckolds all awry," the old dance of England. Of the ladies that danced, the Duke of Monmouth's mistress, and my Lady Castlemaine, and a daughter of Sir Henry de Vicke's, were the best. The manner was, when the King dances, all the ladies in the room, and the Queen herself, stand up : and indeed he dances rarely, and much better than the Duke of York. Having staid here as long as I thought fit, to my infinite content, it being the greatest pleasure I could wish now to see at Court, I went out, leaving them dancing ... We have lately had it in our thoughts, and I can hardly bring myself off of it, since Mrs. Gosnell cannot be with us, to find out another to be in the quality of a woman to my wife that can sing or dance, and yet finding it hard to save anything at the year's end as I now live, I think I shall not be such a fool till I am more warm in my purse, besides my oath of entering into no such expenses till I am worth £1000."

Extract from Cecil Sharp, *The Country Dance book*, Part II, p.10 : "The 'old dance of England' is, no doubt, identical with Playford's 'Cuckolds all a row' : it is included in every edition of 'The Dancing Master,' and, under its alternative title, 'Hey, boys, up go we,' is given in the text."

Whether the King's remark was erudition or wit is unimportant; the interest of this entry lies in the mention by name of a Country dance, the only instance in the whole Diary. 'Hey, boys,' as we know it, both tune and figures, is 'Cuckolds all a row' in Playford, all editions. There is a longways for as many as will in the seventh and subsequent editions entitled 'Hey-boys up go we,' with entirely different tune and figures. There are several names for this latter, e.g. 'Forty-one,' 'The Clean contrary way,' and 'The Good Old Cause,' i.e. the Roundhead cause. But the song 'Hey, boys, up go we,' appears in *The Shepherd's Oracles*, by Frances Quarles, 1646, the last line of each stanza being 'And hey, then up go we,' and this is a satire on the Puritans. The Cavaliers used to sing it, but to their own party tune, 'Cuckolds all a row.' [Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*.]

April 19th, 1663. "After supper fell in discourse of dancing, and I find that Ashwell [Mrs. Pepys' new maid] hath a very fine carriage, which makes my wife almost ashamed of herself to see herself so outdone, but to-morrow she begins to learn to dance for a month or two."

April 20th, 1663. "Somewhat troubled at Ashwell's desiring and insisting over eagerly upon her going to a ball to meet some of her old companions at a dancing school here in town next Friday, but I am resolved she shall not go."

April 24th, 1663. "Sending my boy by the way to enquire after two dancing masters at our end of the town for my wife to learn, of whose names the boy brought word. After dinner all the afternoon fiddling upon my viallin (which I have not done many a day) while Ashwell danced above in my upper best chamber, which is a rare room for musique."

April 25th, 1663. "So in the evening home, and after supper (my father at my brother's) and merrily practicing to dance, which my wife hath begun to learn this day of Mr. Pembleton, but I fear will hardly do any great good at it, because she is conceited that she do well already, though I think no such thing."

April 27th, 1663. "At home with my wife and Ashwell talking of her going into

the country this year, wherein we had like to have fallen out, she thinking that I have design to have her go, which I have not, and to let her stay here I perceive will not be convenient, for she expects more pleasure than I can give her here, and I fear I have done very ill in letting her begin to learn to dance."

April 28th, 1663. "Up betimes and to my office, and there all the morning, only stepped up to see my wife and her dancing master at it, and I think after all she will do pretty well at it."

May 1st, 1663. "In Leadenhall Street, there was morris-dancing which I have not seen a great while."

May 4th, 1663. "By and by the dancing-master [Pembleton] came, whom standing by, seeing him instructing my wife, when he had done with her, he would needs have me try the steps of a coranto, and what with his desire and my wife's importunity, I did begin, and then was obliged to give him entry-money 10s., and am become his scholler. The truth is, I think it a thing very useful for a gentleman, and sometimes I may have occasion of using it, and though it cost me what I am heartily sorry it should, besides that I must by my oath give half as much more to the poor, yet I am resolved to get it up some other way, and then it will not be above a month or two a year. So though it be against my stomach yet I will try it a little while; if I see it comes to any great inconvenience or charge I will fling it off. After I had begun with the steps of half a coranto, which I think I shall learn well enough, he went away."

May 5th, 1663. "After dinner up to try my dance."

May 6th, 1663. "While at supper comes Mr. Pembleton, and after supper we up to our dancing room and there danced three or four country dances, and after that a practice of my coranto I began with him the other day, and I begin to think that I shall be able to do something at it in time. Late and merry at it, and so weary to bed."

There is no mention of any visitors this evening, but Pepys, Pembleton, Mrs. Pepys, and Ashwell would make a four. The dances for four in Playford, second edition, are *Argeers, Cuckolds all a row, Glory of the West, Hit and misse, Hearts Ease, Parsons farewell, and Saint Martins.*

May 8th, 1663. "Took up my wife and Ashwell to the Theatre Royall [Drury Lane] ... The play was 'The Humorous Lieutenant.' ... In the dance, the tall devil's actions was very pretty. ... At supper comes Pembleton, and afterwards we all up to dancing till late, and so broke up and to bed, and they say I am like to make a dancer."

May 11th, 1663. "At home there being Pembleton I danced, and I think shall come on to do something in a little time [this apparently in the morning] ... So home, and finding Pembleton there we did dance till it was late, and so to supper and to bed."

May 12th, 1663. "A little angry with my wife for minding nothing now but the dancing-master, having him come twice a day, which is folly."

May 13th, 1663. "After dinner Pembleton came and I practised. But, Lord! to see how my wife will not be thought to need telling by me or Ashwell, and yet will plead that she has learnt but a month, which causes many short fallings out between us."

May 16th, 1663. "Did go up to them to practise, and did make an end of 'La Duchesse,' which I think I should, with little pains, do very well."

May 18th, 1663. "Home and spent the morning at dancing."

May 19th, 1663. "Up pretty betimes, but yet I observe how my dancing and lying

a morning or two longer than ordinary for my cold do make me hard to rise as I used to do, or look after my business as I am wont."

May 20th, 1663. "Home and to see my wife dancing with Pembleton about noon. ... Pembleton coming, we danced a country dance or two, and so broke up and to bed."

May 21st, 1663. "Up, but cannot get up so early as I was wont, not my mind to business as it should be and used to be before this dancing ... Home and danced with Pembleton, and then the barber trimmed me, and so to dinner, my wife and I having high words about her dancing to that degree that I did enter and make a vow to myself not to oppose her or say anything to dispraise or correct her therein as long as her month lasts, in pain of 2s. 6d. for every time, which if God pleases, I will observe, for this roguish business has brought us more disquiett than anything [that] has happened a great while. After dinner to my office, where late, and then home; and Pembleton being there again, we fell to dance a country dance or two, and so to supper and bed. But being at supper my wife did say something that caused me to oppose her in, she used the word devil, which vexed me, and among other things I said I would not have her use that word, upon which she took me up most scornfully, which, before Ashwell and the rest of the world, I know not now-a-days how to check, as I would heretofore, for less than that would have made me strike her. So that I fear without great discretion I shall go near to lose command over her, and nothing do it more than giving her this occasion of dancing and other pleasures, whereby her mind is taken up from her business and finds other sweets besides pleasing of me, and so makes her that she begins not at all to take pleasure in me or study to please me as heretofore. But if this month of her dancing were but out (as my first was this night, and I paid off Pembleton for myself) I shall hope with a little pains to bring her to her old wont."

May 27th, 1663. "We danced country dances, and single, my wife and I: and my wife paid him off for this month also, and so he is cleared. After dancing we took him down to supper, and were very merry."

May 31st, 1663. "Being come from church, I to make up my month's accounts, and find myself worth £726, for which God be praised, but yet I might have been better by £20 almost had I forborne some layings out in dancing and other things upon my wife, and going to plays and other things merely to ease my mind as to the business of the dancing-master, which I bless God is now over and I falling to my quiet of mind and business again, which I have for a fortnight neglected too much."

The 'disquiet' of mind was due not so much to the actual dancing and Mrs. Pepys' addiction to it as to Pepys' violent jealousy of Pembleton, owing to the latter coming to the house when he was out. But Pepys admits in the Diary that he found no justification for his suspicions.

August 6th, 1663. "To my cozen Mary Joyce's ... After dinner to talk and laugh. I drank no wine, but sent for some water, the beer not being good. A fiddler was sent for, and there one Mrs. Larkin, a neighbour, a good, and merry poor woman, but a very tall woman, did dance and show such tricks that made us all merry, but above all a daughter of Mr. Brumfield's, black, but well-shaped and modest, did dance very well, which pleased me mightily. I began the Duchess with her, but could not do it; but, however, I came off well enough, and made mighty much of her."

August 19th, 1663. "By and by comes in Pembleton, which begun to make me

sweat, but I did give him so little countenance, and declared at one word against dancing any more, and bid him a short (God be with you) myself, and so he took as short a leave of my wife and so went away."

February 3rd, 1664-5. "Mrs. Pickering ... did ... tell me the manner of a masquerade before the King and Court the other day, Where six women (my Lady Castlemayne and Duchesse of Monmouth being two of them) and six men (the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Arran and Monsieur Blanfort, being three of them) in vizards, but most rich and antique dresses, did dance admirably and most gloriously."

April 13th, 1665. "At noon to Sheriff Waterman's to dinner, all of us men of the office in towne, and our wives, my Lady Carteret and daughters, and Ladies Batten, Pen, and my wife, &c., and very good cheer we had and merry; musique at and after dinner, and a fellow danced a jig; but when the company began to dance, I came away lest I should be taken out; and the God knows how my wife carried herself, but I left her to try her fortune."

April 23rd, 1665. "All to my house, where comes Mr. Hill, Andrews, and Captain Taylor, and good musique, but at supper to hear the arguements we had against Taylor concerning a Corant, he saying that the law of a dancing Corant is to have every barr to end in a pricked crochet and quaver, which I did deny, was very strange. It proceeded till I vexed him, but parted friends, for Creed and I to laugh at when he was gone."

October 4th, 1665 "Being come to my wife, at our lodging [at Woolwich, where they had moved on account of the plague], I did go to bed, and left my wife with her people to laugh and dance and I to sleep."

October 11th, 1665. "Against tide and in the darke and very cold weather to Woolwich, where we had appointed to keep the night merrily; and so, by Captain Cocke's coach, had brought a very pretty child, a daughter of one Mrs. Tooker's, next door to my lodging, and so she, and a daughter and kinsman of Mrs Pett's made up a fine company at my lodgings at Woolwich, where my wife and Mercer [Mrs. Pepys' maid], and Mrs. Barbara danced, and mighty merry we were, but especially at Mercer's dancing a jig, which she does the best I ever did see. This night is kept in lieu of yesterday, for my wedding day of ten years ... Having danced with my people as long as I saw fit to sit up, I to bed and left them to do what they would. I forgot that we had W. Hewer there, and Tom, and Golding, my barber at Greenwich, for our fiddler, to whom I did give 10s."

October 26th, 1665. "I to the office till night, and then they come and tell me my wife is come to towne, so I to her vexed at her coming, but it was upon innocent business, so I was pleased and made her stay, Captain Ferrers and his lady being yet there, and so I left them to dance, and I to the office till past nine at night, and so to them and there saw them dance very prettily, the Captain and his wife, my wife and Mrs. Barbary, and Mercer and my landlady's daughter, and then little Mistress Frances Tooker, and her mother, a pretty woman come to see my wife. Anon to supper, and then to dance again (Golding being our fiddler, who plays very well and all tunes) till past twelve at night."

December 1st, 1665. "Home by promise to my wife, to have mirth there. So we had our neighbours, little Miss Tooker and Mrs. Daniels, to dance, and after supper I to bed, and left them merry below, which they did not part from till two or three in the morning."

December 31st, 1665. "I have never lived so merrily (besides that I never got so

much) as I have done this plague time, by my Lord Bruncker's and Captain Cocke's good company, and the acquaintance of Mrs. Knipp, Coleman and her husband, and Mr. Laneare, and great store of dancings we have had at my cost (which I was willing to indulge myself and wife) at my lodgings."

January 18th, 1665-6. "My wife and I anon and Mercer, by coach, to Pierce's; where mighty merry, and sing and dance with great pleasure; and I danced, who never did in company in my life, and Captain Cocke come for a little while and danced, but went away, but we staid and had a pretty supper, and spent till two in the morning, but got home well by coach, though as dark as pitch, and so to bed."

September 28th, 1666. "Am come to an agreement with my wife to have Mercer again, on condition she may learn this winter two months to dance, and she promises me she will endeavour to learn to sing, and all this I am willing enough to."

November 9th, 1666. "To dress myself very fine, about 4 or 5 o'clock, and by that time comes Mr. Batelier and Mercer, and away by coach to Mrs. Pierce's, by appointment, where we find good company : a fair lady, my Lady Prettyman, Mrs. Corbet, Knipp; and for men, Captain Downing, Mr. Lloyd, Sir W. Coventry's clerk, and one Mr. Tripp, who dances well. After some trifling discourse, we to dancing, and very good sport, and mightily pleased I was with the company. After our first bout of dancing, Knipp and I to sing ... This being done and going to dance again, comes news that White Hall was on fire; and presently more particulars, that the Horse-guard was on fire; and so we run up to the garret, and find it so; a horrid great fire; and by and by we saw and heard part of it blown up with powder. The ladies begun presently to be afeard : one fell into fits. The whole town in an alarme. Drums beat and trumpets, and the guards everywhere spread, running up and down in the street ... By and by comes news that the fire has slackened; so then we were a little cheered up again, and to supper, and pretty merry ... After supper, another dance or two, and then the news that the fire is as great as ever, which put us all to our wit's-end; and I mightily [anxious] to go home, but the coach being gone, and it being about ten atnight, and rainy dirty weather, I knew not what to do; but to walk out with Mr. Batelier, myself resolving to go home on foot, and leave the women there. And so did; but at the Savoy got a coach, and came back and took up the women; and so, having, by people come from the fire, understood that the fire was overcome, and all well, we merrily parted, and home."

The *Great Fire* was earlier in the year, at the beginning of September.

November 15th, 1666. "I took coach and to Mrs. Pierce's, where I find her as fine as possible, and herself going to the ball at night at Court, it being the Queen's birth-day ... I also to the ball, and with much ado got up to the loft, where with much trouble I could see very well. Anon the house grew full, and the candles light, and the King and Queen and all the ladies set : and it was indeed a glorious sight to see Mrs. Stewart in black and white lace, and her head and shoulders dressed with dyamonds, and the like a great many great ladies more, only the Queen none; and the King in his rich vest of some rich silke and silver trimming, as the Duke of York and all the dancers were, some of cloth of silver, and others of other sorts, exceeding rich. Presently after the King was come in, he took the Queene, and about fourteen more couple there was, and began the Bransles ... All [the ladies] most excellently dressed in rich petticoats and gowns, and dyamonds, and pearls. After the Bransles, then to a Corant, and now and then a French dance; but that so rare that the Corants grew tiresome, that I wished it

done. Only Mrs. Stewart danced mighty finely, and many French dances, specially one the King called the New Dance, which was very pretty; but upon the whole matter, the business of the dancing of itself was not extraordinary pleasing. But the clothes and sight of the persons was indeed very pleasing, and worth my coming, being never likely to see more gallantry while I live, if I should come twenty times ... So away home with my wife, between displeased with the dull dancing, and satisfied at the clothes and persons."

March 7th, 1666-7. "To the Duke's playhouse ... and saw "The English Princesse, or Richard the Third"; a most sad, melancholy play, and pretty good; but nothing eminent in it, as some tragedys are; only little Mis. Davis did dance a jig after the end of the play, and there telling the next day's play; so that it come in by force only to please the company to see her dance in boy's clothes; and, the truth is, there is no comparison between Nell's dancing the other day at the King's house in boy's clothes and this, this being infinitely beyond the other."

May 1st, 1667. "To Westminster; in the way meeting many milk-maids with their garlands upon their pails, dancing with a fiddler before them."

May 22nd, 1667. " To the King's house, where I did give 18d., and saw the last two acts of "The Gobbins", a play I could not make any thing of by these two acts, but here Knipp spied me out of the tiring-room, and come to the pit door ... being in a country-dress, she and others having, it seemed, had a country-dance in the play."

August 17th, 1667. "To the King's playhouse, where the house extraordinary full; and there was the King and Duke of York to see the new play, "Queen Elizabeth's Troubles, and the History of Eighty Eight." ... The play is the most ridiculous that sure ever come upon the stage ... Only I was pleased to see Knipp dance among the milkmaids."

September 25th, 1667. "After dinner I to the King's playhouse ... The play was a new play; and infinitely full: the King and all the Court almost there. It is "The Storme," a play of Fletcher's; which is but so-so, methinks; only there is a most admirable dance at the end, of the ladies, in a military manner which indeed did please me mightily."

September 26th, 1667. "With my wife abroad to the King's playhouse, to shew her yesterday's new play, which I like as I did yesterday, the principal thing extraordinary being the dance, which is very good."

October 19th, 1667. "At noon home to a short dinner, being full of my desire of seeing my Lord Orrery's new play this afternoon at the King's house, "The Black Prince," the first time it is acted; where, though we come by two o'clock, yet there was no room in the pit, but we were forced to go into one of the upper boxes, at 4s. a piece, which is the first time I ever sat in a box in my life ... By and by the play begun, and in it nothing particular but a very fine dance for a variety of figures, but a little too long."

Pepys saw this play again on April 1st, 1667, remarking "The dance very stately."

October 21st, 1667. "Home myself, where I find my wife and the two Mercers and Willett and W. Batelier have been dancing, but without a fidler."

October 30th, 1667. "When I come home I did find my wife, and Betty Turner, the two Mercers, and Mrs. Parker, and ugly lass, but yet dances well, and speaks the best of them, and W. Batelier, and Pembleton dancing; and here I danced with them, and had a good supper, and as merry as I could be, and so they being gone we to bed."

January 4th 1667-8. "My thoughts full, how to order our design of having some dancing at our house on Monday next, being Twelfth-day."

January 6th, 1667-8. "Home, where we find my house with good fires and candles ready, and our Office the like, and the two Mercers, and Betty Turner, Pendleton, and W. Batelier. And so with much pleasure we into the house, and there fell to dancing, having extraordinary musick, two violins, and a base violin, and theorbo, four hands, the Duke of Buckingham's musique, the best in towne, sent me by Greeting, and there we set in to dancing. By and by to my house, to a very good supper, and mighty merry, and good musick playing; and after supper to dancing and singing till about twelve at night; and then we had a good sack posset for them, and an excellent cake, cost me near 20s., of our Jane's making, which was cut into twenty pieces, there being by this time so many of our company, by the coming in of young Goodyer and some others of our neighbours, young men that could dance, hearing of our dancing ... And so to dancing again, and singing, with extraordinary great pleasure, till about two in the morning, and then broke up ... I paid the fiddlers £3 among the four, and so away to bed, weary and mightily pleased."

February 3rd, 1667-8. "After dinner to the Duke of York's house, to the play, "The Tempest," which we have often seen, but yet I was pleased again, and shall be again to see it, it is so full of variety, and particularly this day I took pleasure to learn the tune of the seaman's dance, which I have much desired to be perfect in, and have made myself so."

March 7th, 1667-8. "At noon home to dinner, where Mercer with us, and after dinner she, my wife, Deb., and I, to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Spanish Gypsies," the second time of acting, and the first that I saw it. A very silly play, only great variety of dances, and those most excellently done, especially one part by one Hanes."

There is a Country dance *The Spanish Jeepsie* in every edition of Playford, a longways for eight. Chappell thinks the name is derived from a song in the play, beginning "Come, follow your leader, follow."

March 17th, 1667-8. "Abroad to the Excize-Office, where I met Mr. Ball ... and there fell in talk with him, who, being an old cavalier, do swear and curse at the present state of things ... do cry out against our great men at Court; how it is a fine thing for a Secretary of State to dance a jig, and that it was not so heretofore."

March 26th, 1668. "We all of us ('my wife and Deb. ... with Mrs. Pierce and Corbet and Betty Turner') to the Blue Balls hard by, whither Mr. Pierce also goes with us, who met us at the play, and anon comes Manuel, and his wife, and Knepp, and Harris, who brings with him Mr. Banister, the great master of musique; and after much difficulty in getting of musique, we to dancing, and than to a supper of some French dishes, which yet did not please me, and then to dance and sing; and mighty merry we were till about eleven or twelve at night, with mighty great content in all my company, and I did, as I love to do, enjoy myself in my pleasure at being the height of what we take pains for and can hope for in this world, and therefore to be enjoyed while we are young and capable of these joys ... I having paid the reckoning, which came to almost £4, we parted."

May 2nd, 1668. "To the Duke of York's playhouse ... [The play] called "The Sullen Lovers; or, The Impertinents," having many good humours in it, but the play tedious, and no design at all in it. But a little boy, for a farce, do play Polichinelli, the best that ever anything was done in the world, by all men's report most pleased with that, beyond anything in the world, and much beyond all the play."

May 9th, 1668. "We are told ... that last night the Duchesse of Monmouth, dancing at her lodgings, hath sprained her thigh."

July 15th, 1668. "My Lady Duchesse of Monmouth is still lame, and likely always to be so, which is a sad chance for a young [lady] to get, only by trying tricks in dancing."

August 26th, 1668. "To Mr. Batelier's by appointment, where I find my wife, and Deb., and Mercer; Mrs. Pierce and her husband, son, and daughter; and Knepp and Harris, and W. Batelier, and his sister Mary, and cozen Gumbleton, a good-humoured, fat young gentleman, son to the Jeweller, that dances well; and here danced all night long, with a noble supper; and about two in the morning the table spread again for a noble breakfast beyond all moderation, that put me out of countenance, so much and so good."

August 29th, 1668. "To Bartholomew Fair ... and so to Jacob Hall's dancing of the ropes; a thing worth seeing, and mightily followed."

September 21st, 1668. "To Southwark-Fair ... To Jacob Hall's dancing on the ropes, where I saw such action as I never saw before, and mightily worth seeing; and here took acquaintance with a fellow that carried me to a tavern, whither come the musick of this booth, and by and by Jacob Hall himself, with whom I had a mind to speak, to hear whether he had ever mischief by falls in his time. He told me, "Yes, many; but never to the breaking of a limb" : he seems a mighty strong man."

Pepys had previously seen "monkeys dancing on the ropes (at Bartholomew Fayre), which was strange, but such dirty sport that I was not pleased with it." (*Sept. 4, 1663*).

January 19th, 1668/9. "To the King's house, to see "Horace"; ... a silly tragedy; but Lacy hath made a farce of several dances - between each act, one : but his words are but silly, and invention not extraordinary, as to the dances; only some Dutchmen come out of the mouth and tail of a Hamburgh sow."

Wheatley's note gives a reference to Evelyn's Dairy, February 4th, 1667-8 : "I saw the tragedy of Horace Betwixt each act a masque and antique dance."

February 8th, 1668-9. "I to visit my Lord Sandwich; and there, while my Lord was dressing himself, did see a young Spaniard, that he hath brought over with him, dance, which he is admired for, as the best dancer in Spain, and indeed he do with mighty mastery; but I do not like his dancing as the English, though my Lord commends it mightily : but I will have him to my house, and show it my wife."

February 23rd, 1668-9. "To Mr. Batelier's, where we supped, and had a good supper, and here was Mr. Gumbleton; and after supper some fiddles, and so to dance; but my eyes were so out of order, that I had little pleasure this night at all, though I was glad to see the rest merry, and so about midnight home and to bed."

February 25th, 1668-9. "To the Duke of York's house ... a new play, or an old one vamped, by Shadwell, called, 'The Royall Shepherdesse'; but the silliest for words and design, and everything, that ever I saw in my whole life, there being nothing in the world pleasing to it, but a good martial dance of pikemen, where Harris and another do handle their pikes in a dance to admiration."

They certainly deserved admiration if they use eighteen-foot pikes! Even with eleven-foot pikes, introduced by Gustavus Adolphus whose reforms were copied by other armies, considerable skill would be necessary.

March 2nd, 1668-9. "Up, and at the office till noon, when home, and there I find

my company come, namely Madam Turner, Dyke, The., and Betty Turner, and Mr. Bellwood, formerly their father's clerk, but now set up for himself - a conceited, silly fellow, but one they make mightily of - my cozen Roger Pepys, and his wife, and two daughters. I had a noble dinner for them, as I almost ever had, and mighty merry ... And thus till night, that out musick come, and the Office ready and candles, and also W. Batelier and his sister Susan come, and also Will. Howe and two gentlemen more, strangers, which, at my request yesterday, he did bring to dance, called Mr. Ireton and Mr. Starkey. We fell to dancing, and continued, only with intermission for a good supper, till two in the morning, the musick being Greeting, and another most excellent violin, and theorbo, the best in town. And so with mighty mirth, and pleased with their dancing of jigs afterwards several of them, and, among others, Betty Turner, who did it mighty prettily; and lastly, W. Batelier's "Blackmore and Blackmore Mad"; and then to a country-dance again, and so broke up with extraordinary pleasure, as being one of the days and nights of my life spent with the greatest content; and that which I can but hope to repeat again a few times in my whole life."

Cf. October 11, 1665, when Mercer danced a jig. What exactly these jigs were its difficult to say, except that we can be positive that *Old Mother Oxford*, for instance, was not one of them! The O.E.D. can give no clearer definition than "a lively, rapid, springy kind of dance," and there is no reason to suppose that the word ever had a more precise technical significance. It did, however, come to be used particularly of the entertainment at the end of more than dance alone. The appended extract from Burnaby's "Travels" describes an unusual form.

March 6th, 1668-9. "This day my wife made it appear to me that my late entertainment this week cost me above £12, an expence which I am almost ashamed of, though it is but once in a great while, and is the end for which, in the most part, we live, to have such a merry day once or twice in a man's life."

April 2nd, 1669. "To the Duke of York's lodgings ... Stepping to the Duchess of York's side to speak with Lady Peterborough, I did see the young Duchess, a little child in hanging sleeves, dance most finely, so as almost to ravish me, her ears were so good : taught by a Frenchman that did heretofore teach the King, and all the King's children, and the Queen-Mother herself, who do still dance well."

A number of slighter references have been omitted, of these dates : May 1, 1660; June 9, August 31, November 22, 27, 1661; February 18, 1661-2; November 14, 1662; May 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, June 6, 9, 10, 1664; October 31, December 8, 1665; January 3, 6, 15, February 14, March 14, 1665-6; July 31, August 7, 14, 28, October 6, November 8, December 26, 1666; January 23, 24, March 8, 1666-7; April 19, August 21, 22, September 6, 16, 27, October 26, 1667; January 1, 14, 29, March 23, April 22, May 7, 11, 30, 31, June 9, August 27, September 7, 1668; January 11, March 1, 168-9; April 6, 1669.

Rev. Andrew Burnaby, "Travels through the Middle Settlements in North-America, in the years 1759 and 1760," etc. 1775 (p.21).

"The women [of Virginia] ... are immoderately fond of dancing, and indeed it is almost the only amusement they partake of : but even in this they discover great want of taste and elegance, and seldom appear with that gracefulness and ease, which these movements are so calculated to display. Towards the close of an evening, when the company are pretty well tired with country dances, it is usual to dance jiggs; a practice originally borrowed, I am informed, from the Negroes.* [* Author's note : "The author has since had an opportunity of observing something similar in Italy. The trescone of the Tuscans is very like the jiggs of the Virginians."] These dances are without any method or regularity : a gentleman and lady stand up, and dance about the room, one of them retiring, the other pursuing, then perhaps meeting, in an irregular fantastical manner. After some time, another lady gets up, and then the first lady must sit down, she being, as they term it cut out : the second lady acts the same part which the first did, till somebody cuts her out. The gentlemen perform in the same manner."

BACKGROUND

The various published editions of Samuel Pepys' Diary differ slightly because of the variations in the transliterations of his shorthand into plain English. The entry selections and the spellings have been kept here as in the EFDS News reprinting. There have been many books about Pepys, but none had the advantage of knowing his wife's views.

Samuel Pepys wife Elizabeth kept a diary, as was common at that time, from 13th October 1655 until November 1669, just before she died on 10th November of a fever caught on a European tour with her husband, of which that to the 24th April 1661 has been edited and published, representing about one third of the manuscript which has been recovered, see Dale Spender, *The Diary of Elizabeth Pepys*, Grafton, Harper Collins, London, 1991. It was her's that eventually from 1st January 1660 persuaded Samuel to keep his so lively and informative one until 31st May 1669 when increasingly troubled with his eyes and in fear of blindness.

She was born on 23rd October 1640 in Bideford, a daughter of Dorothea and Alexander St Michael, a minor noble from Anjou but disinherited for becoming a Protestant. He was tall and striking, with impressive courtly French manners. He quickly dissipated his wife's fortune, she being a rich widow, then fought in Flanders in 1648-9 and under Cromwell in Ireland, before becoming a relatively unsuccessful inventor. Contact and visits with French relatives led to Elizabeth being fluent in French, which she used for the more sensitive parts of her diary as Samuel did not read that language.

Handsome Samuel, son of a washerwoman and a tailor, was born in 1632 in Salisbury Court, now called Salisbury Square, off Fleet Street. He went to St Paul's School, as had Judge Jeffreys and John Churchill, and took a BA at Magdalene College, Cambridge. He was ambitious and with promising career prospects. He met Elizabeth, who was considered a very great beauty with breeding, although poor and with no influence, when the family was living in reduced circumstances at Charing Cross by St Martin-in-the-Fields. They married on 1st December 1655, when she was only fifteen. He was found to be mean with money, moody, bad tempered, a bit paranoid, and unfaithful, having many relationships with women before and after their marriage. At first they lived in a room in Whitehall, possibly in one of the turrets of King Street Gate, built in 1532 as a two storey stone building having two circular turrets with domed roofs. As was common, meals were either brought in or eaten out. She became under-nourished because she could not feed herself when he was out, as he did not give his wife any house-keeping allowance until after the reconciliation, following a two year separation.

Captain Robert Holmes, a prominent sailor after the Restoration, had found her very attractive before she was married, and, while Pepys behaviour had forced their early separation lasting from February 1656 until December 1657, he offered to make her his mistress. But she supported herself by translating and interpreting. At this time Pepys was working as a steward for Lord Montagu on a task by task basis and his career had hardly started. Both had a hard time during the separation, she even nursed him through a major illness. In 1658 Samuel obtained a post as a regular clerk to George Downing at the Exchequer, and on the income moved to a small house in Axe Yard on the west side of King Street, Westminster, about August. Their first maid was Jane Birch. Pepys bought copies

of the latest songs from Playford's shop. In 1661 Pepys found it impossible to relate the glory of Charles II's Coronation day.

Pepys had sexual relationships with servants and contacts, including Gosnell, Mary Ashwell, Mary Mercer and Deb Willett, introduced by W Batelier on 24th September 1667, found embracing by Elizabeth on 25th October 1668 and not mentioned again in the diary after May 1669. (pp 98, 190-3, 205) He had a long term relationship with the pretty wife of a subordinate, Mrs Bagwell of Deptford, which lasted 2 or 3 years. After Elizabeth died he formed a proper one with Mary Skinner, the young daughter of a city neighbour, which was close, tender and enduring till his death. They lived together, and this was probably why he was not knighted, but it is not obvious why they did not marry.

Pepys' post in the Admiralty of Clerk of the Navy Acts at the Restoration brought them, on 17th July, an official house in Seething Lane. In 1656 the Navy Office had been built on the site of Sir Francis Walsingham's house, and itself destroyed by fire in 1672, so he moved to Winchester Street and then next year to Derby House. He lived at 12 Buckingham Street from 1679-1688 and then at number 14 until 1701, when he moved to Clapham Old Town on the north side of Clapham Common into a house designed by Sir Dennis Gauden. He was Master of the Clothworkers Company in 1677-8, imprisoned in the Tower briefly in 1679 accused by Titus Oates of giving Naval secrets to the French, but released on bail and eventually cleared, and elected President of the Royal Society for 1684-5 immediately before Sir Isaac Newton's long term.

He died on 26th May 1703. Pepys and his wife are both buried in the nave of St Olave, Hart Street, off Seething Lane, near the Cornmarket in Fenchurch Street. There are separate monuments to both of them. There is an annual service at St. Olave's in memory. The Ancient Society of Pepys meets at the Prospect of Whitby, 57 Wapping Wall, which had been known as the Devil's Tavern when Pepys had been a frequent visitor, one of many inns with which he was familiar. This one is by the site of Execution Dock where pirates were hanged.

Elizabeth found her husband's diary, and the key to his shorthand writing through Thomas Shelton's book *Tachygraphy*, published in the 1620's, in order to discover more about his financial and amorous affairs. However Samuel made few references in it to his wife. Shelton's approach was not as sophisticated as modern shorthands, eg, Pitman's, being quasi-phonetic. Many of the signs were simply reduced forms of letters and abbreviations for words, plus 300 invented symbols which were mainly arbitrary logograms, and a few empty symbols to foster secrecy. It was commonly used at the time for reporting speeches and sermons, as it could be written as fast as 100 words per minute.

Notes

1. Note that several of those mentioned by name had roles with the Royal Navy.
2. For respectability, it was usual to call all actresses "Mrs", regardless of their marital state.
3. Mrs Knipp or Knepp was the actress. He wrote in August 1667, "my wife out of humour as she always is when this woman is by." Pepys had been seen by his wife buying Mrs Knipp a pair of gloves at the New Exchange.
4. King Charles II's wit about *Cuckolds all awry*, with the presumed allusion to the dance Cuckolds all a row, was made because they were dancing with each other's mistresses. Cecil Sharp preference for *Hey boys, up go we*, was because Chappell in *The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 1859, noted that a Cavalier song of *Hey, boys, up go we*, was sung to the *Cuckolds* tune. However it is a very different dance and its tune is distinct and had been much used for political satire. From its use in coarse verses, the phrase *Hey boys, up go we* was actually intended to be even more suggestive than *Cuckolds*. Douglas Kennedy reconstructed the original *Hey boys* dance with its proper tune, but published it as *Trip to Norwich*.
5. The first Theatre Royal in Drury Lane was built in 1663 for Thomas Killigan and the King's Company. It was burnt down in 1672 and rebuilt by Wren. Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre was opened in 1661 by Sir William Davenant for the Duke's Company.
6. Rope dancing was on a suspended rope or wire, slack or tight, horizontal or sloping like a guy rope. Jacob Hill the tight rope dancer was for a while a lover of Barabara Villier, Lady Castlemaine, who became the Duchess of Cleveland in 1670, having been a long time mistress of Charles II. She also had a daughter by John Churchill, who later became the Duke of Marlborough.
7. A theorbo was a therbo-lute.
8. Pepys played about ten different musical instruments.

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN DIARY EXTRACTS

Mrs R Allen
Mr Andrews
Mary Ashwell - Mrs Pepys Maid (1663)
Mr Ball
Mr Banister - master of music
Mrs Barbar(y) or (a)
Mr W Batelier and sister Mary, a linen draper, and sister Susan
Sir William and Lady Batten plus two daughters, he became Surveyor to the Navy
Mr Bellwood
Bond
Mr Brumfield
Lord William Bruncker or Brouncker, 2nd Viscount, Navy commissioner
Lady Carteret and daughters, Sir George was Treasurer of Naval Board
Luke Channell - master of the school in Broad St.
Captain George Cocke - hemp contractor, MP and a Director of Royal Africa Co,
 who bribed Pepys
Mrs Coleman and husband (Captain William Coleman?)
Mrs Corbet
Sir W Coventry's clerk William
Mrs Daniels
Mrs Davis (Moll, the actress?)
Mr Deering - song writer
Captain Downing (might just be Sir George, Pepys worked for this diplomat)
Mrs Dyke
Captain Ferrers and Lady
Mr Fletcher - playwright
Golding - fiddler and barber
Goodyer
Mrs Gosnell - Pepys' wife's woman 1668
Greeting - sent Duke of Buckingham's music
Cozen Gumbleton
Mr Harris
Mr Hempson
Will Hewer - Pepys' right hand man and closest friend
Jacob Hill
Mr Thomas Hill - music loving Lisbon merchant, arranged musical evenings
Will Howe - steward to Lord Sandwich
Mr Ireton
Couzen Mary Joyce
Mrs Knipp - actress and dancer
Lacy - play producer?
Mr Laneare
Manuel and wife (Mr Lloyd?)
Mrs Lurkin
Mary Mercer - Mrs Pepys maid 1665
Montagu, "Mrs Jem." - Countess of Sandwich or Lady Jem., for Jemimah
Edward Montagu, Lord Sandwich
Lord Orrery - playwright
Mrs Parker
Mr Pembleton - dance teacher
Sir William and Lady Penn [Sir W Ren??] Admiral

Couzen Roger Pepys, wife and two daughters, lawyer and MP for Cambridge
Couzen Perkin - miller and fiddler
Mrs Pett - Peter Pett shipbuilder and commissioner for Chatham Dockyard
Mrs Pickering - Ned a young kinsman
Mr and Mrs Pierce, and son and daughter
Mr Playford - music seller
Mr Thomas Povy- incompetent colleague
Lady Prettyman
Shadwell - playwright
Mr Starkey
Captain Taylor
Theophilia Turner "The." (1668-9) elder sister of Betty
Mrs Tooker and Miss Frances Tooker
Mr Tripp
Betty Turner - a young cousin
Sheriff Waterman (1665)
Deb. Willett (maid)